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Introduction

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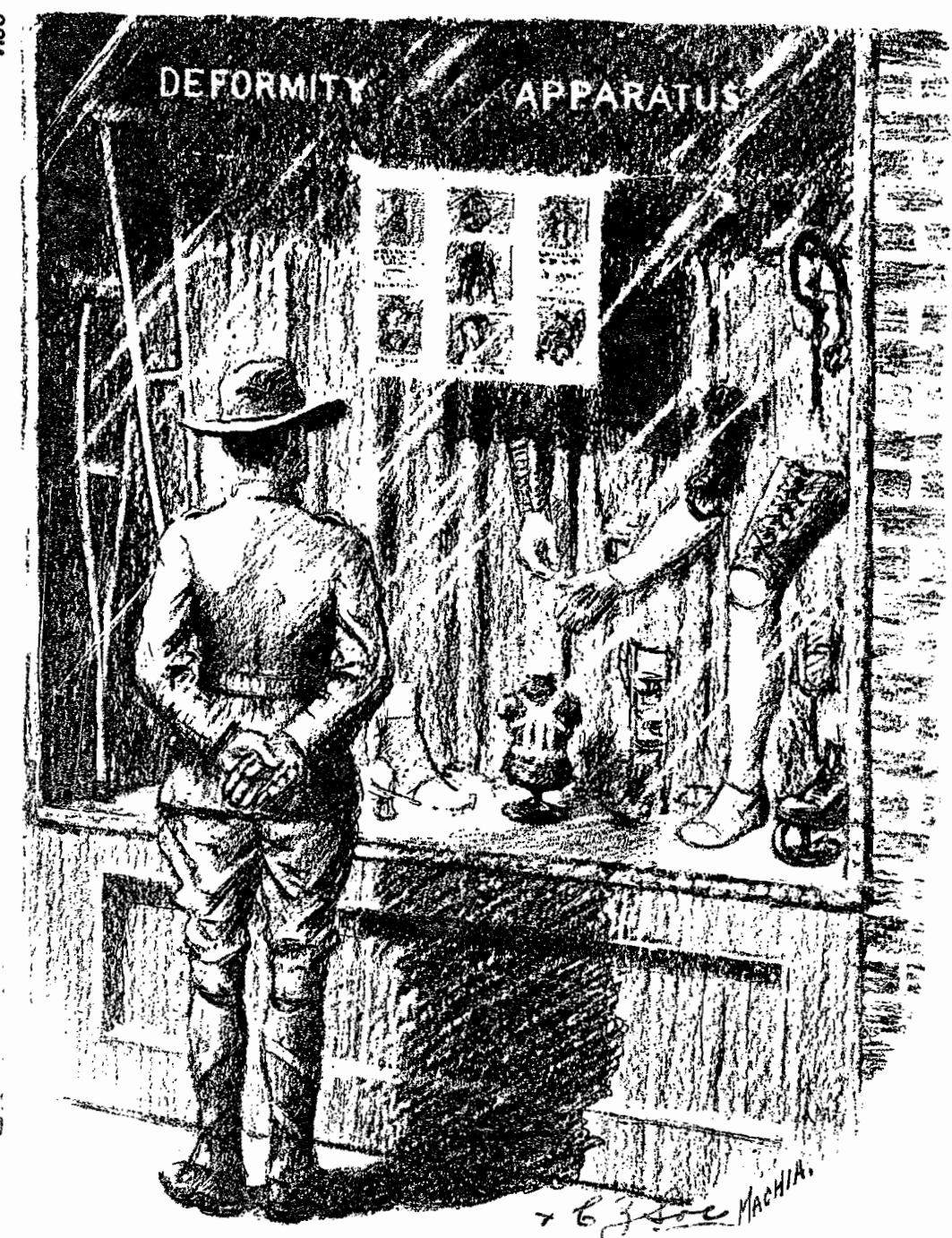
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AUG 8
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**



LEADERS: Why They Appear Why People Follow Them Why They Become Autocrats

These questions are vital to the Socialist movement, since its central aim is not merely collective ownership but also *democratic control* of production and distribution. Is a democratically managed society possible? And if so, do political and labor leaders *help* or *hinder* the oncoming of democracy?

These are a few of the questions discussed in a great book by ROBERT MICHELS, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics in the University of Basle, entitled

POLITICAL PARTIES: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy

The author does not attempt to solve our problems for us. He merely shows what *has happened* in the Socialist parties and the labor unions of France, Germany, Italy, England and the United States. Here are a few of the chapters:

The Need for Organization.	Centralization.
The Need for Leadership Felt by the Mass.	The Exercise of Power and Its Reaction Upon the Leaders.
The Political Gratitude of the Masses.	The Metamorphosis of the Leaders.
Financial Power of the Leaders.	Syndicalism as a Remedy.
Relation of the Leaders to the Masses.	Anarchism.
The Struggle Between the Leaders and the Masses.	Party-Life in War-Time.

The last-named chapter was written in 1915 especially for the American edition, and shows how the action of the German Socialist officials has confirmed the author's theories.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a critical analysis of the workings of democracy, both on the political and economic fields. It introduces the reader to a new branch of science, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a large volume of 426 pages, handsomely printed and bound. It was published in New York at \$3.50 net. We have bought all remaining copies of the American edition, and while they last we offer them to any REVIEW reader at \$1.50 postpaid; with the REVIEW one year, \$2.00.

Charles H. Kerr & Company,
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July

1917

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XVIII

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 1

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature

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DEPARTMENTS

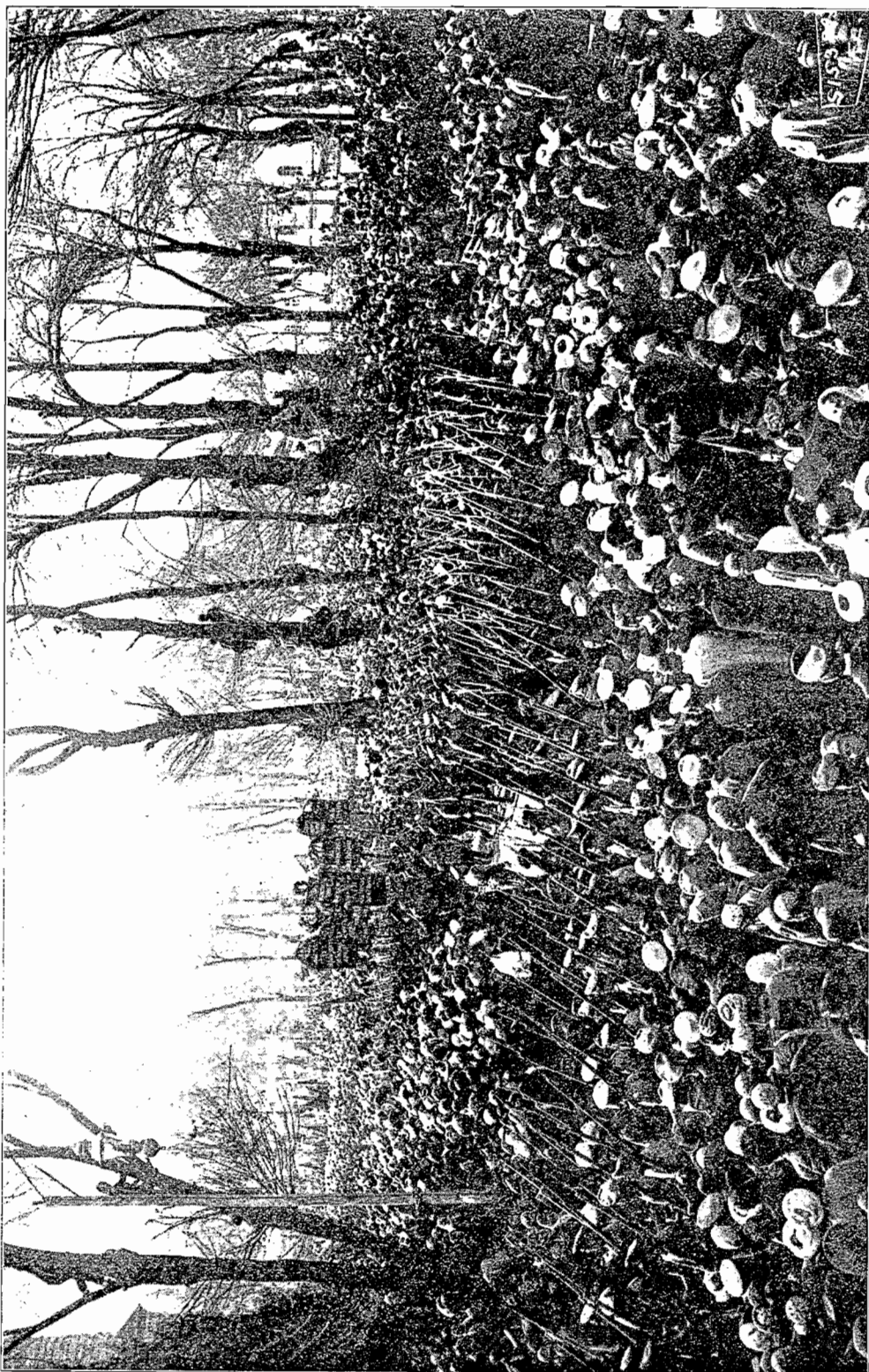
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CELEBRATING THE REVOLUTION, TASHKENT, ASIATIC RUSSIA.

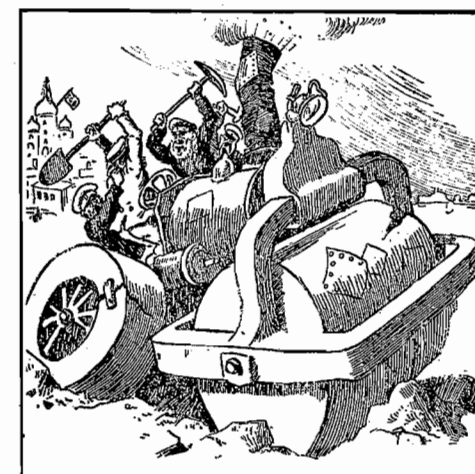
Some of the Banners Carried Were Inscribed With "Long Live Brotherhood and Equality"; "Rejoice, Children, We Will Be Educated in Free Schools by Free Teachers."

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVIII

CHICAGO, JULY 1917

No. 1



THE RUSSIAN STEAM-ROLLER.
WILL IT EVER WORK AGAIN?

—Nebelspalter (Zurich)

THE PASSING SHOW

"ROOT"-ING IN RUSSIA

IN THESE days of columns upon columns and page after page of stories of war horrors, of hunger riots and draft laws, the working class turns with relief to comic phases of the great cataclysm like the Root-ing Expedition into Russia. We can all so easily recall the days when the Czar sat upon his throne and Mr. Root was so earnest in his zeal to serve the Bureaucracy that he wanted Congress to pass a law making it possible to send back every rebel or socialist refugee who had escaped the clutches of the old dynasty. Mr. Root was the Best Friend of the Old Régime. Just as now he has suddenly become converted (?) to the cause of the Red Flag revolutionists. His heart is singing with joy to know that the down-trodden Russian workers have at last risen and thrown off the yoke of the oppressors.

And so he has gone upon this Expedition to Help the Cause Along. Mr. Root knows a great deal about international law and some people claim he is the greatest financial genius of the age. It is hinted that his best friends are some of the Wall Street Banking Pirates who would be willing to extend a Helping Hand to the Provisional Government—provided there was a sure and fat profit in it.

Our old friend Charles Edward Russell was appointed a member of the commission. He travels in strange company these days, but we are not surprised that he accepted the commission. Mr. Russell is as honest and as square as any man who ever called himself a socialist. Only he never understood socialism. He had so long been associated with publishers and editors and business men that he never became ac-

quainted with the workers in the factories, mines and shops. He has never trusted the working class to work out its own liberation, but has always believed this would come through the disinterested leadership of wise and scholarly men. Mr. Russell has never understood that the working class must emancipate itself, alone can emancipate itself.

We have no doubt Mr. Root will know with what bait to tempt the capitalist class of Russia; how best to appeal to their profit-hunger; how to show them the advantages of a "democratic" form of government (like the United States) which may be made to mean enormous profits to the owning class. But neither he nor Mr. Russell will understand the language of the Social Revolution, will be able to find any common ground with the revolutionists.

For too many Russian exiles have returned to Russia, too many members of the I. W. W. and of the socialist party, who will inform the Russian comrades just what the profit system means in America. We believe the American Commission to Rus-

sia will endeavor to caution the revolutionists "not to go too far; not to demand too much; to advance a 'step at a time,' " etc.

Meanwhile the newspapers report that the Japanese Government has warned the Provisional Russian Government not to make a separate peace with Germany. (Personally we hope the Russian people will not make a separate peace with any nation but will demand that the workers of all warring nations force a universal cessation of hostilities and a universal peace.) But it is interesting to note that Japan, as the ally of England, is suggesting that a separate peace between Germany and Russia might mean a war between Russia and Japan. We hope it will not next be proposed that the American soldiers wage war upon Russia to force her to fight.

We do not believe the Russian revolutionists will permit themselves to become Americanized. They are trying to secure much more than the workers of America possess. They are trying to secure actual industrial democracy, actual job ownership and control for the Russian working class.

WHY AMERICA IS FIGHTING

THERE are so many workingmen in America who do not want to fight that the question is being asked everywhere why this country has entered the war. So the magazines and the capitalist newspapers have undertaken the task of explaining the situation. We herewith reprint portions of an article appearing in the *Review of Reviews* which take up the economic side of the question. You may recall that socialists have always claimed that wars are fought today to hold or to gain some economic advantage for the capitalist classes of the various nations.

"We are not one whit better people, essentially, than Germans or Austrians or Bulgarians or Russians. We have simply been placed in fortunate circumstances, and it has been easy for us to entertain sentiments of good-will towards mankind at large. We do not need adjacent territory; therefore, we do not embark upon schemes of conquest. We are not at present tempted to tap reservoirs of other people's wealth and prosperity. We happen to have plenty of coal and iron. We do not quite understand, therefore, how intense at this time

are the forces in Europe that are struggling to obtain supplies of fuel and of iron ore. Coal during the past winter has been selling in Paris for from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars a ton. The greatest diplomatic game of recent months (except the Russian game) has been turning upon the shipment of iron ore from Spain. The intensity of the struggle over the future of Alsace-Lorraine turns largely upon considerations of underground wealth. The most intense fighting of the whole war has been raging around the coal-mining district of Lens, in the Arras sector. Germany would be glad to make peace on a guarantee of her future control over even a fraction of the economic resources—including Roumanian petroleum and undeveloped wealth in Asia Minor—that are now within her military grasp. But we in the United States are so favored in those natural resources upon which modern industrial development rests that we can afford to be content with what we have. . . .

"Germany has adopted the principle that the relatively undeveloped resources of the world should be at the disposal of that na-

tion which, thru its own resolute discipline of mind and muscle and thru its united effort and purpose, can both take and utilize such materials and opportunities. This German doctrine, if justified by success in the present war, would have left the United States as the foremost exponent of a sharply contradictory theory. And the clash would have been inevitable. . . . We could never have lived safely in the same world with a completely triumphant Germany. . . . Germany has accepted the view that "God is on the side of the strongest battalions." And Germany has definitely intended to take a dominant place in the affairs of the world thru sheer use of military and naval power. . . .

"The other great empires had grown up in a more or less opportune or accidental way. Britain and France, in their African and Asiatic colonial enterprises, have neither of them set out deliberately to achieve great empires for the explicit commercial profit of the British Islands or the French Republic. Their imperial policies have not been in all respects either wise, just or consistent. But they have not rested upon the principle of force. Germany has been using the most up-to-date methods to accomplish wholly out-of-date objects. We should certainly, then, have been forced into conflict with Germany if she had come out of this war triumphant."

Translated into very simple working class language, we think this merely means that the ruling class of Germany has become so strong and so determined upon economic aggression upon the entrenched capitalist classes of other nations that the capitalist class of America, when it began to look as tho Germany might win the war, decided to force the working class of America to help win it for the capitalist classes of the allied nations.

Nor is this all. The German system is the envy of the capitalist classes of all Europe—and of America. It works in many ways to the glory and profit of the German capitalist (or ruling) class. More valuable than in all other things, the German military system produces a disciplined working class, drilled to obey instead of to think. In a recent editorial in the *Chicago Herald* the following was quoted from a letter written by a young college graduate who served a brief apprenticeship last summer in the guard on the Mexican border and now in training at Fort Sheridan. This explains why every intelligent workingman and

woman opposes the war and loathes conscription. They understand, as well as millionaire capitalists, that the war will produce, not only more wealth and more power for these capitalists, but slave wage-workers as well:

"Just as the army has a definite transformation to work upon the good old instinct of self-preservation, so does it possess a definite method of accomplishing this result. You fall for it; and behold! you are hypnotized, enslaved, the creature of your officer's will as much as tho you were his hand, and you know perfectly well that when he says 'Go' you'll march into the jaws of hell without a moment's hesitation.

"Take as a typical instance the matter of 'standing at attention.' Saturday during company inspection under arms we were lined up in double rank, each with his rifle and bayonet, while the captain inspected. The wind was icy cold; every muscle in me was rigid; I almost prayed, I was so miserable. I could have made myself comfortable by even the slightest movement, to restore circulation. But it never occurred to me to do so. My only thought was, 'When, oh when, will he put us at ease?' The volition—the actuating impulse for my muscles—had been switched off, so that I could not do a thing for myself; the motor nerves had somehow been plugged in on the line along which would come the command from the captain, for all the world like central plugging in on the wrong number. Be as miserable as I would, I was powerless to stir.

"Transfer the example from 'standing at attention' to leaving shelter to charge. A green man's mind would be fully made up to obey, come what would, but at the command he would hear the whistling bullets and would override his intentions—and there he would stick in his shelter. He would be still responsive to his own volition, and his instinct of self-preservation would have a chance. The soldier, on the other hand, when the bugle went 'Ta-ta, ta-ta, ta-ta,' on the single fast note which means charge, would leap up and run, fainting almost, it might be, with fear and mental agony, toward the enemy, because the motor nerves controlling his limbs had been switched off from his own mind and plugged in on the aural mechanism which received commands from the bugle, leaving his body only the power to obey and to suffer while obeying. This is the psychology of the soldier."

PROPAGANDA NEWS



PART OF AN AUDIENCE OF 5,000 AT SOCIALIST MEETING, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

C. E. Ruthenberg speaking, Alfred Wagenknecht, Chairman of the meeting, and Tom Clifford, the second speaker, on side of auto away from audience. Chief of Police Rowe at back of auto with back to speaker, stenographer taking notes for federal authorities, Federal Agent DeWoody to the left of stenographer and Police Prosecutor Lind next to him.

SIDE by side with the sweep of our incomparable patriotism across the country, comes the news of Socialist and I. W. W. anti-war demonstrations in many cities.

We feel sure all REVIEW readers, not only in this country but in South Africa, Australia and the prison camps of Europe, will be interested in what is happening in America today.

Cleveland, Ohio

The members of Local Cleveland determined at the beginning of the war that so far as it lay within their power they would continue their activities just as if

there had been no declaration of war. They determined that in reference to the war and attempts to abridge the rights of the workers, there would be no faltering, no hesitancy, no yielding of rights previously exercised, but open, bold and unafraid opposition.

The first step was to organize a May day parade which would be a demonstration of internationalism and against war. This parade, which was the biggest ever held on May Day in Cleveland, was referred to by the capitalist papers as "a streak of revolutionary red across the heart of the city." Scores of signs were carried in the parade denouncing the war,

conscription and the capitalist class—carried thru the downtown streets at the hour when tens of thousands of workers were leaving their work for their homes.

Since the May Day demonstration five great peace demonstrations have been held on the Public Square and Market Square. These have been attended by from three to six thousand people. Three distributions of fifty thousand leaflets each have been made. Among these has been the party war manifesto and an anti-conscription leaflet. Street meetings attended by audiences ranging from five hundred to a thousand people are being held nightly.

Altho the police are always in evidence at the meetings, as shown by the accompanying picture, and a court stenographer takes down the speeches for the federal authorities, the only trouble thus far has been the arrest of Alfred Wagenknecht, state secretary of the party, at a meeting held May 27th, and of Charles Baker, state organizer of Ohio, at one of the street meetings. Both comrades are charged with disorderly conduct. Comrade Wagenknecht was in the midst of an anti-conscription argument when stopped and Comrade Baker was arrested on the trumped up charge of a war patriot who tried to break up his meeting, that he had made disrespectful remarks about the flag. The "*Socialist News*," local weekly of the party, has been withheld from the mails for two weeks, but hundreds of Reviews have been sold.

The result of the campaign which the party is making, has been three hundred new members added to the party in six weeks' time. Collections ranging from \$125 to \$350 have been taken up at the big mass meetings and a thousand new readers have been added to the mailing list of the "*Socialist News*," and interest and enthusiasm among party members such as has never been developed locally before.—By C. E. Ruthenberg.

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Almost all active members of the Socialist Party have been arrested and indicted by a Federal Grand Jury. Principal charge is that the accused, by the circulation of literature and "thru demonstrations, mass petitions and by other means," conspired to "prevent, hin-

der and delay" the execution of the conscription law. There were six counts in the indictment.

National Secretary Adolph Germer, of the Socialist Party, was also indicted by the same jury and charged with conspiracy. On learning the "news," Comrade Germer went to Grand Rapids, submitted to arrest, plead "not guilty" and was liberated on bonds. If necessary, these cases will be carried to the highest courts.

Grand Rapids has a population around 130,000—mostly wage slaves. Scab labor runs its factories. It is a typical American Billy Sunday burg. Therefore all the fury of the pulpit and the press was directed against the socialists.

Among the indicted comrades are Ben A. Falkner, financial secretary of the Local. For years he has been employed in the city water works department. He has been fired and blacklisted by the political patriots. Comrade G. G. Fleser, corresponding secretary of the Local, who had worked eight years for the Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad as a stenographer, was discharged by the patriotic rail-plutes. Viva L. Flaherty, social worker and writer; Charles G. Taylor, member of Board of Education; James W. Clement, manufacturer; Charles J. Callaghan, postal clerk (discharged); Dr. Martin E. Elzinga; G. H. Pangborn; Vernon Kilpatrick; Rev. Klaas Osterhuis, and our well-known, active old-time Comrade, Ben Blumenberg.

In spite of the fact that the minutes of socialist meetings were confiscated by the city sleuths, the comrades are holding well attended local meetings and are now busy looking for new headquarters.

—L. H. M.



COMRADE G. G. FLESER
Corresponding Secretary, Local Grand
Rapids, Mich.

Rock Island, Illinois

Anti-military propaganda has been carried on here by the comrades of Rock Island and Moline for the past two years, and during the past three months we have held many overflow anti-conscription meetings.

Last Saturday night we packed the Turner Hall and sold all our literature, including the last 149 copies of the REVIEW.

At the open air street meeting we had to compete with a recruiting outfit of five auto trucks, two of which had cannon on them, the others carrying the drum and fife corps. We had the largest crowd as the workers are with us.—Edgar Owens.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Two comrades, Arthur Tiala and C. Mattson, Treasurer Hennepin County Central Committee, have been jailed and held under \$5,000 bail for failing to register.

Over in St. Paul, Comrades C. and H. Holm have been bound over to the October court charged with distributing seditious literature. Otto Wangerin, Walter Wangerin, Alfred Grahl, Joe Arver, all Socialist Party members, are out on bail after having refused to register. A defense committee is on the job and doing effective work. It is practically admitted that 9,000 failed to register in St. Paul and more than that number in Minneapolis.

As a result of newspaper statements, we are holding big meetings in different parts of the state. At one point we organized a Socialist Local of sixty out of a crowd of five hundred and sold \$40.00 worth of literature. This is being duplicated in other places.—A. L. Sugarman:

Kansas City, Mo.—The following printed in the *Kansas City Star* gives a historic example of how the organization of the working class are illegally attacked, beaten and their headquarters destroyed and then the organizers thrown into jail on a charge of "breaking the peace":

"Under the law, the powers of military forces in the United States do not extend to the civilian population unless

a city is under martial rule. Consequently, all three of the raids on I. W. W. headquarters have been made in defiance of both military and civil law, and without the sanction of those higher in command.

"In the first two raids only slight disturbances occurred, but the one yesterday came near to bloodshed.

"Since the last previous raid, I. W. W. headquarters had been abandoned most of the time. Yesterday afternoon, however, word reached the Battery B recruiting station at 901 Main street, that the headquarters had again been opened, and that a dozen men were talking *pacifism* inside.

"Accordingly a squad under Sergt. H. C. Davis promptly descended upon 722 Main, threw its occupants outside and wrecked the place.

"Among the men who were thrown out was W. Francik, an ardent I. W. W. from Wisconsin. Francik went to his rooms, got a large revolver, filled his pockets with cartridges and returned.

"J. M. Blankenship of Merriam, Kas., and Sergeant Davis followed Francik up the stairs. Near the top the man drew his revolver and ordered Blankenship to halt. That was Sergeant Davis' signal to get into his action, which he did with such abruptness that the revolver was lying on the floor and Francik half way down the stairs before any damage could be done.

"At the bottom Francik was beaten by other men in army uniforms—a fate which bystanders said was also shared by a boy who tried to interfere. The police finally came up, stopped the riot, and rescued Francik by taking him to police headquarters, where *he was held on a charge of disturbing the peace*. None of the militiamen who had started the disturbance was taken."

And yet some people have the nerve to call the members of the I. W. W. rowdies and law-breaking destroyers of property! This is the place to laugh; But don't say we did not warn you that the story in the *Star* expresses exactly what the working class may expect of militarism. Militarism means no law save brute force against the workers.—R. T.



SAM SADLER.

AARON FISLERMAN.

HULET M. WELLS.

Seattle, Washington

Four active socialists are facing long terms of imprisonment and heavy fines for their "crime," which consisted in the alleged drawing up and circulation of a leaflet similar in contents to that issued by the Conscientious Objectors of Great Britain. Among the "seditious" utterances in the suppressed leaflet were quotations from the Constitution of the United States and from Daniel Webster.

Hulet M. Wells is one of the best known members of the Socialist and Labor movement in the Northwest. He has been twice candidate for Mayor of Seattle in the interests of the Socialist Party; he was president of the Seattle Central Labor Council during a most successful term; and he has for long been an active member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Comrade Sam Sadler has been for years identified with the activities of the Socialist Party of Washington and is esteemed one of the most trustworthy and vigorous revolutionary propagandists on the Pacific Coast. He was for some time President of the Seattle Local of the International Longshoremen's Association and served on the Central Labor Council as delegate. Aaron Fislerman is secretary of the King County Socialist Party and is also known as a capable writer on Marxian economics. R. E. Rice, the fourth and last

defendant, is a member of the Laundry Drivers' Union, an obscure but earnest soldier of the Social Revolution.

The cases are to come up for trial shortly. The four comrades who are under charges are all workers. They have not the means to put up a strong legal fight and the best talent must be secured. The International Workers' Defense League of Seattle, an organization to which are affiliated some fifty bodies, including the American Federation of Labor unions, the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party, has taken charge of the defense. Send all funds to Paul S. Parker, secretary-treasurer, International Workers' Defense League, Box 86.

As we go to press a telegram comes in from Seattle, stating that a crowd of sailors and soldiers attempted to raid the I. W. W. hall. One sailor was shot and the rest were thrown out of the hall. A later attack was made but by that time the hall had been barricaded and the police arrested six sailors and forty members of the I. W. W. All of the latter have been released with the exception of fourteen, who are being held for non-registration.

Detroit, Mich.—To understand the present situation here we must refer back to Monday, May 21st, when Local Detroit passed a resolution calling upon the workers to oppose conscription.

The *Michigan Socialist* of May 26th, contained the resolution as well as articles strongly condemning the draft law. Together with the paper, circulars headed "Kill the Draft" were distributed thruout the city. On Sunday morning, May 27th, the first arrests in this connection were made. Six of the comrades were arrested and held by the Federal authorities, bail being fixed at \$5,000.

The following day Comrade Paul Michelson of New York, who was acting as speaker and organizer for Local Detroit was arrested and is still being held. Later the editor of the *Michigan Socialist* Nathan Welch, and the members of the board of management of the paper, Maurice Sugar, Samuel Diamond and Ludwig Boltz were placed under arrest, the charge against them is conspiracy to defeat the draft. Bail in all cases being fixed at \$5,000 each. Most of the comrades are still in jail.

On Tuesday the 12th, they were brought into the Federal Court for a hearing when the case was postponed till Thursday, the 14th. Several others have been arrested on the charge of distributing the anti-draft literature and failing to register. On Monday, the 11th, six more arrests were made, five of the bunch were released on registering. Milton V. Breitmeyer, a member of the Socialist Party, refused to register and is held for the grand jury.

A mass meeting which was to be held here on Sunday, June 3rd, at Arcadia (the largest hall in the city) had to be abandoned on account of the federal authorities ordering the hall closed against the Socialists. Crowds gathered at the hall but were driven away by the police. No arrests were made there. In spite of the pressure brought against the movement by the police, the plute-press and the pulpit pounders, the increase of members is the greatest the Local has ever experienced.

At Jackson four have been arrested. Two, Harvey A. Hedden and Wm. Kidwell, for the circulation of literature.

At Ann Arbor two university students, members of the Socialist Local there, Ellwood Moore and Max Frocht, were arrested for failing to register. The other places in this state where arrests have been made are Grand Rapids, Negaunee and Marquette.—John Keracher.

Rockford, Ill.—On June 6th one hundred and thirty-eight socialists and I. W. W. marched to the sheriff's office and demanded to be arrested, as they refused to register. The proceedings passed off peacefully until the officers attempted to divide the men. A rough and tumble battle then ensued and several of the men were badly beaten up. The prisoners were divided into three groups, one remaining in Rockford and the other two groups being railroaded to nearby towns.

At this writing ten are held for conspiracy under \$10,000 bonds, eight of whom are members of the I. W. W.

A defense committee was immediately organized, composed of three members each of the I. W. W., the Swedish Socialist Party, the American Socialist Party and the Knights of Good Templar.

Attorney Hall of Rockford and Seymour Stedman of Chicago have been retained.

The socialists have five city councilmen, and at the last branch meetings the English local took in twelve new members and the Swedish branch took in sixty-five new members. Peace meetings are being held every Sunday with an average attendance of from three to five thousand.

Cincinnati, Ohio—We have received no word direct from comrades, but according to the Cincinnati Post, eleven Socialists have been "accused of the crime of giving aid and comfort to their country's enemies. Bail has been fixed at \$1,500." It seems they are charged with "circulating handbills against the military registration." Attorney Nicholas Klein will defend the accused. The trials will take place during July, and we will arrange to give to our readers a concise account of what takes place.

Chicago, Ill.—Five members of the Young People's Socialist League were arrested and held several days in police stations, where they were threatened with deportation and otherwise intimidated. The record books and minutes of the League were taken. The League has one thousand members and fourteen branches.

New York City—Many successful protest meetings have been held. At the last central committee meeting of Local Bronx, it was decided to issue 25-cent assessment stamps, provided to form a defense fund for the protection of those arrested during the campaign.

It was further decided that delegates to the state committee be instructed to move that the state committee instruct Meyer London to introduce a bill for the repeal of the conscription law, failing of which should result in preferring charges against him, with expulsion from the party. This motion was carried unanimously.

GENERAL ORDINANCE NO. 35. 1916

An ordinance relating to conduct of persons toward the government of the United States of America.

Be it ordained by the common council of the city of Indianapolis, Ind.:

Section 1. It shall be unlawful for any person in the presence or hearing of any other person, to do any act, make any sign or gesture, or say or write any word expressing disrespect or contempt for, defiance of, or disloyalty to, the government of the United States of America.

Sec. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person, in the presence or hearing of any person, to do any act, make any sign or gesture, or speak or write any scurrilous, indecent, vile or profane word or words concerning the President of the United States of America or, in time of war of the United States with any other country or government, word or words expressing disrespect or contempt for, defiance of, the President or the army or navy of the United States of America.

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person to publish or circulate, or transmit by mail or otherwise, or have in his possession for the purpose of publication, circulation, transmission by mail or otherwise, any written or printed matter, whether of words, signs or pictures, in any form, that expresses disrespect or contempt for, defiance of, or disloyalty to the government of the United States of America.

Sec. 4. It shall be unlawful, while a state of war exists between the United States of America and any other country, nation or government, for any person to publish, circulate or transmit by mail or otherwise, or have in his possession for the purpose of publishing, circulating or transmitting by mail or otherwise, any written or printed matter, whether word, sign or picture, in any form that expresses disrespect or contempt for, defiance of the President of the United States of America.

Sec. 5. It shall be unlawful to incite, urge or advise strikes or disturbances by or among the workmen in any factory, shop or mill or other concern making any munition or munitions for the government of the United States of America or the allies of the United States or in any factory, shop or mill which in time of war has been offered to the service of the United States, or in any factory, shop or mill engaged in the manufacture of food or drug

THOU SHALT NOT
EAT, DRINK, SMOKE, READ, CHEW, ENJOY,
SMILE, LAUGH, WRITE, CREATE;
THOU SHALT DO
ONLY THAT WHICH IS PRESCRIBED
BY LAW.



THE NEW TEN COMMANDMENTS.

—Plaschke in the Louisville Times.

products, in time of war, or in any public utility or public service company, in time of war, where such strike or disturbance might tend to embarrass or interfere in any way with the carrying out of purposes of the United States, or in any way assist or encourage the enemies of the United States.

Sec. 6. Any person violating any of the provisions of this ordinance, upon conviction, shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$300, to which may be added imprisonment for a term of not exceeding six months.

Sec. 7. This ordinance shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage and publication in the *Indiana Daily Times* for two weeks successively.

State of Indiana, Marion County, City of Indianapolis—ss.

I, Thomas A. Riley, clerk of the city of Indianapolis, Ind., do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a full, true and complete copy of the general ordinance No. 35, 1917, and that said ordinance was passed by the common council of the thirtieth day of April, 1917, and was signed and approved by the mayor on the seventh day of May, 1917, and now remains on file and record in my office.

Witness my hand and the official seal of the city of Indianapolis, Ind., this eighth day of May, 1917.

[Seal]

THOMAS A. RILEY,
City Clerk.

Mass-Action in Holland

By H. ROLLAND HOLST

I

IN THE midst of the most severe winter Europe ever saw for twenty-seven years the proletariat of all countries combines in one desperate brotherhood of need and misery. Central and "Allied" Social Patriots and Revolutionists, Nationalists and Internationalists, "Warrant and Neutral" workers,—they all feel now-until in their very bones the painful results of the war; they all are complaining; they all are cursing the rulers who brought this immense suffering to mankind.

The Dutch proletariat gets its share of the common misery. Politically weak as a result of the Nationalistic reform tactics of the official Socialist Party (opposed by the Social Democratic Party, composed of the Left Wing Socialists), which killed class consciousness, and gave up its independence, morally weakened by accepting public charity, which accustomed it to beg, instead of to fight,—bodily weakened by chronic underfeeding, it is now forced to fight for a living or to suffer starvation.

The workers of Holland, at least large groups of workers, did not take advantage of many opportunities for partial fighting in the last two years. When the war stimulated the production in a great number of industries, either for the inland market or for the warring countries; when agriculture and many industries had a period of great, tho abnormal, prosperity, it had been the right moment to start actions for considerable wage increases, as f. i. was done by the English workers even during the war. At that time industrial strikes would have been effective. Now that time has passed. Hypnotized by the idea of civil peace, urged by its leaders to be careful and patient, the greater part of the organized workers missed the opportunity.

And nobody knows when this opportunity will come again.

At this very moment conditions for partial strikes, for economic strikes, fail. Navigation has been stopped; at the harbors reigns death; every day more factories are closed; the unemployment increases to immense proportions.

At present there only remains one remedy for the proletariat: unity of action, mass action. If it wants to act now in separate groups, then it is weak as a child, helpless and powerless; but if the masses come to action, they have the power to make the ruling class tremble, to force the capitalists and to end the war.

"Necessity knows no law," is often quoted since the beginning of the war. Necessity will prove not even to know any ideology, nor any principle dictated by nationalism. Necessity will turn upside down the difference in the working class and unite her dissipated troops irresistibly into the *army of the revolution*.

II

THE STRIKE

The fact that revolutionary tactics are required under the present conditions will have become clear to many of us. Also, that revolutionary tactics mean victims. The main point, however, is to make our sacrifices as effective as possible in regard to our final victory, as well as our immediate demands, the prevention of hunger. And this is possible if the working class realizes in what sphere it is able to develop the highest power, a power sufficient to enforce concessions from the ruling class.

We need not emphasize that this is in the sphere of production.

The strike is the tool of concentrated power of the working class in our modern society, the tool that replaces the more primitive and rough methods of former periods: local riots and plunderings. Strikes properly conducted with quiet power, without utter violence and disorder, not giving an opportunity to the military power to kill the unarmed masses, can paralyze the violence of the ruling class, can destroy the network of laws.

We stated some days ago that as a general proposition this is an unfavorable period for partial movements. But this does not mean that for some kinds of labor the circumstances should not be favorable just at this time to wage a fight in the interest of the whole working class. If these groups

had the understanding and the will, they could force the government to a considerable extent to comply with the demands of the revolutionary Socialist Committee (formed by the Left Wing Socialists of the minority party, the S. D. P. and the Syndicalists).

Foremost among those categories are the railway workers. What power could be developed just now in the winter when all transport by water is impossible? A strong and noble deed of the railroad workers would change the whole situation considerably. If they refused to carry the foodstuffs to Germany, if they declared in favor of some of the most pressing demands of the revolutionary Socialist Committee: embargo on and confiscation of foodstuffs, doubling of the bread rations for the workers, etc.; that would mean a panic among the bourgeoisie and the government and new courage, self-consciousness and gay excitement among the proletariat.

And the railroad workers are by no

means the only ones that could bring pressure on the authorities. The mine workers, who are of so great importance under present conditions, could as well exercise influence by a political (or class) strike. The municipal workers in the big cities, the workers on street cars, gas plants, power houses, waterworks, could have a great influence, if only they got into action, if they supported the general demands by mass strikes.

Any act of resistance under present conditions is of advantage. Any public demonstration exercises a certain pressure and, therefore, is of great value. But all such separate and loose actions do not have the power to enforce from the rulers food and coal and clothes for the working class.

This can only be accomplished by a refusal of the workers to work until these necessities of life are guaranteed.

(Translated from the Dutch *Tribune*, the daily of the social democratic minority [S. D. P.] in Holland.)

A German Deserter's War Experience

The following are extracts from *A German Deserter's War Experience*, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York, at \$1.00 net. The author is a socialist internationalist. His book is non-partisan so far as the warring nations are concerned. He hates German war as he hates all war. He spent fourteen months in every kind of fighting before he was able to escape. A wonderful book which ought to be read by every workingman in America. For sale at this office.

A SUBDUED signal of alarm fetched us out of our "beds" at 3 o'clock in the morning. The company assembled, and the captain explained to us the war situation. He informed us that we had to keep ready to march, that he himself was not yet informed about the direction. Scarcely half an hour later fifty large traction motors arrived and stopped in the road before our quarters. But the drivers of these wagons, too, knew no particulars and had to wait for orders. The debate about our nearest goal was resumed. The orderlies, who had snapped up many remarks of the officers, ventured the opinion that we would march into Belgium the very same day; others contradicted them. None of us could know anything for certain. But the order to march did not arrive, and in the evening all of us could lie down again on our straw. But it was a short rest. At 1 o'clock in the morning an alarm aroused us again, and the captain honored us with an address. He told us we

were at war with Belgium, that we should acquit ourselves as brave soldiers, earn iron crosses, and do honor to our German name. Then he continued somewhat as follows: "We are making war only against the armed forces; that is, the Belgium army. The lives and property of civilians are under the protection of international treaties, international law, but you soldiers must not forget that it is your duty to defend your lives as long as possible for the protection of your Fatherland, and to sell them as dearly as possible. We want to prevent useless shedding of blood as far as the civilians are concerned, but I want to remind you that a too great considerateness borders on cowardice, and cowardice in face of the enemy is punished very severely."

After that "humane" speech by our captain we were "laden" into the automobiles, and crossed the Belgian frontier on the morning of August 5th. In order to give special solemnity to that "historical" moment we had to give three cheers.

At no other moments the fruits of military education have presented themselves more clearly before my mind. The soldier is told, "The Belgian is your enemy," and he has to believe it. The soldier, the workman in uniform, had not known till then who was his enemy. If they had told us, "The Hollander is your enemy," we would have believed that, too; we would have been compelled to believe it, and would have shot him by order. We, the "German citizens in uniform," must not have an opinion of our own, must have no thoughts of our own, for they give us our enemy and our friend according to requirements, according to the requirements of their own interests. The Frenchman, the Belgian, the Italian, is your enemy. Never mind, shoot as we order, and do not bother your head about it. You have duties to perform, perform them, and for the rest—cut it out!

Those were the thoughts that tormented my brain when crossing the Belgian frontier. And to console myself, and so as to justify before my own conscience the murderous trade that had been thrust upon me, I tried to persuade myself that tho I had no Fatherland to defend, I had to defend a home and protect it from devastation. But it was a weak consolation, and did not even outlast the first few days.

* * * * *

We now advanced quickly, but our participation was no longer necessary, for the whole line of the enemy retired and then faced us again, a mile and a quarter southwest of Sommepey. Sommepey itself was burning for the greater part, and its streets were practically covered with the dead. The enemy's artillery was still bombarding the place, and shells were falling all around us. Several hundred prisoners were gathered in the market-place. A few shells fell at the same time among the prisoners, but they had to stay where they were. An officer of my company, Lieutenant of the Reserve Neesen, observed humanely that that could not do any harm, for thus the French got a taste of their own shells. He was rewarded with some cries of shame. A Socialist comrade, a reservist, had the pluck to cry aloud, "Do you hear that, comrades? That's the noble sentiment of an exploiter; that fellow is the son of an Elberfeld capitalist and his father is a sweating-den keeper of the worst sort. When you get home again do not forget what this

capitalist massacre has taught you. Those prisoners are proletarians, are our brethren, and what we are doing here in the interest of that gang of capitalist crooks is a crime against our own body; it is murdering our own brothers!" He was going to continue talking, but the sleuths were soon upon him and he was arrested. He threw down his gun with great force; then he quietly suffered himself to be led away.

All of us were electrified. Not one spoke a word. One suddenly beheld quite a different world. We had a vision which kept our imagination prisoner. Was it true, what we had heard—that those prisoners were not our enemies at all, that they were our brothers? That which formerly—O how long ago might that have been!—in times of peace, had appeared to us as a matter of course had been forgotten; in war we had regarded our enemies as our friends and our friends as our enemies. Those words of the Elberfeld comrade had lifted the fog from our brains and from before our eyes. We had again a clear view; we could recognize things again.

One looked at the other and nodded without speaking; each one felt that the brave words of our friend had been a boon to us, and none could refrain from inwardly thanking and appreciating the bold man. The man in front of me, who had been a patriot all along, as far as I knew, but who was aware of my views, pressed my hand, saying: "Those few words have opened my eyes; I was blind; we are friends. Those words came at the proper time." Others again I heard remark: "You can't surpass Schotes; such a thing requires more courage than all of us together possess. For he knew exactly the consequences that follow when one tells the truth. Did you see the last look he gave us? That meant as much as, 'Don't be concerned about me; I shall fight my way through to the end. Be faithful workers; remain faithful to your class!'"

* * * * *

On that day I was commanded to mount guard and was stationed with the camp guard. At that place arrested soldiers had to call to submit to the punishment inflicted on them. Among them were seven soldiers who had been sentenced to severe confinement which consisted in being tied up for two hours.

The officer on guard ordered us to tie the

"criminals" to trees in the neighborhood. Every arrested soldier had to furnish for that purpose the rope with which he cleaned his rifle. The victim I had to attend to was sapper Lohmer, a good Socialist. I was to tie his hands behind his back, wind the loose end of the rope round his chest, and tie him with his back towards the tree. In that position my comrade was to stand for two hours, exposed to the mockery of officers and sergeants. But Comrade Lohmer had been marching with the rest of us in a broiling sun for a whole day, had all night fought and murdered for the dear Fatherland which was now giving him thanks by tying him up with a rope.

I went up to him and told him that I would not tie him to the tree. "Do it, man," he tried to persuade me; "if you don't do it another one will. I shan't be cross with you, you know."—"Let others do it; I won't fetter you."

The officer, our old friend Lieutenant Spahn, who was getting impatient, came up to us. "Can't you see that all the others have been seen to? How long do you expect me to wait?" I gave him a sharp look, but did not answer. Again he bellowed out the command to tie my comrade to the tree. I looked at him for a long time and did not deign him worthy of an answer. He then turned to the "criminal," who told him that I could not get myself to do the job as we were old comrades and friends. Besides, I did not want to fetter a man who was exhausted and dead tired. "So

you won't do it?" he thundered at me, and when again he received no reply—for I was resolved not to speak another word to the fellow—he hissed, "That b—— is a Red to the marrow!" I shall never in my life forget the look of thankfulness that Lohmer gave me; it rewarded me for the unpleasantness I had in consequence of my refusal. Of course others did what I refused to do; I got two weeks' confinement. Naturally I was proud at having been a man for once at least. As a comrade I had remained faithful to my mate. Yet I had gained a point. They never ordered me again to perform such duty, and I was excluded from the guard that day. I could move about freely and be again a free man for a few hours.

The evening I got off I employed to undertake a reconnoitering expedition thru the surrounding country in the company of several soldiers. We spoke about the various incidents of the day and the night, and, to the surprise, I daresay, of every one of us, we discovered that very little was left of the overflowing enthusiasm and patriotism that had seized so many during the first days of the war. Most of the soldiers made no attempt to conceal the feeling that we poor devils had absolutely nothing to gain in this war, that we had only to lose our lives or, which was still worse, that we should sit at some street corner as crippled "war veterans," trying to arouse the pity of passers-by by means of some squeaking organ.



FILLING THE SUGAR-BOWL

By MARGARET STARR



AT BREAKFAST this morning, when your cup of steaming coffee, with its delightful aroma, was placed beside your plate, you mechanically took the sugar-bowl and put one or two spoonfuls of its contents, according to taste, into your coffee cup. If you had breakfast food, that meant one or two spoonfuls of sugar more.

At lunch, maybe, you had occasion to pick up this same sugar-bowl again, and when the dinner-hour arrived it again appeared on the table with its usual attendant, the cream pitcher. Children, especially, seem to have a way of doubling up on the spoonfuls when the sugar-bowl passes them.

And now the bowl is empty. We must refill it. Come with me to the Hawaiian Islands and we will replenish the empty jar where they are accustomed to think and speak of sugar in the terms of tons.

Not much trouble to keep the sugar-bowl filled there, you think. But you find the same old problem confronting the ordinary family here which has to divide up its wages with the groceryman—the conveniently located plantation store—the market

man, milk man, et cetera,—just as you do.

People from various parts of the world have been imported, as it were, to bring about this rapid and marvelous growth of the sugar industry in this portion of the earth's cane-growing territory. I shall speak of this island alone—Hawaii—larger than all the other islands together, in the group of five (large ones) composing the Hawaiian Islands and lying farthest south and nearest the equator.

Oahu, on which Honolulu is situated, is better known to the world. In fact, the prevalent knowledge of these islands organized as the Territory of Hawaii is the city of Honolulu and the island on which it stands and a few small outlying islands supposed to be of little or no importance. Little wonder. No one ever hears much elsewhere of anything or any place except Honolulu.

In the dim, uncertain light of early morning these Hawaiian workers begin wending their way to different parts of the cane fields to work. It is a nondescript army with leaders, usually consisting of overseers and inspectors or supervisors of spe-

cial work being done; the teamsters' brigade with its mules reminds one of the old south. Then there is the ploughing company with its gears a-clanging; the hoeing division, cane-cutters' division, which goes armed with knives about a foot and a half long, the blades being broader at the tip and growing proportionately narrower toward the hilt, and the women's division, which is said to do the *easy* work, such as planting cane and occasionally hoeing.

Here and there, to break the rank and file, young boys and a few girls, especially during vacation, are serving their first enlistment, likewise performing *easy* work. A kind of uniform, adapted to conditions, is worn, which consists of an oilcloth coat, a rainproof duplicate of the hat in similar cloth to be put over it during rain; leggings of coarse cloth serving a double purpose to protect the lower limbs from the sharp cane leaves and to prevent wear and tear on the clothing. For the most part this army does not have to consider the shoe problem; it goes barefoot. Many, especially the women, use a white cloth, big handkerchief size, tucked under a small stiff-brim hat, falling below the neck and around the shoulders.

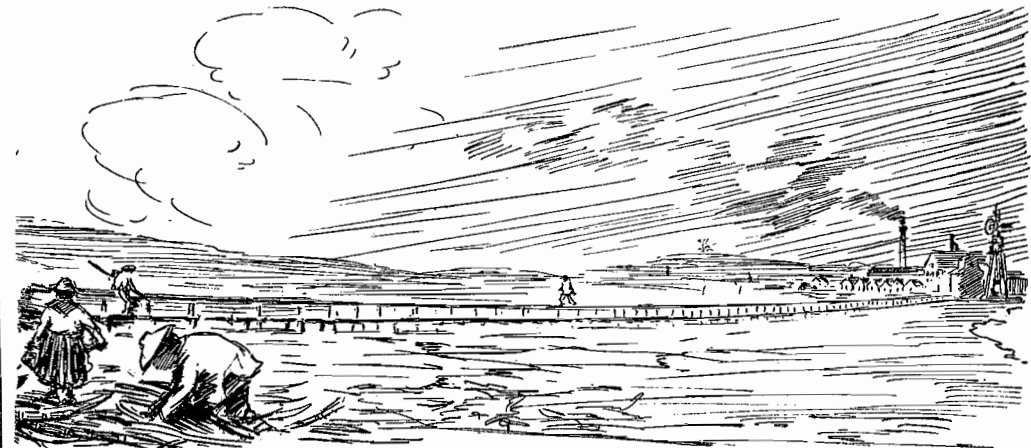
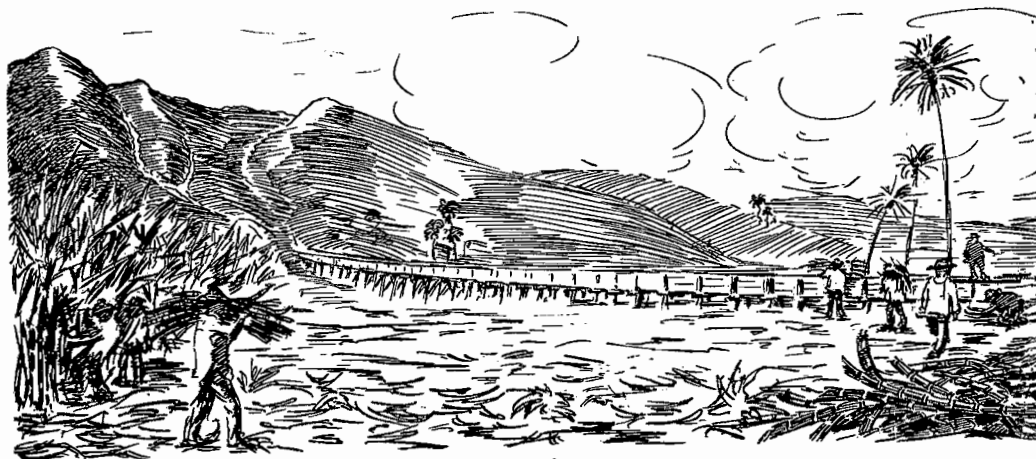
Nevertheless, these toiling ones are wet almost all day, anyway, from excessive perspiration, particularly those in the old cane. The air is close; stalks taller than a man's head prevent the cool, never-failing sea breeze from striking them in the cane depths. Besides, the cane itself is more or less wet, the leaves retaining much moisture from rains, and it rains almost nightly. Working in the cane brings down the drops like a fairy shower.

The plantation time is regulated by the sun the year 'round. We are far enough north of the equator to notice quite a deal of difference in the length of June and December days. Railroads, schools, offices, etc., have the same time regulation as the states. Plantation time is arranged thus: it is always fifteen minutes to 6 a. m. when the sun peeps above the horizon of the Pacific. It is a "saving daylight" scheme that affords the workers a little more recreation, at this season of the year, or time to till their own small gardens after an already long day of toil.

Men working day labor start at 5:45 and finish at 4:15, with thirty minutes for lunch at 11:30. If it is contract work, they can quit when they feel like it. Different nationalities have different rates of wages, the reason being that Asiatics or Asian coast islanders can live upon less than European laborers, viz.: Portuguese, Spanish and Porto Rican, cutting cane at \$24 per month, while Filipinos and Japanese get \$20.

Since the highwater mark in the price of sugar was brought about by the European dance of death, which left the sugar beet a standing industrial wall flower, a bonus system of wages has been inaugurated on the plantations thruout the island. Market quotations played around \$130 per ton for a long while. I believe \$128 and some cents is the highest report I have seen. About two years and a little more ago it was down to \$64. But I have been told by a well-known engineer in the sugar mills that we could afford to grow and grind cane even if sugar sold for as low as \$60 per ton.

It costs now, on an average, fifty and some odd dollars to produce a ton of sugar



—perhaps around \$55. A casual reference to the market quotations will give an idea of present profits. Not bad. This compares favorably with the munitions plants. The bonus system began April 1. For every dollar sugar is over \$70 per ton the laborers get 1½ per cent, but only 20 per cent is paid monthly and the balance is to be paid October 31. Laborers must work at least twenty days per month. If sickness overtakes one, he gets certain marks to signify the same and is paid the per cent, tho he has not been able to work much. So there is the bonus monthly, no matter on what date he begins work, and also an annual bonus on the months he has twenty days. Of course, the bonus system does not apply to the other great industries here, pineapple, etc.

About forty-five tons of cane are produced on an acre in this port of the Hawaiian Islands, which in turn yields about six tons of sugar. Cost per acre—planting, cultivating, fluming—averages \$90. If it be the first crop, it costs \$110; but if second, only \$70. The shoots from the old cane of first crop when stalks were cut in harvesting furnish the second crop. No planting need be done. After the fourth crop all is plowed up and replanted. The yield after the fourth crop from the same planting does not pay well. Altho I know one man who did not plow till after nine crops had been harvested from the original planting. Great care was given this cane to produce so long.

May finds this sugary sap at its *sweetest* time—practical proof is the output. This is the island of Hawaii for which I speak, not Oahu or any of the other islands. What I have given respecting yield, cost, etc., is the prevailing standard here. My time has been spent on this island. Irrigation, a necessity, I believe, on Oahu and mostly elsewhere, is an added expense. On Hawaii on the windward side, which is the northeast, the ideal has been reached for sugar-cane raising—newer soil, moisture sufficient for growth, and water in abundance to flume the cane from the fields down to the mills.

Hilo, the center of the sugar cane lands and second largest city, ranking next to Honolulu, is given in the Hawaiian geographies "as the rainiest city in the world." It has about 10,000 inhabitants. This is the island, and the only one in the territory, where volcanoes are burning. As you may

know, a lava flow occurred the latter part of May. By far the most part of the island is hard lava rock yet, you see; but the weathering agents have certainly converted the windward side—the rainy portion—into "broad acres." The opposite side is much drier—desert in some places. Coffee, known on the market as Kona coffee, is raised there, and it ranks as one of the world's best-flavored coffees, tho little known.

The plantations here have from about 900 to 1,200 employed, including contract workers. Camps are mostly arranged in groups according to nationalities: the Filipino camp on one slope, Portuguese on an adjoining one, Japanese on still another, etc.

A rather novel basic formation was chosen for building most houses on this particular plantation in the form of the letter T, two rooms about 10x12 with a half window (sliding back and forth) at each end, and a similar window arrangement in each at the front and also a door—three rooms if for a larger family—together with a veranda full length of this compose the horizontal bar of the letter.

All camp houses are whitewashed and cost about \$250 when complete. Lumber is expensive here—five cents a board foot—and practically all is imported, principally northwest pine. They have the same kind of houses for all nationalities, with this exception: that the Japanese have a "wash-house" (hot water bath house) allotted to every so many homes.

The plantations furnish, in addition to the homes, medical attendance and wood, sometimes wooden beds and benches. By way of parenthesis, this wood is the beautiful koa—Hawaiian mahogany—which is very hard and takes a fine polish, showing rich dark lines full of light and shadows, and a fine beauty of grain. It doesn't burn very well, however, being too hard, but it is the easiest to get to in these rough lava-rock canyons and hills and also most of the trees are past maturity for the best furniture wood.

In an equable climate like this, and it isn't enervating as it is in the West Indies and Central America where I have lived, I have often found homes in camps transformed into beautiful little spots; the yard a riot of flowers and variegated shrubbery, all of which grow wild and luxuriantly in this tropical land. It gives you the heart-ache—this struggle of life to express itself

in beauty—in flowers which can be had for the collecting and care. Here the people lay hold of the material at hand and a bit of

mother earth yields up fragrance and loveliness, all showing the taste and ingenuity of the individuals.

THOUGHTS ABOUT RUSSIA

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

THE most fascinating thing in the world just now in Russia. One day the news from there is glorious. The next day it is depressing. The third day it is doubtful. No first-born of anxious parents was ever watched so eagerly as is this infant nation by a distracted world. What is Russia going to do? How will it emerge from its present struggles? What system will its social and economic life be governed by when finally it is free from its old trappings? These are the unspoken questions in the heart of every rebel the world over.

Tho it is risky to attempt comment on the movements of any people 5,000 miles away, it appears that Russia is the battleground in a struggle for mastery between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the employer and the workingman, between the forces that want a republic controlled by business men and those that demand an industrial democracy.

The autocracy does not figure any more. The reason the Russian autocracy vanished so suddenly was because it never existed in fact. It was simply a mental concept. It had no power other than that bestowed upon it by the imagination of the Russian people. When the masses no longer conceded any power to it, it had none. It simply dissolved like the chimera it was.

There is a lesson for us all here. The kind of a revolution we need first is a revolution in the minds of men and women. Economic development always makes physical conditions ripe for a change long before the brains of human beings catch up with the process. For aught we know, we could sweep away capitalism tomorrow if the working people were *mentally* prepared to do it.

We all hope for the best from Russia, but we must make up our minds not to expect too much from it. Because the Russian workers have won political liberty, it does not follow that they have achieved industrial freedom.

The news from Petrograd on the day this was written was to the effect that in

a municipal election [take note] the Socialists were victorious. Of course, we cannot altogether trust the dispatches from Petrograd, since most of the foreign correspondents there are probably ignorant of social movements. But if this news is accurate, it is not very comforting. It indicates that the Russian comrades, in constructing a new regime, are making use of the old-fashioned, futile political machinery which is in bad enough odor even in political democracies like the United States, England and France.

Let us pause here a moment and think over these fundamentals:

It is not the business of revolutionists to elect governors or mayors or sheriffs or pound-keepers to fill the seats left open in the machinery of a republican form of government, which, as experience shows, is abundantly suited to capitalism, but to organize a new world.

In erecting the framework of this new society, we must organize from the bottom upward.

The unit of that new society will be not the municipal council, not the political cabinet, not even the Socialist party branch, but the *labor union*.

We no longer need a government of persons, but an administration of things.

Modern nations no longer have their bases in political subdivisions, but in industrial organizations.

The congress, the parliament, the council, of the future must be composed not of representatives from states or provinces or districts or counties, but of representatives from industries.

It is the business of the producers and distributors of the modern world to maintain not a political but an *industrial* democracy.

Russia may be merely experimenting till she finds herself. She may show us some things yet. But let us hope, for the sake of Russia's working men and women, that they won't wake up to find that they have destroyed a brutal autocracy and replaced it with a greedy capitalism.



LEFT TO RIGHT—RENA MOONEY, TOM MOONEY, ED. NOLAN, W. K. BILLINGS, ISRAEL WEINBERG.

They Are Building the Gallows

By ROBERT MINOR

IT HAS been proven that Tom Mooney was framed up. We who are interesting ourselves in his case were glad, after our long and terrible struggle, when we were able to offer the public the absolute and unquestioned proof that Mooney's conviction was the result of perjury bought and paid for. We were glad to be able to silence arguments with actual letters in the handwriting of the chief perjury conspirator, which letters tell in black and white that Mooney's death is sought by false testimony. We have silenced argument.

Franklin A. Griffin, the judge who pronounced the death sentence upon Mooney, has angrily demanded that Mooney be given another trial, free of perjury. The newspapers which formerly demanded his blood have now ceased to call for Mooney's death, and two of them are demanding that the disgraceful conviction be undone.

All of California and American Labor has ceased to discuss personal differences and has demanded in one tremendous voice that Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Billings, Weinberg and Nolan be freed. Every national figure in the labor movement of the United States is active now in behalf of the humble labor unionists in the jail of San Francisco.

Prominent citizens of California have done the same.

The American ambassador to Russia has quieted the turbulent crowds of Petrograd by assuring them that Mooney is not yet hanged.

Chief Justice Angellotti of the California Supreme Court has pronounced the unanimous verdict of that tribunal that the evidence against Oxman, the chief perjurer against Mooney, is overwhelming and that he must stand trial for the felony.

Our cause is vindicated.

And yet, across the beautiful bay of San

Francisco, in the penitentiary yards of San Quentin, they are building a gallows for Tom Mooney.

The attorney-general says that he would like to comply with Judge Griffin's request that Mooney's life be not taken until a jury has passed upon the perjury proof,—but *there is a technical objection!* "The official record of the case does not show any error." The Oxman letters are "not officially included in the record."

A man is under sentence of death; the gallows are being built. The proof of his innocence is at hand. Will the man be saved? There is a technical objection. It would violate the official record

* * *

Rena Mooney is now on trial for her life. The same witnesses are to be used against her as were used against Tom Mooney—and who were then proven perjurers. They are officially recognized as witnesses and have been subpoenaed in the regular form. None of them has been convicted of perjury—not in recent times, at least. If they were perjurers, wouldn't the official prosecutor (who induced them to give their testimony, by telling them of the reward they would get)—wouldn't he prosecute them?

So they are still witnesses in the eyes of the law.

Rena Mooney is facing the same prosecutor who said he was going to have F. E. Rigall give testimony against Tom Mooney which he now admits he knew would have been perjury. The prosecutor says that he is going to have Oxman, who wrote the letters soliciting perjury, testify against Rena Mooney.

Every witness who has claimed to implicate Rena Mooney has been either held to answer a perjury conspiracy charge or else proven by the police chief and inspector of Oakland, by several other witnesses, by the police records, by photographs and by THEIR OWN CONFESSION to have lied in the Billings and Tom Mooney trials.

There are no witnesses against Rena Mooney who have not been discredited, unless new ones have since been employed.

Why is Rena Mooney, then, forced to face a murder trial? Because she has been officially indicted. The story upon which she was indicted has long ago been discarded as absurd and admitted to be false. But she was officially indicted.

In the so-called Hall of Justice they are asking men today whether they would be willing to hang Rena Mooney on circumstantial evidence. Those who would be willing are made into a jury and sworn to respect the law and hang Rena Mooney, if the official records warrant it.

* * *

The letters which Oxman wrote to Ed. Rigall are as follows:

Mr. Ed. Rigall,
Grayville III

Dear Ed has ben a Long time sence I hurd from you I have a chance for you to cum to San Frisco as a Expurt Wittness in a very important case you will only hafta anseur 3 & 4 questiones and I will Post you on them you will get mileage and all that a witness can draw Probly 100 in the clearr so if you will come ans me quick in care of this Hotel and I will manage the Balance it is all ok but I need a wittness Let me no if you can come Jan 3 is the dait set for trile Pleas keep this confidential Answer hear

Yours Truly

F. C. OXMAN

Dec 18, 1916

Mr. F. E. Rigall
Grayville II

Dear Ed

Your Telegram Received I will wire you Transportation in Plenty of time allso Expce money will Route you by Chicago Omaha U. P. Ogden S P. to San Frisco I thought you can make the Trip and see California and save a letle money As you will Be alowed to collect 10c Per mile from the state which will Be about 200 Besids I can get your Expences and you will only hafta Say you seen me on July 22 in San Frisco and that will Be Easey dun. I will try and meet you on the wa out and Tolk it over the state of California will Pay you but I will attend to the Expces The case wont come up untill Jan 3 or 4 1917 so start about 29 off this month

you know that the silent Road is the one and say nuthing to any Body the fewer People no it the Better when you ariv Registure as Evansville Ind little more milege.

Yours Truly

F. C. OXMAN

Mrs. J. D. Riggal (mother of Ed. Rigall)
Grayville

Dear Mrs Rigal

As I am sending Ed Transpertation to morrow 26 it might be that I can use you also about the 10. if so I can obtain you a ticket that you can see California if you would like the Trip Adrees me care this Hotell tell F. E. to say nuthing untill he see me can probly use a Extry witness Been a long time I dont see you

Yours Truly

F. C. OXMAN

* * *

Rigall has given the full story, explaining that Assistant District Attorney Edward A. Cunha, Police Lieutenant Stephen Bunner and Oxman took him to the scene of the crime and there instructed him as to what he was to swear. The officials and Oxman disputed for quite a while about the best time for Rigall to claim to have seen Mooney and the others at the place; they finally decided to make it fifteen or twenty minutes to two, and told Rigall to swear to that. Oxman afterwards swore that it was "fifteen to twenty minutes to two."

Rigall heard District Attorney Fickert tell Oxman that \$16,000 would be split between the "witnesses." Oxman told Rigall that the money would be apportioned according to which witness gave the strongest testimony. Rigall went with Lieutenant Bunner and Oxman to see Weinberg's jitney bus and saw the number plate of the automobile taken out and shown to Oxman, for him to write the "memorandum" of its number to use afterwards with such deadly effect on the witness stand. Rigall was told to sit down and study the appearance of the car, so that he could swear that he saw it at the scene of the crime.

* * *

Inspector William H. Smith of the Oakland Police Department is the officer who brought Mrs. Mellie Edeau to the San Francisco jail to see whether she could identify Mooney and Billings. His official report reads as follows:

"July 28.—Took Mrs. Sadie Edeau of 4106 Bayo street to San Francisco to see if she could identify Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings as the men she saw at Market and Steuart streets with suitcases; failed to identify them."

"January 31.—Went to San Francisco

to see District Attorney Fickert He wanted me to corroborate the testimony of Mrs. Sadie Edeau in the Thomas Mooney bomb case. Could not testify in case. She failed to identify Thomas Mooney or Warren K. Billings, July 28, 1916, the day I took her to the city prison in San Francisco to see them. She told me it was at Steuart and Market street where she saw them and now claims it was at 721 Market street, San Francisco."

* * *

When Inspector Smith refused to corroborate Mrs. Edeau and told Fickert that the woman was perjuring herself, District Attorney replied:

"Keep your mouth shut. You would make a good witness for the defense."

Inspector Smith, with Chief Peterson, Attorney Tom O'Connor and Fremont Older, editor of the *Bulletin*, went to Oakland to ask Mrs. Edeau about her conflicting stories. Mrs. Edeau tried to kill Tom O'Connor with a revolver. Then she admitted that she had first told a vastly different tale from her later testimony and had changed it to fit the state's case, under the coaching influence of Policeman Draper Hand. Then Mrs. Edeau lapsed into incoherence and said that "her soul told her" the men were guilty when she "looked into the brown eyes of her dear dead husband."

Thomas Stout, William Burgess and Mrs. Muriel Stewart, fellow employees of Mrs. Edeau, have made affidavit that Mrs. Edeau first told them a different story and later changed it, saying, "What's the difference, so long as you get paid for it."

But Mrs. Edeau and Oxman are official witnesses against Rena Mooney.

Assistant District Attorney Edward Cunha has at one time begged not to be prosecuted for the Oxman perjury conspiracy. He said, with tears in his eyes, "I know that I'm on the dump heap for the rest of my life, but if you think you're going to get me in jail you are mistaken." He also said, "The Oxman-Rigall affair does not bother me as much as the jury situation in the (Tom) Mooney case; that is the situation that troubles my conscience."

Cunha is now prosecuting Rena Mooney.

Gaetano Malpiede, bailiff in the court, was caught putting a fraudulent juror into Rena Mooney's jury. He has been discharged after admitting that he wrote the name of Daniel Kelley over that of a real

juror and thus got Kelley in as the first man sworn. Malpiede is a bosom friend of Assistant District Attorney Fred Berry.

In the investigation of this affair it was accidentally brought out that despite a court order that the jury personnel be kept secret the slips with the jurymen's names on them had been stolen overnight and held in the possession of Berry, who had copies made of them for "investigation" purposes. Thus jury tampering has been proven,—fraud against the life of Rena Mooney!

Had such a thing been done by the defense, it would have been cause for a general arrest of all attorneys and friends of

Rena Mooney. But the prosecution did it.

Rufus Patterson, admitted gunman for the Chamber of Commerce, who had been convicted of perjury to "frame up" a man in a strike, has been freed from jail in consideration of his writing a letter to District Attorney Fickert stating that Tom Mooney told him he was going to blow up the jail. Patterson confessed that Fickert had dictated the letter to him. Later, Patterson repudiated the confession and Fickert secured his release.

But there will probably be other "witnesses" who can not be caught until after Rena Mooney is hanged.

All Europe Eyes Socialist Moves

By Rene Arcos

(Special Correspondence of The Chicago Daily News.)

Berne, Switzerland, May 10.—It would be puerile to deny the importance of the meeting which representatives of international Socialism are about to hold in Stockholm. That all belligerent countries are interested in it is proved by the numerous articles devoted to the subject by the press everywhere. Socialism, at the beginning of the war, lost much of its influence. It is again to become a great power, a power with which it will be well to reckon hereafter, and it is but natural to see each group of the adversaries seeking to secure this new factor for its own. Every force of mind and matter has been thrown successively into the present conflict, which has no precedent under the sun. Art, science, religion, philosophy and ethics have gradually become a means of combat. The very current of prayer has been turned to irrigate this new ideal.

Russia Helps Socialistic Move

International Socialism, which is more-over divided, seems to have a growing tendency to escape the control of the leaders of the world war. It is visible that the minority Socialist party, which is opposed to the continuation of the war and partisan to the resumption of international relations, is daily gaining ground. The recent vote of the French Socialist delegates who decided to attend the Stockholm congress is also significant. The pacifist action of minority Socialists throughout the world had but slight effect

till the Russian revolution; this revolution, however, appears to have given it an astonishing impulsion.

New Diplomats to the Fore

European governments so well understood the nature of the Russian revolution that they promptly dispatched the leaders of Socialism to take action with their Russian "Comrades." Old time diplomacy has taken a second place; a new era demands new methods and other men. But will these majority Socialists who rallied to the idea of pursuing the war to the finish succeed in their task? Their mission assumes a double rôle which menaces its final success. For the more they show themselves the faithful servants of the state by supporting their government in voting war credits and placing at its disposal their blood and wealth, the more will they be distrusted by the Russian radical revolutionists, who wish to enter into negotiations with their proletarian comrades and not with skilful diplomats.

"Patriotic diplomats" cannot but appear suspicious to them and Russians will ask themselves what they have in common with these men of whom formerly they were the collaborators in the International Socialist Congress. He who today desires to have an influence on the opponents of war in Russia must be able to prove that he has always been opposed to war and that he has never sustained

the imperialistic activity of his government, which has stirred up one people against another. With regard to the entente, this proof can be easily furnished. The French, English and Italian Socialists have ever shown themselves extremely hostile to all idea of militarism and of war.

Radical Germans Loyal Socialists

Among the central powers, the Socialists who make common cause with their governments are greatly compromised in the eyes of their Russian comrades and one may be certain that the representatives of the minority Socialists, who have been molested and condemned by the government leaders of Berlin and Vienna because of their radical convictions, would not work for the King of Prussia if they were sent to Stockholm, but rather as adversaries of war and for the "Internationale," the ideal which they maintain against the world at the price of any sacrifice.

If the Germans and the Austrians wish to obtain a result they must assure the Russians that the revolution of minds exists in their respective countries, that democracy is on the way to conquer the state; then, and then only, will they be permitted to draw from their portfolios the propositions of the governments whose downfall they promise.

The governments of all belligerent states are giving their close attention to

present events in Russia, events whose development seems to act outside of the influence of the official mandates sent to Russia by the different states.

Reichstag Men Meet Russians

The diplomatic game now being played in Russia, Scandinavia and even here in Switzerland is highly complicated, for confusion still reigns in the minds of the Russian revolutionists and every state is keenly interested in the decisions which will be made in the former empire of the Czar.

Several interviews, preparatory one might say, have recently taken place in Switzerland between Russian and German Socialists. French delegates, more or less authorized, are said to have attended these meetings. Three deputies from the Reichstag yesterday met Russian delegates in Geneva.

"General Peace" Is Object

If one is to believe the information I have received here from Swiss Socialists, of whom a number are to attend the Stockholm congress, the object of this congress is simply to prepare the ground for diplomacy, to find for it a form that will enable it to conclude peace. There can be no question of its purpose being to seek to facilitate the conclusion of a separate peace between Russia and Germany. The object in view is that of a "general peace."

Industrial Unionism

Labor's Only Answer to Imperialized Capital

By J. M. G.

THE movement towards increased combination of International Capital, for the purpose of securing the markets of the world and eliminating competition, has been foretold by many Socialist writers in the past. It is the historic role of modern capital. It must go on finding new markets for the increasing commodities produced by more perfected machinery. It could not be otherwise under a system of production for profit. But the inevitable end must come, for tho the

world is large, yet there is a limit to expansion, and when that limit is reached Capitalism will become disrupted.

The workers have to seriously consider, in view of the increased power which this combine will give to Capital, how to combat this menace. For it is a menace, and one that will wield the big club of coercion to keep the workers in subjection as wage slaves.

Their only hope is to organize industrially on a class basis. Craft Unions, with their

narrow outlook of getting concessions for themselves, leading to one Union scabbing on another, conserving their own interests in opposition to the workers as a class, looking upon the interests of Capital and Labor as identical, agreeing to arbitration courts, conciliation boards, and the many futile attempts to harmonize that conflict of interests which must go on without remission under a system where every tool required to produce the necessities of life are owned and controlled by a small section of society, while the larger portion of society have to compete against one another in the labor market for jobs, thus keeping wages at the line of bare subsistence.

No, Craft Unions won't do. They are obsolete and unable to deal with the mighty forces of capital; and powerless to free the workers from the tyranny of a system responsible for all the brutalizing condition of poverty, slums, drunkenness, war, and crimes of the vilest nature.

Craft Unions have played a useful part in the past under the simpler form of production, but are an obstacle to the organization of the growing body of semi-skilled workers, which the subdivision of labor is increasing very rapidly, owing to the perfecting of the tools of production.

Industrial Unionism is the negation of all that Craft Unionism stands for. It proposes to organize every worker of any industry in one Union, to organize them as a class, not only to force concessions from the employing class, but with the ultimate object of taking control of those industries.

The Industrial Union formed on a class conscious basis will be a compact, practical and revolutionary body, strong enough to enforce any demands from the employing class. It will recognize nothing in common with the capitalists, no trace between exploited and exploiter. It will realize that the workers produce the wealth of the world, and are compelled under the present system to hand the surplus value of what they produce over to the capitalist class, to be squandered in luxury and debauchery, while they are compelled to live in slums and hovels.

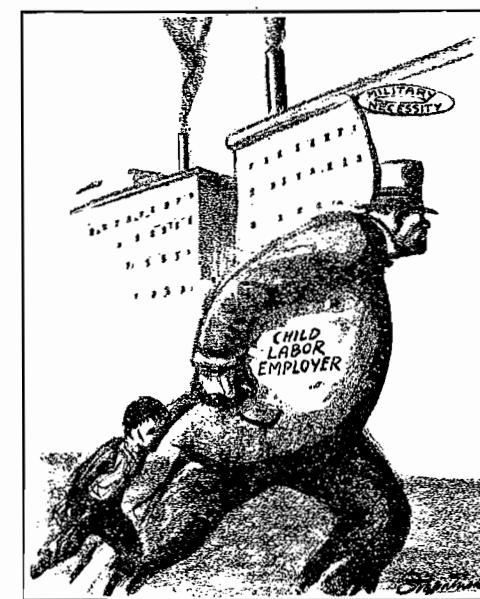
They will organize to take control and be masters of the tools, the great machinery of industry, by which they produce the wealth. Having control of these tools, they

will reap the full reward of their labor, own their jobs, and enjoy the wealth they create; thus eliminating that section in society of useless parasites who toil not nor spin.

Industrial Unionism is the only hope for the workers, the only means by which they can combat such a huge combine of capital as is forming, a combine that will have the material forces of the State to keep the workers toiling to produce wealth for the master class.

Let the workers pause and consider their position. Let them realize the enormous strides Capital is taking to consolidate its power, a power such as Labor has never had before arrayed against it. Do not be misled by Craft Union salary-conserving misleaders, whose only interest is to befog the workers into continuing in the old grooves of compromise.

Organize on these broad lines of class, and when strong enough form your own political party with the object of capturing the machinery of government; not for the purpose of administering it, but to abolish it and all class rule, and establish in its place the administration machinery, the same Industrial Union Committees, necessary for directing industry in the Co-operative Commonwealth.—*The International*.



—St. L. Post-Dispatch

MILITARY NECESSITY.

THE CAUSE OF WAR

By MARY MARCY

THE Profit System is the cause of all wars today. We are going to prove this to you so that you will recognize the facts even if you have never thought on the subject before in your life.

You know that all the coal mines, the oil wells, the railroads, the land, the packing companies, the shops and factories are owned by a few private millionaires. This is true of Germany, France, England, Belgium, Austria and America.

When you and I were born into the working class we found that just about all of the natural resources of the "civilized" nations, and the railroads, the shops and mills had been gobbled up by people who had been born before us. As we grew up we found that, after our parents had ceased to support us, the only way we could get money to buy food and clothes and shelter was by selling our strength of hand or brain to one of these groups of capitalists who owned the land and machinery with which food and clothes and houses were produced.

And there were hundreds of thousands of other propertyless men and women also looking for a master who would buy their strength and permit them to work in the shops and factories, making things for the shop and factory owners.

Because there were many men after each job, the bosses were able, and are still able, to buy our labor power for a *wage* that just about covered the cost of living. Now a *wage* means a *part*. For example, a miner digs \$15.00 worth of coal in a day (for the boss) and the boss pays him \$3.00 in wages, or a very small *part* of the value of his product. And the boss keeps the *product*. And so we have the *profit* or *Wage* System.

Now suppose there are 400,000 miners in the United States and all of them are paid \$3.00 a day for producing \$15.00 worth of coal; and suppose there are millions of factory and mill and shop and railroad workers *all* of whom are producing ten or fifteen or twenty dollars worth of wheat, or shoes, or houses, or service—for which they are only paid the small *part*, or *wage*, of \$2.00 or \$3.00 a day.

Now just imagine that all of the products

of the whole working class of this country for one month—the food, the clothing, the houses, etc., etc., could all be piled into one great big market place for sale. You would see on one side the *owners* of the things you *workers* had *made*, and their servants, nearly all the lawyers, judges, preachers, professors, editors, publishers. None of these people *produce anything*. They would all be on one side. And on the other side would be the whole productive, service-giving, working class.

Suppose the prices the idle, *owning* class asked for the things *you* had made in a month were all added up and printed on a huge price tag. And suppose you workers of this country all lined up with your wages for the month and added them together to see how many of the things you always need so badly—you could buy.

You would find that your total added wages would equal just about one-fourth or one-fifth of the value of the commodities you had altogether produced in a month, probably one-fifth of the price that the *owners* of your *products* asked for them.

After you had bought all your wages would buy, you would see that the millionaire capitalist class would divide a part of the surplus value with its servants—the editors, writers, law-makers, advertisers, managers, superintendents, etc., etc., by paying these people enormous salaries to keep the present system of profits running smoothly for their benefit.

The millionaire industrial capitalists would give a portion of the surplus (produced by the working class) to the middle class, the speculators, the merchants, the banker, the landlord. And then you would see that even after all this class of useless people had spent their salaries, or percentages, buying things from that huge market place (produced by *you* workers) there would still be a big portion of commodities left over.

And you would be unable to buy any more (of your products) because your wages would all be spent. And the professional classes, and the middle classes would be unable to buy any more, because their sal-

aries and incomes would all be spent. And the millionaire owners would have used all they could possibly eat, or wear, or sleep in, or squander—and there would still remain an enormous amount of your products still undisposed of.

Probably you would be wearing cheap, sweatshop clothes and paper-soled shoes, or faded dresses and thin cloaks for the cold; probably you are forced to eat cheap food and tough meats and drink imitation coffee and sleep in basements or tenements.

And you could look right over on that huge market place and see all the left-over, unsold products of the working class: good clothes, leather shoes, rich food.

And this is what the very wise (?) editors (who are owned by the capitalist class) call "over-production."

Think it over. I am willing to wager a dollar to a doughnut you can find the cure for "Over-production" out of your own head.

Picture to yourself the whole working class standing before that market place with all its wages spent—looking at the *unsold* things *you have made*, and *need* and *cannot buy*.

Suppose the working class received a value equal to the value of their products? Could you then consume, or buy up, all the goods you had produced? And would there then be any problem of "Over-production"?

THE CAUSE OF WAR.

Now you can easily see that the capitalist class, which owns all these surplus things, wants a *market* in which to sell them. Besides, the capitalist class has billions of dollars (profits) which it wants to invest in some other country in order to make more profits.

And this is the cause of all capitalist wars. The capitalists in Germany, in America, in England, France, Italy and Belgium—all want to seize, or to hold, territory in foreign, undeveloped countries. They want to have an army and navy in order to protect these *foreign* investments—from the armies and navies of the capitalist government of other countries.

Wars are caused by the competition of various national capitalist groups for new markets, new natural resources in undeveloped countries, for new, protected foreign,

investments. Each national capitalist group wants the strongest army and navy to protect their industrial and financial invasion in new territories like China, Mexico, South America, Africa, etc., etc.

THE CURE.

Suppose in England, in France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Germany and in America the working class of these countries received the full value of the things they produced. They would be able to *buy* the entire product of the national working class and live in comfort; eat good foods; wear decent clothes; live in real homes.

Then there would be no profit-taking capitalists with dividends to invest in other countries; there would be no capitalist class with a surplus of commodities to sell. There would remain no cause for war. There would be no war.

The capitalist classes of the warring nations today rule those nations because they own the lands, the mines, the shops, the mills, the factories and the railroads. Because they own these, they own the *jobs*.

Socialism will prevent wars because it means the ownership of the factories, mines, shops, lands and all other instruments of production and distribution by the workers who use them. It means the value of his products for the worker and the abolition of the Profit System.

The way to cure a disease is not to put salve upon the symptoms, but to remove the cause. The Profit System is almost the only cause of war today. Discard the system and remove the cause of war.

The Profit System is the cause of nearly all the suffering poverty, sickness, crime, as well as war. It is the One Great Enemy of the Working Class.

Amidst the horrors of famine, poverty, crime and war there is one way out for the working class of every country. There is one way that means victory for the useful workers of that country. That way means Socialism, or Industrial Democracy.

Nearly all power lies in the hands of the workers. You can make the whole world *your* world with a united working class. But you must have an educated, organized class.

"Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!"

AS WE GO ALONG

BY JACK PHILLIPS

THE day of ORGANIZED labor is here.

The labor that is unorganized gets no concessions or recognitions.

The internationally organized working class—loose and shattered tho its organization is—today enters into the reckonings and computations of all forecasters trying to chart future developments. Tho "The Internationale" is split with treacheries and hatreds, there still exists a bond of communication. The working classes of the nations at war have not smashed the means of communication between each other in the way that the ruling classes of the warring nations have.

The one international force today that has a machinery for bringing peace is the somewhat broken tho existent mesh of working class contacts and weaves formed before the war.

Without a doubt the Kaiser and the German foreign secretary of affairs wished success for Philip Scheidemann and the delegates chosen to attend a convention of "The Internationale" in Stockholm. Without a doubt there was an arrangement for delegates to arrive from other nations and formulate a peace program that would tickle the Hohenzollern ribs.

Entirely aside from such consideration, however, the essential fact stands that across the blood-red frontiers of the warring nations, the one human organization most notable for keeping alive the bottom sanities and decencies of human society, is that part of the old "Internationale" which still survives, which in the sweep of war, for all that it has lost, at least retains its communication powers.

These wires of communication that are still in the air ought to be kept there because no one can tell what the whirl of events the coming year will bring among the grappled nations.

In the nations at war the balances of power are so evenly distributed that the "yes" or the "no" of organized labor counts for much.

* * *

In what previous war in the world's

history was the organized working class the sort of a factor it is in the world war now on?

The last time a somewhat similar international military struggle took place was in the Napoleonic wars. Then, as now, a league of nations formed an iron ring around one nation to crush its power. But—in the Napoleonic wars, who heard anything about trade unions, syndicalists, socialists and workmen-soldier councils, figuring as important arbiters of the destinies of war?

* * *

"SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER tells a business men's convention that the war is a contest of smokestacks. Tho it is probably true that in all wars of the past the success of the armies in the field depended to a large extent on the food-producing and munitions-producing capacity of the people behind the battle lines, the folks at home, the present era being the most intensely industrial era that the world has ever known, the workmen at home are fighting the war as vitally as the soldiers at the front.

* * *

"THE Russian working class has shattered Tsarism and secured a democratic republic, the introduction of popular government. And we? Should we continue to bear patiently the old misery, the exploitation, hunger and slaughter—the cause of all our wretchedness? No! A thousand times no!

"Leave your workshops and factories. Let work be at a standstill. Man of Labor: Awake and recognize your power.

"All wheels stand still when your strong arm wills it so. Down with the war. Down with the Government. Peace. Liberty. Bread."

The above paragraphs are from leaflets which the Berner Tagwacht, official organ of the Swiss Social Democratic party, publishes as indications of what the German labor movement is doing in line with the lessons of the Russian revolution.

"Lessons of the Great Strike" is the title of another leaflet translated by the Berner Tagwacht. The extent to which

this sort of literature is being circulated in Germany is, of course, the most vital factor in the world politics today. The latter leaflet, as an instance, declares that "the strike of April 16-17 will be a landmark in the history of the German Socialist proletariat." The assertion is made that "despite the proclamation of martial law, and without the assistance of compulsion and military discipline, over 300,000 men and women, or a force equal to ten army corps, mobilized themselves with wonderful unanimity and order." The demonstration, whatever its nature and purpose, was followed by "embarrassed reports in the bourgeois press" and by "tremulous anxiety of the Government," says the leaflet.

Direct action of some sort probably was attempted by the German workmen. A leaflet issued between the reported Berlin strikes and May 1 says:

"The great strike of Berlin workpeople is over—the general misery, the general disabilities, martial law and the slaughter of the nations continues. So does the hunger crisis."

It is explained that the Berlin workmen planned to stand fast till the whole German proletariat was rallied into a nation-wide general strike. The strikers were "led astray," however, by promises of settlement of the food question. So they went back to work.

Extra rations won't stave off the final crisis, it is argued in the following paragraph:

"The extra rations (promised) can be granted only if we eat up a considerable portion of the seed potatoes and the cattle kept for breeding purposes. If the Government resorts to this, in order to escape popular indignation and a revolution like that in Russia, millions of German men and women will be faced with sheer starvation in the coming winter. The only escape from the abyss into which the Government has drawn the country is to bring about peace immediately."

Workingmen of the United States will naturally take with suspicion anything and everything that doesn't come from a clear and direct source in Europe during these war days. Just what are the influences behind the official organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic party is not definitely known. On the face of it, these re-

markable leaflets have actually been published and circulated in at least a limited circle of the Kaiser's domain. They may be the first sparks of the conflagration of revolt so earnestly wished for by the millions of Socialists whose hearts beat in kinship with Karl Liebknecht, whose imaginations go back to the first Liebknecht, to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and Socialists who instigated insurrections and backed up theory with action.

* * *

"SEE THE WORLD," said the recruiting sign.

And the hungry young workman eager for adventure walked in, passed the exam. and became an enlisted man in the United States army.

Now he is with Pershing's corps on the western battlefield.

The betting is that few or none will come back.

They will be shot off the horizon and form a pyramid of skulls.

They will never understand just what the recruiting sign meant by "See the World."

* * *

"WHAT the United States may say is not all that is needed," says William Marion Reedy on the Russian tangle. "The other allies must make specific declarations in order to hold Russia, in order to gain support for peace moves in Germany.

"It is Socialists that must be satisfied, not merely Jeffersonian Democrats. None of the old lingo will satisfy. Democratic phrases won't mix with purposes to hold all the German colonies, to grab the Bagdad railway, to organize the Balkans as a bulwark for India, to imperialize Chinese concessions, and all that sort of thing.

"The Social Democrats of Germany may not like their Hohenzollerns, but they like British imperialism no better. And like their brethren in Russia, they know something of the industrial imperialism in the United States. Mere Fourth of July stuff will not do for either Russians or Germans."

For a staunch and regular pro-ally, this is a mighty keen analysis of why the Russian workmen-soldiers' councils are slow and lumbering in action.

The prattling of American autocrats like Charley Schwab and J. P. Morgan and Frank Munsey and the Rockefellers—about a war for “democracy”—is farce. Max Eastman’s guess that the word “democratic” will take on fresh and meaningless implications, like the word “excellent,” is a good hunch. Industrial autocrats hollering for political democracy constitute what Ezra Kendall used to call “an illogical improbability.” Ludlow, Calumet, West Virginia, the Mooney-Billings case, the Chicago and New York garment strikes, the 12-hour day and 7-day week of the United States Steel corporation’s army of 300,000 workers, the use of negro strikebreakers by the Armours and Swifts to take the places of Lithuanians, Poles and Irishmen in revolt against pittance wages at the stockyards—all these things are known and understood in Petrograd and Moscow. The hesitancy of the Russian working class about pouring out its blood for war as an ally of America is based on the fear that the American industrial autocrats are human bloodsuckers of the same breed and species as the dethroned Romanoffs of Russia.

* * *

AN INCALCULABLE magic of suggestion attaches to that organization which has sprung up in Russia going under the name of “The Workmen-Soldiers’ Council.”

Likewise there has been an incalculable magic of suggestion to the repeated stories of “fraternization” of soldiers in the Russian and German armies on the eastern front.

When the workmen at home and the soldiers at the front join hands in an organization aimed to dictate policies and purposes of the nation at war, then capitalism and the grasping personal ends of capitalism in war are sure to lose out. So long as the workmen-soldier councils in Russia keep control of the balance of power in Russian government, the working class of that nation will retain the hard-won gains of the late revolution.

Anything like widespread “fraternization” between the soldiers of armies in the field would spell the end of the war. The armies are deliberately organized to destroy human units on a wholesale scale. In order to kill each other effectively the soldiers must hate each other.

“Fraternization” dispels hate and there can be no war where there is widespread “fraternization” among soldiers. Isolated raiding parties and desultory outpost squads probably traded cigarettes and played a few games of cards recently on the eastern front. But there was no deliberate mass “fraternization.” It would have ended in a joint Russo-German army establishing a republic of Germany with a provisional government taking its orders from the workmen-soldiers’ councils in Berlin as in Petrograd.



The Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics

By J. A. A. WATSON, B. Sc.

THE question as to the possibility of the inheritance of acquired characteristics has been, and is, one of the most stubbornly fought in the whole field of biology. This is in part due to the great difficulty of the question itself, and in part to the great importance in practical breeding and in its bearing on our whole theory of heredity.

All sorts of misunderstandings have arisen regarding the real question at issue, and the term “acquired characteristics” has been too often used to indicate just whatever a particular writer chose. We must, in the first place, endeavor to understand clearly what we mean by “acquired characteristics.” It may be well to state one or two cases which bring out the real difference of opinion.

Suppose that a race horse is put to stud before having been trained for racing and begets a number of offspring. The next year he is trained and wins a number of races. The following year he is again put to stud and mated with the same lot of mares as before. Will the second group of offspring tend to be better racehorses than the first? In other words, will the fact that the racing ability has been developed have anything to do with the possibilities of speed in the offspring? One camp of biologists says “yes”; the other says “no”.

In the first place, an acquired character (or characteristic) is one which is acquired during the lifetime of the individual. We can, in a certain sense, speak of a character which has been acquired by a race. Before we can describe anything as acquired, we must be able to point to something more or less abnormal in the environment or habits of the individual which has produced the modification. Suppose, for example, that a person becomes gray-haired at an abnormally early age, and that his children afterwards show the same tendency. This in itself would be no evidence for the inheritance of acquired characters, since the tendency to turn gray at an early age might well have been an inborn variation. But

if we could point to a definite inducing cause for the condition, such as a severe illness, its reappearance in the next generation would be either a case of the inheritance of acquired characters or a very remarkable coincidence.

An acquired characteristic is a change produced on the *body* of an organism, and not directly on its germ plasm. This is the most difficult point of all to grasp.

It is readily conceivable that certain causes, acting on the body, may produce modifications and at the same time may produce variations in the germ plasm. But in order to prove the inheritance of *acquired* characters, we should require to show that the change in the germ plasm actually specifically represents the body modification.

If a man is a drunkard, his germ cells may be poisoned and his children be weaklings. But in order to prove an inheritance of acquired characters, we should require to show a reappearance in the offspring of the father’s ruined digestion and red nose.

No one believes that acquired characters are always inherited; nothing is more easily proved than that the majority are not. If all acquired characters were inherited, even to a very limited extent, our fox terriers and hackney horses (whose tails have been bobbed for years) would have become short tailed. The foot of the Chinese lady would remain small without artificial devices to keep it so, and children in civilized countries would develop the ability to read, write and speak without any education whatever.

Nothing is easier than to accumulate instances of the *non-inheritance* of *modifications*.

A large group of modifications may be classed as the effects of use and disuse of organs, and it is perhaps with regard to the possibility of the inheritance of such effects that the greater part of the whole controversy has arisen.

In the process of evolution many things have occurred which are easy of explana-

tion if we assume that the effects of *use* and *disuse* are inherited, and some of them are hard to explain on any other hypothesis.

The hind limbs of the whale long ago ceased to be used, and they have now all but disappeared. The wings of the ostrich have ceased to be used for flight, and they have become greatly reduced. The remote ancestors of our present-day horse began to walk on the tips of his toes, with the result that the middle toe of the five began to bear most of the weight. Since then the middle toe has become very much larger, and the others has disappeared except for two small rudiments.

Generations of giraffes have stretched their necks to reach the foliage of trees, and the neck of the giraffe is grown to a prodigious length. The antelope has been accustomed for centuries to flee from beasts of prey, and has developed in the direction of extreme speed.

Lamarck's theory of evolution was to the effect that races were developed by the accumulation of the effects of use and disuse. And certainly it seems the obvious explanation of the dwindling of the whale's hind limbs to say that they have become gradually smaller *through disuse*, or to say that the neck of the giraffe has become long through its special use, which involves its being stretched continually.

But we have no proof whatever that these explanations are the correct ones. Moreover, it is possible to explain all the instances given above *without* assuming the *inheritance of modifications*.

According to Darwin's theory of *Natural Selection* the giraffe's neck has become long because through generations the long-necked specimens have been able to reach more leaves than their shorter-necked fellows and, consequently, have been able to live through times of scarcity while others have starved. The longer-necked specimens have continually been preserved by nature and the race has become long-necked.

Similarly, the fleet antelope escapes from the lion, while his slightly more slow-footed brother is caught and eaten, and the race thereby becomes swifter of foot.

As regards the dwindling of disused members, the explanation of Darwin is perhaps less convincing. But Darwin says the wings of the ostrich, for instance, became useless when the ostrich took to running. Hence, those individuals which wasted least food and energy in wing-building had the

more for leg-building. They had thus the advantage over their stronger-winged fellows and tended to be preserved.

Yet in certain cases such an explanation seems undeniably far-fetched. Take the case of the eyes of the cave fishes. Fishes are found in numerous deep caves where there is absolutely no light. It is often possible to tell, from geological indications, about how many thousands or tens of thousands of years any particular cave has existed. The eyes of these fishes are invariably more or less reduced, in some cases being nothing more than mere rudimentary and useless specks. It is assumed, of course, that the fishes had normal eyes at the time of their imprisonment. It is found that the degree of degeneration of the eyes always corresponds pretty closely with the length of time that the fishes have been in the cave. The process of losing the eyes seems to be extremely slow. The inheritance of the effects of disuse is the obvious explanation and any other must appear less simple and less probable. . . .

Use or disuse is supposed to have only a very slight hereditary effect, so that several generations would have to elapse before this was noticeable. All we can say from ordinary observation is that the effects of use and disuse, if they are inherited at all, must be so to a very slight extent.

But the slightest of effects, if cumulative through many generations, would ultimately bring about results of tremendous importance. So that if the inheritance of the effects of use and disuse be ever so slight, it may still be ever so important.

Another group of acquired characters may be described as the direct effects of environment. Changed conditions sometimes produce an effect on the organism which is not, so far as we can see, *adaptive*. In other words, the change brought about in the organism does not appear to render it better suited to the new conditions.

Where we can see the body *adapting* itself to new conditions we may confidently class the changes as true modifications. But where we observe simply a change, without being able to trace its purpose, we have still to discover whether it began in the *body* or in the *germ* cell. . . .

Alpine plants when brought down to low altitudes become taller, broader leaved, and, in short, lose much of their Alpine character. This change seems to be complete and persists as long as the plants remain under

lowland conditions. But on returning the plants to their original habitat the original habit also returns and remains constant thru generations.

We frequently hear of hereditary disease. Several members of a family die of consumption, and we say that the disease has been inherited. But on examining such a case it appears that we cannot strictly speak of consumption, or in fact, of any disease as hereditary. Consumption is due to a special microbe, which must somehow be introduced into the system before the disease can appear. Sometimes it may be introduced from the mother before the birth of the child, but even in this case we cannot regard the disease as inherited, since all that occurs is the transference of the parasite from one person to another. . . . *Liability* to disease (or vulnerability) is frequently strongly inherited.

To sum up the main argument, it must be said that there is some presumptive evidence in favor of the inheritance of acquired characters, but that direct experiments have given positive results of only the most meager and inconclusive kind.

Finally, we have the difficulty of conceiving any mechanism which would bring about the inheritance of modifications. (From his book on Heredity, by J. A. S. Watson.)

GERMAN REVOLUTIONIONISTS

(Editorial Note.—The new German party was formed early in April. A recent news story announces that the regular party branches at Halle have gone over to it in a body. Doubtless the same thing has happened in other places. The following appeal was sent out by the newly chosen executive committee of the new Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.)

Fellow Citizens:

The opposition groups in the Social Democratic party met at Gotha during Easter week and formed a new organization, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Independent of the policies of the government, independent of the activities of bourgeois parties, independent of the war Socialists, the new organization will have a definitely Socialist purpose and an autonomous Socialist policy.

We believe readers of the REVIEW will agree with us that this is one of the most interesting and important subjects ever discussed in the field of modern science and that they will also agree with men foremost in the field of biology who declare that acquired characteristics (or *made* characteristics gained after a child is born) are not inherited to any large extent. Otherwise, the offspring of educated or scholarly forefathers would possess an accumulation of mental capabilities that would forever put them in the front rank in the increasing struggle for existence.

The sons of brainy men would know more than the sons of the manual laborer and would be able to outstrip them in the race for place and position. Every generation would find the working class less able to compete with the ruling class, whereas, we find the proletariat steadily advancing in economic strength in the great war of the classes.

Fortunately, we find the son of the industrial worker able to out-manuever, out-plan and often out-reason the sons of a long line of educated parasites. And the capitalist's hope of bequeathing to his children characteristics acquired thru the possession of unlimited wealth and leisure seems to have vanished in the light of the facts of the class struggles of the day.

In our time of profound economic, political and social changes this party will unite the masses of the German proletariat in the spirit of the International to hasten the establishment of peace.

It will lead the masses of the people back to the paths marked out by Marx, Engels and Lassalle, the paths along which August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Paul Singer led them for decades gloriously and victoriously. To continue their work with energy and devotion, and, what is more, to complete it by the realization of democracy and socialism, by the final liberation of humanity from the horrors of war—this is our duty.

We feel assured that millions of workers will rally about the independent or-

ganizations which already exist or are about to be called into existence; all of our old forces and many new ones will swing into line when they realize that the old Social Democracy has come to life again.

Those who lost faith in socialism when they saw how the party abandoned the old principles and became a national, government party will be filled with hope and confidence; rapidly they will join the new organization in order to resume their efforts toward the end to which they formerly devoted their best energies, for which in fact, they lived; the sacred ideal of socialism.

Fellow citizens, to us, the undersigned, the conference at Gotha has confided the organization of the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Our task, weighty with responsibility and accepted at a time when destinies are determined, cannot be accomplished unless we may count on the enthusiastic and persistent collaboration of our fellow citizens.

Gain new adherents to our cause; work without ceasing. Found organizations for the spread and the realization of our principles wherever there are none, and strengthen those which already exist; you will conquer all difficulties which you encounter.

On Woman's day, May 5 to 12, the

women will agitate in favor of equal rights, in favor of protection for themselves and their children, and will demand the termination of this terrible butchery.

Fellow citizens! we know well that we do not appeal in vain to that spirit of sacrifice which you have so often shown. Each one according to his strength will contribute in order that we may do our whole duty and accomplish our entire purpose. The dues normally paid to the party will not suffice. See to it that every means be employed to furnish as many funds as possible. Let us have for the benefit of the new party special stamps, collections and gifts.

You know well that the sums contributed will not be used to play politics, as has been done during these last years by the government socialists, but to serve your purposes, to develop an independent socialist policy.

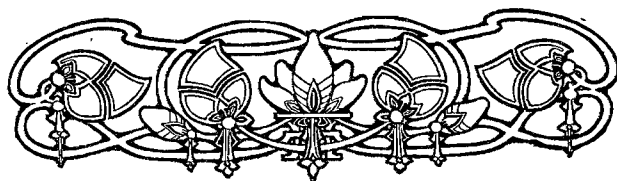
Fellow citizens, the iron is hot. Let us strike with vigor.

Berlin, April 12, 1917.

Central Committee: Wilhelm Dittman, Hugo Haase, Adolph Hofer, Gustav Lanfant, Georg Ledebour, Robert Wengels, Louise Zietz.

Advisory Council: Robert Dissman, Paul Dittman, Herman Fleissner, Willi Grutz, Alfred Henke, Seff Oerter, Fritz Schnellbacher.

Translated by W. E. B.



Introduction to the History of the Labor Movement in Japan

By S. J. RUTGERS

WE CONSIDER it a great privilege to be able to publish a history of the Labor Movement in Japan, written by the man whose life, more than that of any other, has been interwoven with, and forms part of, the history of Japanese Socialism. Before giving the facts as presented by Katayama, our readers no doubt will be interested to know something about the author.

Dr. Sen Katayama was born on December 7, 1858, on a farm and engaged in farm work until 1875, when he began to study at home, with only short periods of school education. In 1882 he went to Tokio to work in a printing house ten hours a day at 7½ cents per day, making it \$2.50 per month by overtime. Afterwards he worked as a janitor in a Chinese university in order to be nearer the Chinese classics.

Thirst for knowledge drove Katayama, in 1884, to the United States, where he landed with less than a dollar, and worked at all kinds of jobs. Once he understood a little English, he continued his studies in a Chinese mission in Alameda, entered Johns Hopkins Academy, Oakland, and a year later went to Maryville College, Tewalski. In 1889 he entered Grinnell College and graduated in 1892. After that he spent about two years at Andover and one at Yale University, to study social problems, which he found a most fascinating study at that time. Unnecessary to say that Katayama had to work all that time for a living in most differing branches of activity, finding that of cooking the most profitable employment.

Having saved two hundred dollars, he went to England in 1894 to study social problems and returned to Boston after three months, with five dollars in his pockets.

In 1891, studying socialism, he got hold of Lassalle and was inspired by the life of the man to devote his own life to socialism. His later activities in Japan, and especially his preference for organization rather than for theoretical discussions, harmonize with

his sympathy with the active part Lassalle took in organizing the German workers.

Returning to Japan in 1896, he at once started to take an active part in the labor movement and his life becomes part of that movement as described in the following articles.

In 1903 he left Japan again to attend the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam in 1904, and the National Socialist Party Convention in Chicago. Some of the American comrades will remember his addressing the Socialist picnic in Milwaukee in 1904. And many of us remember the historic handshaking of Katayama and Plechanov in Amsterdam as a demonstration against the Russian-Japanese war.

In 1906 Katayama went again to Japan and organized for the second time a Socialist party, but soon returned to the United States for a short visit. Back in Japan he found the party more influenced by intellectuals and more vigorously persecuted by the authorities, chiefly as a result of the strong anti-war stand of the party during the Russian-Japanese war. Katayama was put in prison as a result of a big strike in Tokyo, and nine months' cell life, with hard labor, greatly impaired his health. After being released he was persecuted and was constantly under police supervision. Detectives lived on both sides of his house and followed him wherever he went. Visiting a friend meant to place the friend under suspicion. His literary activities were interfered with and he was prevented from earning a living by writing and still more from engaging in any activity for the cause of labor.

This drove Katayama again to the United States in an effort to organize the Japanese in California. But here the detectives did not lose sight of him and the Japanese consul, who is very powerful among the Japanese because they need his help in all kinds of red tape, made his life not only unpleasant, but his work for organization impossible. Japanese who came in touch with Katayama were classed as suspects and

those who lived in the same house were told to leave. The example of another Japanese who was simply kidnapped on a Japanese steamer and transported to a Japanese jail where he was released after eighteen months, made Katayama's friends fear that some day or other he might disappear as mysteriously.

The Day Laborers' Union, helped by Katayama, as one of its officers, was forced to denounce him. Not obeying the consul in this would mean interference in the life of the members by all kinds of formalities, and the practical impossibility of getting permission to marry a woman from Japan.

Katayama finally decided to go to New York, where he expected to be able to do some work of organization among Japanese and to continue more efficiently the publication of his monthly, already started in San Francisco, "*The Heimin*," written in English and Japanese. The Japanese in New York are of a class that is very hard to organize into unions and the work of Katayama even in New York was interfered with. In spite of all, he continued the publication of his paper, wholly dependent upon his own labor and a few subscriptions of fifty cents per year.

Katayama is now 58 years of age, but his spirit is young and his ideals unbroken. He has already conceived a plan for future activity among the Japanese in China in order to bring better understanding between Chinese and Japanese workers in a united effort to counteract the imperialistic schemes of the Japanese bureaucracy and money interests.

This interference, with any form of labor movement that had developed out of its own conditions, is organized in Japan very efficiently under the auspices of the Imperial government and a delegate of this organized movement to suppress labor unions has been sent to this country, welcomed and honored by Gompers and his A. F. of L. This being one of the most shameful episodes of the international relations of American labor, it is good to remember the fact.

A certain Mr. Swanki, secretary of the millionaire banker, industrial king, Baron

Shibusawa, was sent to the United States as representative of the Yu-di-Kai, with plenty of money of Japanese capitalists and the support of the Japanese government. The Yu-di-Kai in Japan is no labor organization but an organization of capitalists, professors and officers of the government. Its only purpose is to publish a paper to deceive the workers and break down real unions. Anybody subscribing to the paper is considered a member, and the most brutal Japanese capitalists encourage their workers to subscribe, admitting only this paper in their workshops. Even policemen are invited to subscribe.

The delegate of this imperial institution recently came to the United States, made same socialistic-sounding speeches, helped to crush whatever beginning of real unions was developing in California, and boldly came before the convention of the A. F. of L. to deceive the American workers, with Gompers assisting. The *New York Call*, which published a first warning by Katayama a year ago, now refused to expose Susuki, evidently because the A. F. of L. had already gone too far in its endorsement, and any crime was considered good enough to save the countenance of the A. F. of L. Gompers and Scharenberg solemnly accepted invitations to go to Japan to "teach" the Japanese workers how to organize.

From the History of the Japanese Labor Movement here presented it may be learned whether Japanese workers need the teachings of Mr. Gompers.

They certainly have shown by their deeds that they are willing and able to organize, provided only that the iron heel, of which Mr. Susuki is a tool, be shaken off their necks. The workers from Japan will complete this job in blood and pain and they will do it by their own efforts, inspired by their own martyrs, their own history. But it may have become more difficult to convince them to stand for international solidarity since the American workers, thru ignorance and the treason of their leaders, have supported the schemes of the Japanese exploiters.

Labor Movement in Japan

By S. KATAYAMA

ITS BACKGROUND

FOREIGNERS who visit Japan often claim that Japan's recent progress, however remarkable, is a superficial one, is skindeep, a mere adoption of western civilization. They say there is no real development and progress, but merely an imitation of the West.

Thus saying, they tried to discredit the present achievements of the Japanese and reached the conclusion that the Japanese are inferior to the western peoples, stimulating in this way the anti-Japanese movement among the white peoples.

To understand the real character and feelings of a present-day Japanese worker, however, it is necessary to know something about his past, the background leading into feudal times. Feudalism in Japan would be a most interesting study in itself, because Japanese feudalism has a unique history of many centuries ending after the time of the American Civil war. It enjoyed a peaceful life of activities and developments for three centuries. During these years Japan shut herself off from all outside influences and civilizations.

Hers was an independent life and she created a unique and a genuine Japanese civilization. Class lines were drawn quite sharply and distinctly. Farmers, artisans and merchants, each enjoyed life in peaceful development. The study of these classes is illuminating, but our aim is to show that some of the good qualities possessed by the Japanese workers were developed during feudal times. Here we will speak only of the artisan class of that period in order to illustrate that the present working classes have their roots and history in the past however much they may appear to differ from the Japanese working class of today.

During the days of Japanese feudalism the artisan class made very good progress. Their products are of great value to the present generations and beautify not only the civilization and life of Japan, but museums and art galleries in the West.

In some of the old crafts, organized into guilds, our artisans have devised ingenious

means to protect their interests against the masters and also against outsiders. One of the most interesting guilds is that of the wood sawyers. The Woodsawyers' Guild of Tokyo includes master sawyers, journeymen and apprentices. All the journeymen must serve first as an apprentice, regardless of his skill. Wages were dependent upon and regulated by the prices of rice.

Rice has been, and is still, the chief food of the Japanese. Its price regulated all the other necessities of life in the past. Another requirement of the guild was that each member should pay to his employer a small percentage of his wages, for the use of the lumber yard. This nominal payment gave him an exclusive right to work in the lumber yard and the owner could not employ any outsider. Thus the sawyers' guild attained a perfect closed shop, in the modern sense; also a wage scale based on the price of rice.

The miners' guild is far more extensive and thoroughgoing in its organization. It was communistic and it included miners of all Japan and of all kinds of mines. After a miner worked for three years the guild issued to him a membership card or scroll and this membership entitled him to seek a job in any mine in the country. And this institution still holds at the present day.

Wherever the miner goes he is treated as a comrade and a guest by the working miners. He may work, if there is work, at any mine, or he may remain in the hope of securing work. If he prefers to try his luck at other places he receives a sufficient allowance from his fellow miners to reach the next mine.

When an old miner quits his job on account of his age, or when a miner is crippled in some accident, he is authorized by the guild to collect from all the miners thruout the country. Each mine is an independent and self-governing unit of the one great guild.

The miner thus authorized in one mine will be allowed by all other mines to collect benefits amounting today to from one to



two thousand yen, according to his standing. For this institution still holds at the present day.

During the feudal period our miners had entire underground as their exclusive jurisdiction and their own territories. None but miners might enter there. Besides the miners received the best wages, which is shown by a Japanese idiom-Kanayama Shotai to describe their pay. This phrase means luxurious living or Epicureanism.

The miners called each other "brother." Their mutual relations were most warm and cordial. All the bachelors, or single men, lived a communistic life. They could travel all over Japan without any difficulty. Of course, they possessed defects and shortcomings, being the products of their own age, but theirs was a strong and well-regulated guild. Each and all miners benefited by it.

But the miners of feudal times were considered, in the eyes of the public, to be the most rough and dangerous members of society. No doubt they were outcasts in the public mind, for the mines were considered a refuge for criminals and outlaws. It is said in Japan that if a man is degraded enough to enter a mine, he is absolutely free from the grip of the law. It is true that in the feudal days there existed neither social intercourse nor sympathy between the miners and the people of Japan. But the miners of the old days were an orderly group.

The stone masons' guild is one of the most highly developed and best regulated of the Japanese labor organizations. They possessed a technical monopoly and were considered the most trustworthy artisans in the country. They always received the highest wages.

These are only a few examples. Each trade has had its own guild and a history of struggles common to all the working classes of the world. Each protected its own interest to the best of its own ability, but most of them were broken up by the coming industrial system under modern capitalism. Yet we can trace many good features existing today to the old organizations, particularly in the metal industries, in shipbuilding and in factories using the modern machine processes. The best Japanese workers today are the old blacksmiths who forged and wrought swords and plows, or those trained by them.

The very first Japanese factory was started by the feudal government and managed by the English. Those who went to work in the factory were the blacksmiths of that time. It was so with other industries.

Such is the background of our modern Japanese industry in which over one million factory workers are now employed. Fifty years ago there was no cotton mill in Japan; now there are one hundred and sixty-two cotton spinning factories, with nearly three million spindles and several hundred thousand young girls are working in the mills day and night.

BEGINNING OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

The modern labor movement in Japan may be said to have begun in the summer of 1897 after the war with China. For the first time in the history of Japan the industries had been prosperous on account of the war indemnity taken from China. The working class seemed to awaken. The workers were demanding an increase in wages owing to the increased cost of living. Many strikes were reported with varied successes and failures. The modern industrial system was a new experience in Japan so there was no legal restriction upon the labor movement or upon strikes.

This was shown by the fact that in six months we gained over two thousand members for the Rodo-Kumiai Kiseikoi, a labor association organized for the purpose of forming trade unions. A majority of them were iron workers employed in the government's arsenal and the railway workshop at Shimbashi, Tokyo, and at the Yokohama dock and the Yokosuka navy yard.

Labor meetings were well attended and the topics discussed were the *power* of the unions, the strike and boycott, and above all we urged the necessity of organizing the working class. Our work was most pleasant during this period. The men from different factories talked to their fellow workers on the labor movement during meal time. Each week our membership increased. Each successive meeting was held with a larger attendance than before. Soon the labor meetings were arranged by the workers themselves. Three of us, Takano, a journalist, Sawada, a tailor and I often went to speak at these meetings and we found new speakers among the workers who were able to address these gatherings of their fellow workers.

IRON WORKERS' UNION AND THE LABOR WORLD.

On the 1st of December, 1897, the Iron Workers' Union was organized in Tokyo, with over one thousand members. This was the first trades union in Japan. Its constitution and by-laws were copied from those of the American trades unions. On the same day the first number of the *Labor World* was published, this being the sole organ of the labor movement. I was one of the secretaries of the Iron Workers' Union and editor of the *Labor World*.

This little journal had played a very important part in the Japanese labor movement. It contained one full page of labor news in English for the benefit of the foreign exchanges. The last number appeared Dec. 21, in 1901, making just one hundred issues that had been published. It was enlarged to a daily on January 1, 1902. The tone and spirit of the labor movement at that time can best be illustrated by a quotation from the *Labor World*:

"The people are silent. I will be the advocate of this silence. I will speak for the dumb; I will speak for the despairing silent ones; I will interpret their stammerings; I will interpret the grumblings, murmurings, the tumults of the crowds, the complaints, the cries of men who have been so degraded by suffering and ignorance that they have no strength to voice their wrongs. I will be the world of the people. I will be the bleeding mouth from which the gag has been snatched. I will say everything."

The time for beginning the labor movement was auspicious, as is shown by the government report on strikes from June 20 to November 19, 1897.

Number of strikes.....	29
Number of strikers.....	3,768
Of men	3,584
Of women	184
Largest strike	500
Smallest strike	7
Suppressed by police.....	12
Wages partially increased.....	1
Strikes successful	12
Partially successful	6
Failures	11
Uncertain	2
Strike leaders dismissed.....	28
Longest strike	25 days
Shortest strike	5 hours

BIG RAILWAY STRIKE.

The year 1898 began with a great strike in the Nippon Railway Company, at that time the largest railway company in Japan. Its lines extend from Tokyo to Amori, a distance of over five hundred miles, forming two large circles. The company employed over ten thousand persons. Engineers and firemen numbered about 1,000. They were harshly dealt with by the company so they were dissatisfied with conditions. The company was ever watchful to prevent any one from organizing for better conditions. It promptly picked out the rebels and sent them to distant stations, often to a poorer climate and an isolated point. This was called "exile."

Between Mtsioka and Amori on the line there are two locomotive stations which are considered the worst points. At this time there were two or three dozen "exilers" at these stations. Every day they met and discussed the situation. On January, 1898, one of them addressed a letter to firemen and engineers of the entire lines. This letter stated their common grievances and demanded remedies.

The exiled firemen and engineers started to organize secretly, but some one betrayed the cause. At this the company immediately dismissed them. But already the letter had accomplished its intended aim and the dismissal of these ringleaders was the signal for a strike, which began on the 24th of February, 1898.

It lasted only a few days. The company complied with all the demands and the strike was a complete success to the workers, who had conducted the strike very skillfully, using a telegraphic code previously arranged. They accomplished the end sought without a leak. Encouraged by the success of this strike the railroad men formed a union and compelled the company to recognize it, establishing the closed shop.

The *Labor World* gives a record of fifteen strikes beside the one occurring on the Nippon Railroad during the year of 1898. In thirteen of these strikes 6,762 persons, including 150 girls, were involved. Besides the railroad workers 1,000 printers, 70 dyers and 65 furniture makers were organized and sixteen workingmens' co-operative distributive unions were organized, each with its own store.

These were mostly managed by iron workers and railroad workers who were

members of the union. One productive, co-operative union was started by iron workers at Tokyo. In a few years the organization grew into a strong union of over a thousand members with about ten thousand yen in funds.

An indirect result of our labor movement so far, we had at least revived and reorganized two old guilds into a modern union, *i. e.*, the ship carpenters' and wood sawyers' union. One had 1,500 members and the other 2,200. Both had conducted a successful strike during the year. The president of the ship carpenters' union, Mr. F. Saito, has joined the labor association and later became a good Socialist. I have often addressed the meetings of the Ship Carpenters' Union.

In the course of a few years all the unions gained more members than ever before. For instance, the Nippon Railroad Workers' Union accumulated 50,000 yen for a strike fund and 20,000 yen for benefit funds. It published its own monthly organ.

The Iron Workers' Union had enrolled 5,400 members at the end of four years and spent 8,000 yen for the sick and death benefits of members. The I. W. U. bought a house for their headquarters and the *Labor World* was used as the official organ of the union. If we include the unions revived and reorganized from the old guilds, we had at one time nearly twenty thousand union members.

This was before there were legal obstructions to labor organizations and we had a free hand in the labor movement. We were not, however, left much longer free to grow and to build up our movement. We soon felt the pressure of the government, although there were as yet no laws to directly suppress the labor movement. The first movement against us occurred in

the spring of 1898 upon the occasion of the Iron Workers' Union Cherry Blossom picnic, when the police authorities prohibited us from marching through the streets of Tokyo and enjoying ourselves at the Ueno park like other people.

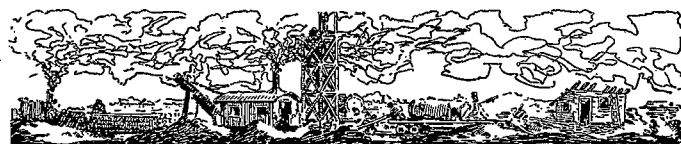
There was another event which we may look upon as an indirect result of the labor movement. The government prepared a factory bill with the intention of introducing it at the coming session of the Imperial Diet. The bill was sent to all the chambers of commerce of the land to get opinions on it. Then the bill was discussed at the meetings of the higher commercial and industrial commissions appointed by the government from a group of prominent persons in the country.

They discussed the bill and finally passed it in almost worthless amended skeleton form. But even in this form of so little use to labor, the bill was not introduced at the next Diet, because of the opposition of the big capitalists, including Baron Shibuswa, the present patron of the Yu-Ai-Kai Friendly Society; and it was laid on the table for many years to come.

At the time of the discussion of the bill the Iron Workers' Union appointed a committee to draw up a note stating its desire for amendments to the bill and the committee was sent to call on the commissioners to urge the passage of the bill in the form suggested in the note. But this too came to nothing on account of capitalist opposition. It shows, however, that the Iron Workers' Union and the labor leaders had an active interest in factory regulations.

These checks, however, did not cause us to lose faith in the labor movement, but we vigorously continued our work for the cause of labor.

(To be continued)



THE MAN AND THE MACHINE

BY SCOTT NEARING

The Tool Maker.

MAN has been called the tool-making and tool-using animal. Among living creatures, he alone has supplemented his powers by the use of tools. The tool augments man's possibilities. "Without tools, he is nothing; with tools, he is all," writes Carlyle. Ideas, taking shape in the tool, have placed man far in the lead of his competitors. Even the king of beasts falls an easy victim to his weapons.

With neither defensive armor nor offensive powers, man, without tools, must rank as one of the weakest of earth's inhabitants. Armed with the tool, he is able to place all living things under his domination. Nature and all of her creatures bow before the tool-magic.

The kingdom of man rests upon the tool, which, in its turn, depends upon the thumb, the forefinger and the forehead. Among all the animals, none, except man and the man-like apes, can place the end of the thumb against the ends of all of the fingers; therefore, except for the anthropoids, no animal can make or successfully use a tool. This mechanical possibility, guided by the light of intelligence that burns in the frontal lobe of the brain, organized and co-ordinated through man's reason, has built civilization.

The tool gives man his power over the universe. He fashions the tool; wields it; owns it.

A sense of possession goes with the

fashioning of the tool. The savage who hollowed his canoe from the log or chipped the flint for his spear head owned the thing he had made. It was his because he fashioned it. Men love the work of their hands, because their hands have done the work.

The man who wields a tool feels the power of his mastery. It is his. Backed by the strength of his arm and guided by the light of his brain, it pulsates to its task. He pushes, swings, pulls, directs. The tool user is master of his tool.

Ownership carries with it a sense of proprietorship. The man has fashioned and wielded the tool. He owns it. It is his. The title, the right of possession, remains in the man to whom the tool belongs.

The power of the tool, backed by man's master guidance, is the title to his kingdom. He has the earth. He has been told to master it and possess it.

The Tool and the Machine

The modern tool is the machine. Ever since the first rude wooden spear was fashioned, ever since the first fish bone was shaped into a needle, the first clay was molded into a bowl, and the flint was chipped and fitted to the arrow; from the most primitive beginnings down to the present day, man has been perfecting the tool. He has seen in it new possibilities and dreamed into it new wonders of invention.

Only yesterday, the man made, wielded and owned the tool. Today—what transformation! The tool has left the narrow confines of its age-long prison and appeared in its true form as a machine.

Between the tool and the machine there is this most fundamental difference. The tool user fashioned, wielded and owned the tool; the machine user neither fashions nor wields his machine. Robert Burns describes the cotter, leaving his work on Saturday night. He "collects his spades, his mattocks and his hoes," throws them over his shoulder and trudges homeward. How unlike this is the picture presented by modern industry. Even on the farm, in these last few years, the mattocks and hoes have yielded place to plows, cultivators, potato diggers, seeders and a host of other horsepower machinery that performs the work that was formerly the product of the cotter's

back and arms. Carry the parallel one step further and make it in terms of industry. "Collects his electric cranes, locomotive engines, steam rollers and blast furnaces." The words bespeak the contrast.

Electric cranes, locomotive engines, steam rollers and blast furnaces are machines—intricate, huge, costly. They are the product of an age-long evolution of the tool—but they are more than the tool. The thumb, forefinger and forehead have made a being that is alive with a tireless, superhuman power.

The machine is intricate. No man can make all of the parts or engage in all of the processes that go to the construction of any one machine. Men do not fashion the machines they use.

The machine is huge. No man can toss it upon his shoulder and carry it to his cot. No man can wield it. The machine is not carried about as was the tool, from place to place. It is not raised or swung or wielded. Instead it is fixed in a place, to which the man comes to do his work.

The machine is costly. No man can own the machinery with which he works. First, because it is too expensive for each man to own, and second, because where many men work with one machine, like a locomotive, if one should own it, another would necessarily be denied ownership. Aside from collective ownership, there is no possibility for the individual to own the machine.

The huge, intricate, costly machine cannot be fashioned, wielded and owned by the man who uses it. The rail mill and the printing press differ essentially from the smith's hammer and the pen. The machine is a super-tool—a new entity—for behind it, within it, driving it relentlessly, are the eternal powers of nature which drive the universe. Jove's lightnings play through the dynamos and along the wires. Water, earth and air concentrated in the machine, toil for man.

For centuries men have harnessed the wind and the water, but it is only in recent years, with the development in iron and steel making, the use of coal, the steam engine, power-driven machinery, the turbine, the dynamo, organic chemistry and applied mechanics, that nature's powers have been called upon to render effective service. When at last those

forces were utilized—when nature was called upon to do man's work in the multitudinous activities of modern industry, the tool had been pushed aside by the machine, which, from that time forward was destined to heed the beck and call of the human race.

The Possibilities of the Machine

The machine is the offspring of man's genius and nature's power. Is it to be a ministering angel? Is it to be a Frankenstein monster of destruction? Man has called this thing into being. Can he control the child of his imagination, the creature of his hands? The thumb and forefinger and the forehead have created a new being—the machine. They have bent nature to do their work. Can the forehead still rule the earth?

During untold ages mankind has struggled against want and privation. It was the effort to escape from this struggle that called the machine into being.

The life of man was bitter. In the jungle, on the plain, under the mountain-side, dependent on nature, he lived, precariously, from hand to mouth, warring continually with the forces by which he was surrounded; or else, a unit in some form of social organization, he earned black bread and a pallet of straw through unremitting toil. Conquest, tribute, slavery, serfdom were means of escape which raised a few above the crudities of the wolf struggle, while they ground the majority of mankind into dust. Many slaves lived lives of hardship and subjection in order that one philosopher might make excursions into the realms of metaphysics, or one author pen his lyrics.

The difficulties in the way of securing a living were so great! The odds against man were so stupendous! It took so much human energy to raise a pitcher of water or a bushel of wheat, to fashion a sword or polish a cup, that a full day of arduous toil produced little more than a bare living. It was only when many men, laboring and living on a very little, gave the surplus of their production to one whom they called "master" that the one man—the master—had freedom and leisure to think, speculate, experiment.

The thinkers believed that they saw a great future for the human race. Could they but find a means of multiplying

man's power! That means was first, in small measure, the tool, and later, in immense proportion, the machine.

The machine has vanquished that most ancient enemy of mankind—famine. The machine has made want and privation eternally unnecessary. The industrial régime produces enough for all. No stomach need be empty, no back naked, no head shelterless. The machine has given man a hundred hands where before he had only two. Flour, woolen yarn, leather, clapboards, may be had in ample abundance. If each man will do only a moderate amount of labor, the people of every country that employs machinery would be provided with all of the necessities of life.

The supply of these necessities can be insured without overwork. There is no need for a twelve-hour day. The users of machinery may be well supplied with all things needful to life with a few hours' work each day, leaving ample time for the unfolding of the human spirit.

Leisure is as much a product of the machine as are bread and shoes. The command, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou earn thy bread" is so mitigated by the powers of the machine that men may earn a generous living and have time to play and think in the same number of hours that formerly produced a bare subsistence.

The machine augments the possibilities of life. By multiplying human productive power it increases the number of things that man may have at the same time that it enlarges his possibility of leisure.

The Fruits of the Machine.

What has the machine done? With so vast a possibility there should have gone some measure of achievements. Machinery has multiplied human productive power. Has it, at the same time, augmented health and happiness?

The machine has led, as might readily have been predicted, to the piling up of phenomenal masses of wealth. Man's productive power has been multiplied by marvelous achievements. New resources are utilized. Old ones are employed to better purpose. New methods, improved devices, save labor, time and energy, while they increase output.

The change in the method of bread-baking gives an excellent idea of the advance in productive efficiency. Once or twice each week, in the old-time home, came baking day. The fire was tended, the oven made hot, and the dough, raised over the previous night, was kneaded, cut into loaves and set into the pans. The housewife baked her bread with simple hand tools. Even when the baking was a complete success the toil was severe. But the baking was not always a complete success; failure was frequent, and the "bread that mother used to make" was frequently heavy and unpalatable. It is in the modern bread factory that bread-making is put on a permanently expert basis.

The successful factory bakers make and keep on hand a good supply of first-class yeast. This yeast is mixed with the flour and other ingredients of the bread in accordance with an exact formula which represents the result of years of study and experiment. When the bread is ready for the oven, it is brought in great troughs and dumped into the hopper of the bread machine. The machine first cuts the dough into proper-sized loaves, sprinkling flour on each piece. Then these loaves pass into the part of the machine that rolls, kneads and shapes them. They are then dropped into the pans, which are taken by an endless carrier to a chamber kept at a certain temperature, where the dough rises; to a second and third chamber, and then into the oven. After about three-quarters of an hour in the oven the bread is dropped out, perfectly baked, passed into a machine, wrapped in paper and sent out to the trade. Nearly two hours have elapsed since the bread entered the machine as dough. During that time, no hand has touched it, but, in the course of its thousand-foot journey, it has been made into high-grade bread, in a machine tended by a dozen men whose sole duty it is to see that the machine does its work. The housewife, in a day's baking would make a dozen loaves of bread. This machine makes fifty thousand loaves in the course of a night.

The bread machine is complex, intricate, huge, costly. An outlay of a hundred thousand dollars is necessary to in-

stall one machine; but once at work, under proper direction, it increases the productive power of human energy to an extent that is almost unbelievable.

The bread machine, invented and perfected by the human brain, and guided by the human hand, spells plenty for the sons of men. If grain can be raised in sufficient quantities, no one, henceforth, needs to suffer for lack of the facilities for converting that grain into a usable form.

The bread machine is an individual unit in the productive mechanism. The power of mechanical production is illustrated even more strikingly in great unified industries that have sprung into being during the past half century. Among these none yields more wonderful results than the steel industry.

There was a time when iron ore was dug from the ground with pick and shovel, loaded on wagons, hauled to a furnace, and after an immense expenditure of energy, converted into pig iron. This pig iron, in turn, was reheated and made into some form of wrought or cast iron or steel.

The modern steel industry is built on machinery. The iron ore is dug from the Superior mines by a steam shovel, thrown on cars that run to the lake front by gravity, dumped into pockets that shoot the ore directly into the hold of the ore steamers which carry it to one of the lower lake ports, picked up from the holds of the steamers by great grab-buckets and thrown on cars, carried to the blast furnace, emptied on the ore dump, shifted by an endless conveyor up into the furnace, and there, with coal and limestone, under a forced draft of heated gas and air, made into molten iron. Without more ado, this molten iron is carried to the converter, turned to steel, poured into molds, run over to the rolling mill, passed through the rolls, and dropped out on the pile as a finished rail. In this whole process, from the ore mine to the rail pile, the lifting and carrying, heating, hammering and rolling have been done by machinery. In the entire process, human hands have played no direct part. Only with lever, switches and mechanical devices, they have busied themselves in guiding the titanic powers of nature.

Man's hand is no more mighty than it was in past ages, but, backed by the tireless energy of machinery, it is able, with but a slight effort, to turn out products that even the strength and cunning of Siegfried could not have forged.

The United States Bureau of Labor tells the story in figures. Twelve-pound packages of pins can be made by a man working with a machine in 1 hour 34 minutes. By hand the work would take 140 hours 55 minutes. The machine is ninety times quicker than the hand. Furthermore, "the machine-made pin is a much more desirable article than the hand-made." "A hundred pairs of men's medium grade, calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, soft box toes, by machine work take 234 hours 26 minutes; by hand the same shoes take 1,831 hours 40 minutes. The labor cost on the machine is \$69.55; by hand, it is \$457.92. Five hundred yards of gingham checks are made by machine labor in 73 hours; by hand labor in 5,844 hours. One hundred pounds of sewing cotton can be made by machine labor in 39 hours; by hand labor in 2,895 hours. The labor costs are proportionate." The same facts hold true of agriculture. A good man with a scythe can reap one acre a day; a good reaper and binder does the same work in 20 minutes; six men with flails can thresh 60 liters of wheat in half an hour. One American thresher can do twelve times as much (740 liters). Commenting on these and similar figures, the government report states: "The increased effectiveness of man-labor, aided by the use of machinery, * * * varies from 150 per cent in the case of rye, to 2,244 per cent in the case of barley. From this point of view, a machine is not a labor-saving but rather a product-making device. * * *

This, then, is the machine—a thing conceived by man's inventive genius and utilizing nature's power to supply human needs. The machine is man's energy and strength, multiplied many times.

The Machine and the Future

The machine has been hailed as the world's savior from drudgery. Within it lay infinite possibilities of happiness and well-being.

This was the promise of the machine. Its performance sounds an ominous note

—a note of warning to all well wishers of the future. The machine has subordinated the man, thrusting him aside, and taking from him the precious heritage of craftsmanship, upon which he had relied for education, for civilization itself. Instead of the apprenticeship which was so essential an element in hand industry, the machine has put highly specialized occupations, reeking with monotony and speeded to the top notch of human staying powers. Large scale industry, integration, combination and centralized financial control are all a part of the industrial revolution which has followed in the wake of the machine.

C. Hanford Henderson, in his "Pay Day," writes: "This institution of industry, the most primitive of all institutions, organized and developed in order to free mankind from the tyranny of things, has become itself the greater tyrant, degrading a multitude into the condition of slaves—slaves doomed to produce, through long and weary hours, a senseless glut of things, and then forced to suffer for lack of the very things they have produced."

The machine threatens to inaugurate a new slavery—a slavery of the individual worker to routine, mechanical production, a slavery of the community to an irresponsible, self-constituted, industrial plutocracy. The former menace has become a reality. The latter threat is still a nebulous, shadowy uncertainty. Let it become certain, and the political democracy of the eighteenth century is dead.

That combination of steel and fire, which man has produced and called a machine, must be ever the servant, never the master of man. Neither the machine nor the machine owner may rule the human race.

The machine may be separated from its evil effects. Says Carlyle: "Cotton spinning is the clothing of the naked in its result; the triumph of man over matter in its means. Soot and despair are not the essence of it; they are divisible from it—at this hour, are they not crying fiercely to be divided?"

There is one last test to which every act of machine or man is subject: What is its effect upon the men and women of the community? "The man's the gold for

a' that." It is the happiness and well-being of the families of a community that sets the stamp of final social approval upon any measure.

The machine is indispensable to civilization. Without it we must revert to some form of serfdom or of slavery. The machine is the device that must lift all mankind out of the morass of economic degradation onto the tableland of economic sufficiency. The machine, as the servant of mankind, and not of any par-

ticular coterie of men, will decrease drudgery, increase the number and richness of things that all may possess, and the amount and quality of the leisure that all may enjoy.

Machinery is the servant of all. The children of men, joint heirs to the untold advantages that may accrue to the world from the use of machinery and of the present industrial order, are learning from the Industrial Régime to look forward to a true Industrial Democracy.

WHY IS A GOVERNMENT NEEDED IN MEXICO?

By M. C. ROLLAND

HAS there ever existed a government in Mexico? Has there ever been a legitimate Congress there? Has the Law been effective in Mexico? Has the Constitution ever been in force? What do those people who are clamoring for a Constitutional Government, *call government*, and what do those Americans who demand responsible authority in Mexico, *call government*?

The Mexican people, conquered by the Spaniards, was merely a subject for exploitation by reason of conquest. Its lands were all distributed among the soldiers and the clergy. It was said that the Indian lacked a soul. What was called "Government" then, was merely the will of the Spanish King and his viceroys. The existence of Law was a myth. Nevertheless, that horde of exploiters, soldiers, clericals, lawyers and land-holders called that systematic exploitation a "government," but the people never had a voice in political affairs, however deeply matters affected them.

But the people revolted, under the guidance of a priest. That priest was killed by the church; and by a refined cruelty, his head was put on a spear and exposed for weeks to the public gaze. But the peons, the Indians deprived of their lands, had supported this priest in the struggle, and it was

they who continued the work of revolt. When the land-holders could resist no longer, they affected a compromise, and by means of a tri-colored flag deceived the people. They agreed to have a *government*, but in reality it was the same old tyrannical ruling, with a different face, a changed appearance, and another form; and so, the people had secured no redress, conquered no advantages.

One hundred and sixteen years have passed since that first revolution. The people, hungry and in rags, has fought instinctively against its oppressors, winning, one by one, its rights amid fearful strife.

The Laws of Reform were the first formal step towards the liberation of the people's conscience; a step which France took only forty years later. At that time (1857), the Catholic Church experienced the severest blow to its pocket-book.

Previous to these laws, the church was the national banker. Nine-tenths of the republic was in the hands of the clergy. But in 1859, the church was forced to part with the lands. The struggle was terrific. The church fought, and with the cry of "Religion and Privileges," almost drowned the country in blood.

Somehow the Clerical party was repressed; but it soon found the means of

re-organization, as well as of monopolizing the lands in an underhand way, but, however, in violation of the law.

In the meantime, *what was the government?* There existed a "Constitution," which when it was not being openly violated, was being misapplied. The people were still under the will of those who rose to power, and in the hands of the clergy which exacted "tithes."

The struggle persisted, and we have seen it at its height during the last events in Mexico.

Justice has been an empty word on the other side of the Rio Grande. The people, swayed by the leaders, have always paid with its blood, but has never secured a "government"; it has never had an honorable representation; the Mexicans have never had guarantees, nor have they learned what liberty really is. They have always *maintained* an ideal of liberation, which at the bottom is only economic freedom, but *they have always been deceived by a farcical representation which they have been told is "government."*

In truth, the only government they have had, has been that of the land-holders, in conspiracy with the church, which in itself is a land-holder too. The people have been tied to this yoke, and they have cared very little about it, because they know, and they have known, that the landed proprietor is very powerful, the owner of houses is unconquerable, the controller of concessions over which a slip of paper gives him *title*, is a sacred individual.

This is the "government," under different disguises, that Mexico has had!

For this reason, the Mexican people care very little to have a Constitution effective in name only. If the economic processes do not change, things will be the same as ever, that is, it will be as though no Constitution existed.

If small landed interest is not created, if the land is not given back to the people, if an equitable tax on the present land-holders is not established, in order to make them relinquish their prey; if, in a word, the fortress of the Mexican family is not built by means of the communion of the peon with the land, it will be senseless to speak of "government" in Mexico. *It will again be a farce.*

But the present Revolution, having seen all this, appreciates its importance and is

trying to help the people. This work of reconstruction is gigantic. The big interests, the Catholic church, the old politicians, the intellectuals and the defeated ones, who servilely obeyed their masters, are clamoring for a government. But they want the same old fictitious one. They know that they cannot enter through any other door. They are clever; they know how to carry elections; they can handle a congress; they can decree laws *for the people*, by means of which they rob the people of its rights; and that is why they are clamoring for the so-called "Reign of the Constitution."

That is why they wanted Villa, even as a President. They covered themselves with the Constitution, even with Huerta at the head. The foreigners want the farce of a Congress and of a Constitution, because this will lend force to the concessions they enjoy.

But, gentlemen, the Mexican people, the people who know that they have lived without a government, and without constitutions, the people who know that these were merely shields to protect those who struck blows at them, what would these people want a "government" for?

What the Mexican people want is lands, a more human tax system, and a greater economic freedom, especially in the municipalities.

What is the use of organizing the same farce, since we are all conscious of what it conceals?

Everyone is exerting pressure, because politics is almost an obsession; so the Revolution may be obliged to organize something to satisfy those individuals who dream of a *respectable government*; but we should not lose sight of the fact that the only salvation of Mexico lies in the change of its economic government. Only when the Mexican family is economically freed, that is, only when the present land-holder and the clerical party which is owner of tenement houses and large farms, are held in subjection, and only when the Mexican Law will be able to control the foreigners' concessions, then, and only then, will we be able to speak with some respect to the true "government" of Mexico, as being the genuine representative of the people. It is only when this is accomplished that foreigners may be able to have confidence in the Mexican Congress and the government.—*Latin-American News Association.*



EDITORIAL

AMERICAN WORLD POLICIES

Under this title Walter E. Weyl has written a book* of uncommon importance and suggestiveness. Written and published just before the United States entered the world war, it is a keen and logical analysis of the economic causes that have ended America's isolation and have forced the government of this country to a choice between two possible courses in its foreign policy. One of these is to join in the scramble for the conquest of colonies and spheres of influence, grabbing as many as possible for its own capitalists. The other is to work and, if necessary, to fight for an international control of the undeveloped natural resources of the backward countries, which today appear as prizes of battle.

In his opening chapters the author points out the absurdity of attributing war merely to the wickedness of certain individuals or to a "general human idiocy," and shows that in questions of war and peace the economic motive has been and must be the controlling one. We quote from his second chapter:

At first glance, this economic or business side of war is obscured. We find tribes and nations fighting for women and heads and scalps, to please the gods, to destroy sorcerers, to slay heretics, to show prowess, and for other reasons which seem equally remote from an economic motive. A nation will go to war "to save its face," or to annihilate the "hereditary enemy," as well as to improve its position to the world. Yet these diverse human motives are related to, though not fully absorbed in, the omnipresent economic motive. The "hereditary enemy" usually is no other than the tribe or nation that blocks our way; the "gods" enjoin war against neighbors who occupy the lands we need or can furnish us tribute; the women, whom we capture, are

tame and pleasant beasts of burden, who help to swell our numbers. As for pride and tribal vanity, which so often precipitates war, these are a powerful social bond, which, by holding the tribe together, permits it to conquer the things it needs. A war for prestige is often a war for economic gain once removed. There remains a residue of martial emotion, not so closely united with the desire for economic gain, but all these derivative motives do not prevent the economic factor from remaining preponderant. Remove the economic factors leading to war, give man more than enough, and the chief incentive to war disappears.

* * *

Wherever we open the book of history, and read of marching and counter-marching, of slaughter and rapine, we discover that the tribes, clans, cities or nations engaged in these bloody conflicts were not fighting for nothing, whatever they themselves may have believed, but were impelled in the main by the hope of securing economic goods—food, lands, slaves, trade, money.

* * *

Even with the development of commerce, the motive does not change in character, though its form becomes different. All through history we find maritime cities and states fighting for the control of trade routes, the exploitation of markets and peoples, the right to sell goods and keep competitors from selling. Athens, Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Holland, England—it is all the same story. Undoubtedly, with the development of commerce, wealth takes a new form. Land is no longer the sole wealth, and successful warriors need no longer be paid in land and live off the land, as they are forced to do in every feudal society. A money economy, a conversion of values into money, changes the technique of war by creating professional mercenary armies. But the business goes on as before. Rival groups fight for a monopoly of trade as they once fought for land. There is still not enough to go around, and no way of deciding between rival claimants except by the arbitrament of war.

* * *

Nor does this fighting for things, to be obtained only by fighting, involve moral turpitude. Nothing could be more grotesque than the moralistic tone in which we industrious moderns lecture the ancient fighting peoples. They did what we do, gained the things they wanted in the only way they could. Men will fight or work rather than starve, and whether

they fight or work depends upon which, in the given circumstances, is the feasible mode of accumulation. . . . Nothing can be wrong that is necessary to survival. Warfare is not immoral until there is an alternative.

In the following chapter, "Peace Without Effort," Mr. Weyl pays his compliments to the stupid or hypocritical fashion in which so many Americans have until lately been criticizing the warring peoples of Europe, as if it were our superior moral qualities that had kept us out of war while the rest of the world was fighting. He says:

The truth is that our peace has been a peace of circumstances, due to a favoring geographical and economic situation. Our peacefulness came down to us like our rivers, farms and cities, a heritage of exceptional conditions. We were inaccessible to European armies. We were supreme on a fertile, sparsely settled continent. We could afford peace. Our resources were immensely great, and if we did not reach out for more, it was because we already had as much as we could handle. What we did need we could take from weak peoples, and a nation which fights weak peoples need not be martial, just as a man who robs orphans need not be a thug.

The Spanish War, says Mr. Weyl, which added the Philippines to United States territory, was an experiment in "unripe imperialism." The revival of American industry a few years later caused American capitalists to lose interest in colonies. In 1908 the United States was slowly recovering from a financial panic, interest rates were low, wage-workers were unemployed, and there was a feeling among capitalists that the only relief could come from a big export trade. A few years later trade was booming, prices and wages rose, the property of farmers doubled in a short time, and vast new opportunities for the investment of capital presented themselves inside the United States, the automobile industry being the most notable example.

But year by year the United States has gradually become involved in world politics. It had to assume financial control of Hayti and San Domingo or else give up the Monroe Doctrine and let the European nations send war ships to collect their debts from these black republics. It completed

the Panama Canal and became alarmed for its safety. The revolution in Mexico "proved to us that whatever our positive action, we could not remain passive." It is, however, the world war that has closed the chapter of America's isolation. The immense war export trade is fast making the United States a creditor nation. Mr. Weyl, writing last November, estimates a net balance of \$2,000,000,000 still due from the capitalists of this country to those of Europe, but this has evidently been wiped out by the transactions of the last eight months. Henceforth the capitalists of the United States will be in the world market as investors.

"As we expand both industrially and financially beyond our political borders we are placed in new, difficult and complicated economic relations, and are forced to determine for ourselves the role that America must play in this great development. We can no longer stand aside and do nothing, for that is the worst and most dangerous of policies. We must either plunge into national competitive imperialism, with all its profits and dangers, following our financiers wherever they lead, or must seek out some method by which the economic needs and desires of rival industrial nations may be compromised and appeased, so that foreign trade may go on and capital develop backward lands without the interested nations flying at each other's throats. Isolation, aloofness, a hermit life among the nations is no longer safe or possible."

Lack of space prevents our summarizing the admirable study of the economic causes of war which takes up several chapters, but the conclusion is summed up in this sentence:

Until the nations realize that wars are in the main wars of interest, fought for concrete things, and unless such things can be utilized with some regard to the desires of all nations involved, war cannot be avoided.

As a concrete suggestion for a possible economic adjustment that would tend to prevent war, Mr. Weyl proposes great international corporations, each owned by the capitalists, not of one, but of several nations, which should exploit the natural resources of the backward countries. Along with this he proposes that there be free trade with these countries, no protective tariff to be

*American World Policies. By Walter E. Weyl, author of "The New Democracy," etc. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, \$2.00 net.

levied and each industrial nation to have an opportunity to buy food and raw materials on equal terms. Such a policy might, by removing the economic causes of wars, make permanent peace a reality instead of a dream.

These suggestions are of immense importance at this time because, for one thing, they are directly in line with the theories advocated by Woodrow Wilson, who is likely to be in a position to use the resources of the United States in a way to launch some such experiment as Mr. Weyl has outlined.

This book is addressed to capitalists and legislators; it makes little reference to the class struggle, altho the author is far from ignorant of its existence. What he has accomplished is to outline a plan of action which is very much to the economic interest of the people who make laws and decide policies. The great world war cannot last forever, and the peace, when it comes,

may be on some such basis as this book suggests. If things should turn out so, what will the working class gain or lose? At least, the end of war will be a gain, since from war the workers suffer most. The one great menace in the plan is the creation of giant corporations more powerful than any that now exist. International capitalism would then be an organized force that could be directed in all its strength by a single group of magnates. But on the other hand, the false issues of nationalism that have divided the workers against each other would disappear. Peace between nations and peace between capitalists would throw into bold relief the age-long struggle between workers and owners. The stockholders and bondholders in the International Trust would be such colossal and such obvious parasites that all workers would see the folly of turning over to them the good things produced by labor. The expropriators would be expropriated.

GREATEST OF ALL SOCIALIST BOOKS Marx's CAPITAL

You can be a Socialist without reading CAPITAL, but you cannot talk or write about Socialism, nor hold your own in debates with old-party politicians, without a clear understanding of the principles and theories which are explained in this book.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

What is Happening in Germany?

Socialists are not much interested in the defeat of the German government by the English government. But they are mightily interested in the possible defeat of Wilhelm Hohenzollern by the German people. And they are not alone in this interest. In fact, the signs of unrest in Germany have become the central point in world politics.

The Shortest Road to Peace

Any outside observer must acknowledge at the present time that Germany will be defeated. The U-boat campaign has wrought terrible havoc, but it has not starved England and cannot do it. On the Western Front, where the crucial fighting goes on, the English are slowly pounding their way ahead. Superiority in resources is having the effect it was bound to have. But a mile costs tens of thousands of lives and weeks of time. Moreover, the new harvests will soon begin to come in. Germany will not be starved this year. A German revolution is the only sure and short way out.

Salvation for German Business

Even German business men are looking to drastic reform for salvation. A quickly victorious campaign would have given them vast advantages. But now they foresee a period of poverty and isolation. We know well that world commerce will not permanently boycott a region as important as that of the Central powers. But German business connections have everywhere been broken off. Brazil and China are patronizing other markets. Germany's military and naval methods, supplemented by England's press and diplomacy, have everywhere bred a new hatred of everything

German. What is to become of German business after the war?

German economists write pessimistically of the prospect. Germany without colonies in a world of enemies will think sadly of the wished-for place in the sun. It is doubtless a vision of all this that leads a radical paper like the *Berliner Tageblatt* to come out for reform. It demands abolition of classes, disarmament, and compulsory arbitration of international disputes. Such a transformation would set Germans on their feet again with a new international reputation.

Sad Role of Scheidemann

Scheidemann and the other "War-Socialists" are demanding "peace without annexations and without indemnities." The phrase is borrowed from the Russian revolutionists and might be supposed to indicate that these patriots are on their way back to internationalism. On May 15 they went so far as to vote in the Reichstag against the war budget, and at that time Scheidemann spoke vigorously for immediate peace. But let no one think that he does this because he represents the German masses. He is trying desperately to save for the Kaiser and the junkers and German business as much as can be saved from the engulfing conflagrations. Count Reventlaw and the other old land barons are playing the part of Louis Napoleon. Ignorant, incompetent, mad with war-lust, they will wreck Germany utterly if they have their way. The "War-Socialists" are more intelligent. They want to call a halt before the day of final disaster and set Germany on its feet with some show of reform to fool the outside world.

Library of Science for the Workers

To understand modern Socialism, you must understand Evolution. Socialists predict the speedy end of the capitalist system as a result of irresistible NATURAL LAWS, the workings of which have been studied for two generations since their discovery. Most of the books in which these laws are explained are too difficult to read and too expensive to buy, except for the leisure class. That is why we have used the slender capital subscribed in small sums by wage-workers to publish the most essential of the facts in simple language at low prices. The ten books here described will give you a clear understanding of the great process in which Socialism is the next step.

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6. **Germs of Mind in Plants.** By R. H. Francé. A remarkable work proving that "mind" is not limited to man or even to animals, but is found in plants also. Illustrated.

7. **Human, All Too Human.** By Friedrich Nietzsche. A study of human motives, showing the absence of "free will" and the folly of orthodox theology.

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Hail to the German Republic!

In vivid contrast to all this is the fine, clear uprising for a German revolution. On another page the REVIEW publishes the first appeal of the new Independent German Socialist Party. These are our comrades. American Socialists are not pro-Germans, but they are pro-German-revolution. All that we can do to aid Haase and Ledebour and their brave co-workers shall be done.

Simply, openly, absolutely without fear these men and women stand against the government and the Kaiser. Ledebour stood up in the Reichstag and said: "We are convinced that what happened in Russia will happen in Germany. Our rulers are working with us to bring it about. Soon, very soon, we must have a republic in Germany."

The Gotha conference, which met on April 9 and 10, adopted two resolutions which were suppressed by the government. The *Volksblatt*, Halle, which was one of the few old party papers under control of the revolutionists, has been suspended. Almost every day brings news of comrades who have been imprisoned for distributing leaflets. The campaign is kept up vigorously from various centers outside of Germany. From Berne comes a new journal, *Die Freie Zeitung*, published twice a week. Here is a sentence from one of its editorials: "It will not be the Germans, the French, the Austrians or the Turks, not the Russians, the English, nor the Americans, who will win this war; it will be the principles of democracy."

The Stockholm Conference

Present indications are that the Stockholm conference will not succeed in putting the International on a working basis. The American delegates were denied passports. So were the representatives of the English Independent Labor Party. The Italian party elected delegates with the proviso that they were to have no dealings with Scheidemann and his group. The French party decided not to send delegates, giving as an excuse a statement that the Conference was irregularly called. Then two Russian Socialists persuaded them to change their minds. But, as the REVIEW goes to press, the date for the meeting has passed and no general sessions have taken place.

The Russian Peace Call

In the meantime Russian Socialists have taken charge of the Russian government and issued a call of their own for an international conference. This was done on June 5 in the name of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. This call has done more than anything else to show the revolutionary character of the Russian revolution:

"The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is of the opinion that the speedy termination of the war and the restoration of international peace on the basis required by the general interests of labor as well as of mankind can only be achieved if the Socialist labor parties and trade unions in all countries, belligerent and neutral, will unite their efforts in a stubborn and energetic fight against this universal slaughter.

"The first important step in that direction is the summoning of an international conference, the main object of which should be to arrive at an agreement between the representatives of the Socialist proletariat in regard to the termination of the 'party truce' with imperialistic governments and classes which makes nugatory the real struggle for peace, as well as to carry this endeavor into practical effect.

"An international agreement upon such a policy is the main preliminary condition for placing the struggle for peace upon a broad international footing. This road is indicated to the proletariat by all its international treaties.

"At the same time the summoning of the conference is strongly dictated by the most vital interests of the proletariat and all peoples. All parties and organizations representing the working classes which share these views and opinions and are prepared to unite their efforts to carry them into operation are cordially invited by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates to take part in the proposed conference.

"The council begs to express its conviction that the parties and organizations which accept this invitation will, by doing so, accept the obligations to carry out unflinchingly all decisions adopted by the conference. The conference will be opened at Stockholm on a certain day between June 28 and July 8."

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HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

MARY E. MARCY has just written, under this title, the best book of Socialist propaganda for farmers that has yet appeared in the United States. She talks to the farmer about the prices he pays for what he buys and the prices he gets for what he sells, instead of explaining primitive communism or trying to interest him in the troubles of the wage-worker. But she discusses prices from the Marxian point of view, and shows the farmer that the capitalists leave him, on the average, just about as good or as poor a living as they allow the wage-worker to have. She proves that the working farmer without much capital can improve his own standard of living only by joining the wage-workers in their fight against capitalism. All this is told in short words and short sentences, printed in large type. Just the book to win the farmer. Price 10c; in lots of a dozen or more, 6c, postpaid.

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Mr. Blatchford believes RELIGIONS are not REVEALED, they are EVOLVED.

"We cannot accept as the God of Creation," he writes, "this savage idol (Jehovah) of an obscure tribe, and we have renounced him and are ashamed of him, not because of any later divine revelation, but because mankind have become too enlightened to tolerate Jehovah."

"The ethical code of the Old Testament is no longer suitable as the rule of life. The moral and intellectual advance of the human race has left it behind."

"CHRISTIANS declare the highest conception of God is the Christian conception of him as a Heavenly Father. 'God is love,' they say. To which Blatchford replies: 'This is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true!'"

Mr. Blatchford does not believe that a divine being would need or ask for PRAYER and PRAISE.

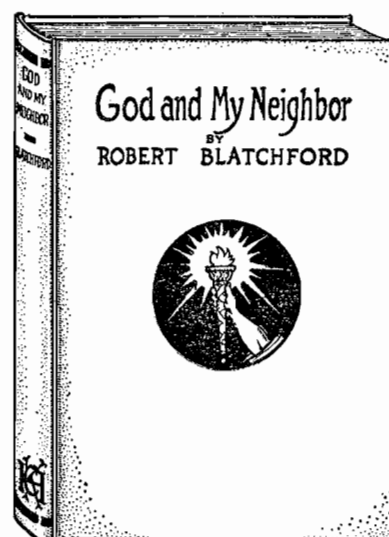
"If you were a human father, would you rather your children praised you and neglected each other, or that brother should stand by brother, and sister cherish sister?"

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NEWS AND VIEWS

An Opinion on Liberty Bonds—A Pittsburgh friend sends us anonymously the following sentences: "The 'Liberty Bond' is one of the most diabolical schemes that ever emanated from the brain of a fiend. Its sole purpose is to make it to the interest of as many as possible to keep the war going, no matter how great the slaughter, until the bondholders are sure of the safety of their blood money." We print this as a "horrible example" of what not to do in the way of propaganda. In the first place, calling names does not convince. In the second place, the statement as to the "sole purpose" of the bonds is a serious mistake. The safety of the "blood money," if we choose to give it this name, does not depend on the outcome of the war. Defeated nations, as well as victorious ones, pay bond interest regularly, and United States bonds can always be sold readily. The real purpose of the patriotic appeal to buy Liberty Bonds is to have the little capitalists, and even the wage workers, put up as much as possible of the war money, getting three and a half per cent on it, while the big capitalists gather in bigger profits than the world has yet known. The truth is good enough propaganda. Let us stick to facts.

From a Russian Woman—Dear comrade, I am not anxious to go back to Russia, and if I do so it will be only because the economical conditions are too hard here. You say I might do the propaganda work there. Well, I might. But why not to do the same right here? Do you think Canada is more advanced than Russia in social life problems? Not at all. Its civilization is rather superficial. Its women are a thousand times more backward. They mean by education—pie-baking and dressmaking. By high schools for women—they mean Domestic Science, what means the way to put your lace curtains or furniture, and again to bake the pies and cakes and to serve this or that at certain times, for certain people, etc. And what about their religious views? I tell you, Canadian women need more knowledge than Russian peasants, as the latter *want to know* and Canadians think they have an accomplished knowledge only because they talk English, altho they never care to read real good English books. Certainly Russians have some attractive features of character. But it is not their race quality, but the result of their surroundings. The capital is not developed yet; there is no chance to make much money

in competing fiercely with your neighbor. Russia is 200 years backward in economic development, therefore there is more quiteness, more dignity, more human feelings which have nothing common with the artificial self-control of civilized races like English. The Russians who come to America or Canada change quick and are becoming worse than the natives, hunting after dollars. There are exceptions, of course, but exceptions only prove the usual rule.

It is just the result of stagnant economical life, where it is of no use to hurry up like hounds after game; no use to make intrigues to get in power; no use to deny human feelings, as it was the only one field where Russians are and have been less controlled by law of rulers than any people in the world. We have more freedom than any other race in our private life. Our rulers were always indulgent to all kinds of things, which kept the minds of people away from politics, no matter how dangerous those things might be in the eyes of "Mrs. Grundy."

I'll get some books next month and I gave the last copy of I. S. R. to one who pitied "poor Russia will be mere conglomeration of small republics ruled by Berlin."

Nobody cared about Russia when it was a cemetery for its people, but everybody claimed it is a fine country, doing great work in this war. Yes, they are for cannon fodder for Russian soldiers, that is all. I say, do not care about Russia now; believe me, the time for worrying about "poor Russia" is gone forever away; let Russians to care about their affairs themselves now, as they know something about the sincerity "of your care."

I believe, tho, Russians did their best calling Germans to make peace by the way of revolution and overthrowing of their Czar or Kaiser. The Germans are not willing to do so, then the Russians have to fight with "Kaiser's slaves" unless they will re-establish monarchy in Russia, as it was ruled by the Kaiser always, Czar being his obedient nephew and dog.—Yours for Soc. Rev., M. N.

For Mooney—We, the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America, the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood of American Railway Carmen, the Charleston Central Labor Council and the affiliated trades and Crafts of America, in special convention assembled in the city of Charleston, W. Va.,

this the 22d day of May, 1917, most heartily commend the action of Mr. Fremont Older, the editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, for his magnificent defense of organized labor, and in particular his splendid services in preventing the criminal effort of the capitalists of that city to railroad Tom Mooney and his devoted wife, Renna H. Mooney, to the gallows.

Mr. Older is entitled to the gratitude of organized labor of all lands, and we pledge to him our undivided support.

Be it Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr. Older and one be given to the press.

One of Many—Local Elkhart, Ind., sends us a report of a Peace Mass Meeting held in Elkhart on June 3d. Our old friend, Billie Patterson of Toledo, Ohio, was the chief speaker. Several hundred people attended the meeting, including the entire night force of the police department, a number of the day force, the sheriff and his deputies, the police matron and a corp of secret service men and three of the city's most important lawyers to determine as to the legality of the speech. It is said the Postmaster tried to have Comrade Patterson arrested when he stepped off the train; also that an attempt was made to have three or four prominent Socialists arrested and held, to bluff the rest into abandoning their meeting. But in spite of all the attempts made by the authorities to scare off the Socialists and other rebels, our friends write us that the meeting was one of the most successful ever held in Elkhart and created new enthusiasm against imperialism and an understanding of the cause of war. We can see that if this sort of thing keeps on and the Socialists and industrialists keep up the good work, the working class of this country is going to flock to the real working class organizations—union and party—in such great numbers as will give the capitalist class a new problem to think about.

From One of the Rebels—Fellow Worker Howell of Nebraska orders a bunch of sub. cards; also a bundle of REVIEWS and adds: "I think it would be a good idea to raise price of REVIEWS and also the sub. cards. I will be on the job for the REVIEW at any price."

Review Is Especially Valuable During War—A comrade in Chicago writes the following: "I consider the REVIEW of extra value now, as events are taking place with such rapidity that most of the literature written before the war is out of date, excepting of course, the standard works of Marx, etc. A running commentary is needed, interpreting events as they transpire."

Attention Railway Workers—Comrade H.

E. Keas, member Order Railroad Telegraphers, would like to hear from all railway brothers and comrades, readers of the REVIEW, who are in accord with the idea of ONE BIG RAILWAY UNION. Address 490 Seminary street, Dubuque, Iowa.

A Flash From San Francisco—A comrade writes: "We were all sold out before the first of June. By the way, I may add that the secret service men enjoy the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW immensely. Although we purchased additional copies from other dealers, we could not get enough REVIEWS to supply the demand."

The Socialist Encampment at Conneaut Lake—By the time the July issue of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers the comrades from Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and, in fact, from near and far, will have assembled in a great camp at Exposition Park on Conneaut Lake, Pa. Over 200 tents will make up a Socialist city, where the comrades will enjoy themselves for ten days. The date is June 23d to July 2d, inclusive. Each tent is 10x12 feet, with a wood floor and two cots, which makes a good home for anyone for a ten days' outing. The comrades here at this camp will find all the pleasures and joy that can be found anywhere in a ten days' outing, besides the pleasure of knowing that he or she is camping in a Socialist tent city with 400 or 500 other men and women that are fighting in the same great cause in which they are fighting. There will be fishing, boating and swimming. There will be athletics for men, women and children, with valuable prizes for the winners of all events. There will be three (3) prominent speakers of the party present. Comrade Kirkpatrick will wind up the camp with a lecture on Sunday, July 1. At the time this article was written, over 100 tents had been sold for this camp, assuring the success of the camp and a larger and better one for 1918.

Is He Crazy?

The owner of a large plantation in Mississippi, where the fine figs grow, is giving away a few five-acre fruit tracts. The only condition is that figs be planted. The owner wants enough figs raised to supply a cooperative canning factory. You can secure five acres and an interest in the canning factory by writing the Eubank Farms Company, 1428 Keystone, Pittsburgh, Pa. They will plant and care for your trees for \$6 per month. Your profit should be \$1,000 per year. For 18 cents to cover mailing expense, they will send you, prepaid, sample jar preserved figs, grown on the plantation.

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Very sincerely yours,
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Dear Sir:—The baby's rupture is altogether cured, thanks to your Appliance, and we are so thankful to you. If we could only have known of it sooner our little boy would not have had to suffer near as much as he did. He wore your brace a little over four months and has not worn it now for six weeks.

Yours very truly,
ANDREW EGGENBERGER.

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Dear Sir:—I am glad to tell you that I am now sound and well and can plough or do any heavy work. I can say your Appliance has effected a permanent cure. Before getting your Appliance I was in a terrible condition and had given up all hope of ever being any better. If it hadn't been for your Appliance I would never have been cured. I am sixty-eight years old and served three years in Egle's Artillery, Oglethorpe Co. I hope God will reward you for the good you are doing for suffering humanity.

Yours sincerely,
H. D. BANKS.



The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor of the Appliance, who cured himself and who is now giving others the benefit of his experience—If ruptured, write him today, at Marshall, Mich.

Pennsylvania Man Thankful

Mr. C. E. Brooks, Marshall, Mich.
Dear Sir:—Perhaps it will interest you to know that I have been ruptured six years and have always had trouble with it till I got your Appliance. It is very easy to wear, fits neat and snug, and is not in the way at any time, day or night. In fact, at times I did not know I had it on; it just adapted itself to the shape of the body and seemed to be a part of the body, as it clung to the spot, no matter what position I was in.

It would be a veritable God-send to the unfortunates who suffer from rupture if all could procure the Brooks Rupture Appliance and wear it. They would certainly never regret it. My rupture is now all healed up and nothing ever did it but your Appliance. Whenever the opportunity presents itself I will say a good word for your Appliance, and also the honorable way in which you deal with ruptured people. It is a pleasure to recommend a good thing among your friends or strangers.

I am, Yours very sincerely,
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Combination Offers Withdrawn. The cost of book paper is likely to go still higher in the near future, and the cost of printing and binding is also advancing. In view of this we have withdrawn all the combination offers previously advertised of books at special rates in combination with a share of stock, or in combination with a year's subscription to the REVIEW. We are, however, still selling shares of stock in our publishing house at \$10.00 cash or \$1.00 a month for ten months, and for the remainder of the year 1917 we shall continue to allow stockholders forty per cent discount on the books we publish, we paying postage. Whether we shall be able to continue this discount later will depend on the future cost of book manufacturing; in any case, we shall sell our books to stockholders at cost. For the last two years we have been selling at a trifle less than cost, leaving a small deficit which has been made up thru the sale of new stock.

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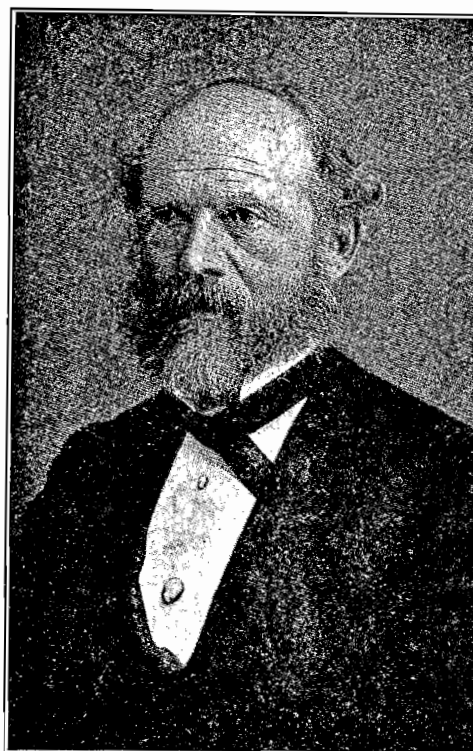
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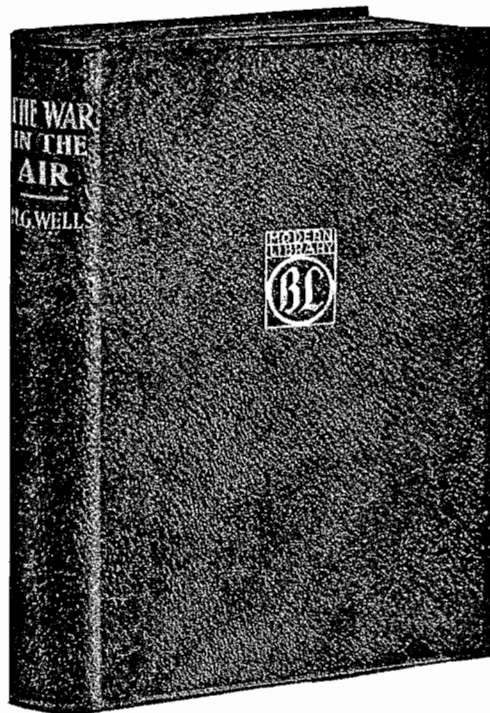
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August

1917

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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No. 2

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OUR TRENCHES

By Rex Lampman

OF COURSE—I don't know that this really happened.

But it seemed to me it did.

I was on the Russian front—somewhere in Galicia—I guess.

And I was with a dapper young officer—who spoke good English.

And we went along the lines.

—and saw the men in the trenches.

And they looked at us with dull eyes—(like ground glass)—in which there was no hope—no dream—no understanding.

And they acted as tho they had been in the trenches—buried in the ground—always.

—and never expected to get out.

And they did what they were told to do—like machines obeying a lever.

And they saluted the young officer—as tho he had stepped on a button—on the ground—which threw up their arms.

And once in a while—I caught a gleam—or thought I did—in some upturned face.—but it always faded.

Or perhaps it was never there.

—and I just thought I saw it.

And I asked the young officer about it—and he laughed—and said:

"Think?—Oh—no—I do not think so.

"All over Europe—on both sides"—he said—"it is the same.

"No—my friend—they do not think,

—"for if they did—what would they be doing here—in the trenches?"

And I said I didn't know.

And perhaps a shell stunned me,

—or maybe I was never there.

—because the next thing I knew—I was back here in Portland.

And it seemed to me—that we were all in trenches—too.

—and couldn't get out.

—and didn't want to.

—because we didn't know it.

And we had greater liberty—than those poor Russian soldiers.

—and made little better use of it.

And I saw that after all—altho our trenches were wider—and more comfortable—

—they seemed to be deeper.

And I saw that we were doing about the same things—in our trenches—

—as the dull-eyed soldiers were in theirs. We were living our lives—as best we could.

—or as best we thought we could—

—eating—and sleeping—and taking our turns at the necessary tasks.

And we were very busy—with the affairs of the trench.

—and seldom looked up—to see the sky.

And some of us were digging our trenches a little deeper.

—and a very few seemed dissatisfied.

—or were trying to get out.

And some talked—and said it was human nature—to be in a trench.

And in some of our faces dwelt dreams.

—or the traces where dreams had been.

And the fine brave things—that we wanted to do—we put off—from day to day.

—until the days became years.

—and finally—one by one—the years took us.

—and others took our places—in the trenches.

And all the while—there was plenty of room outside.

—and the whole world waited for us—to leap out of the trenches.

—and show it what we could do.

And the sky seemed to bend down—to plead with us.

—and the fields beckoned.

—and the woods whispered.

—and the sea called.

And I saw—or thought I did—that the people in other trenches—

—who—we thought—were our enemies—

—were really our friends.

—and that they were held by the same fears—that held us.

—and thought the same things that we did.

And all this—that I have written—may not have happened.

And I don't know how it seems to you.

—but it is very clear to me.

—and I know I may be wrong—but—

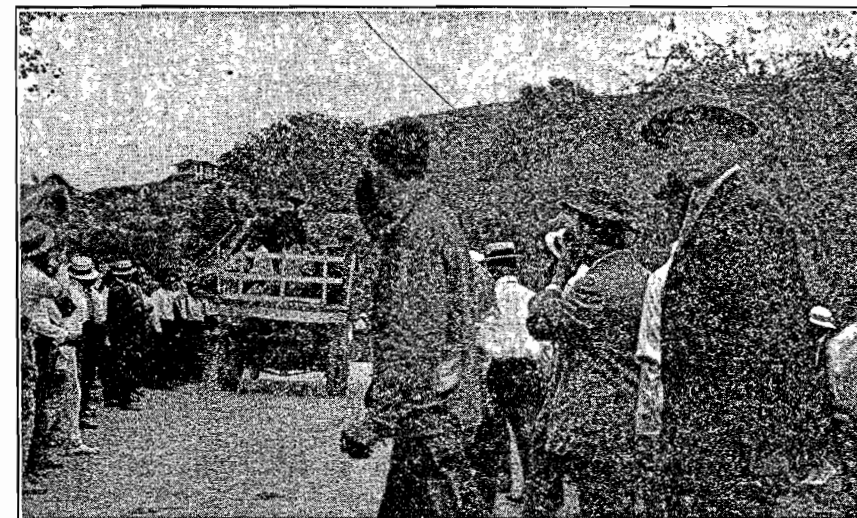
LISTEN—I think this trench warfare—that we read so much about—is not strictly confined to Poland—or France—or Galicia.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

AUGUST, 1917

No. 2



THE COMPANY WAS FORCED TO BRING OUT THE GUN MEN BEFORE FOOD COULD PASS THRU THE PICKET LINES TO THE PUMP MEN.

FROM BUTTE TO BISBEE

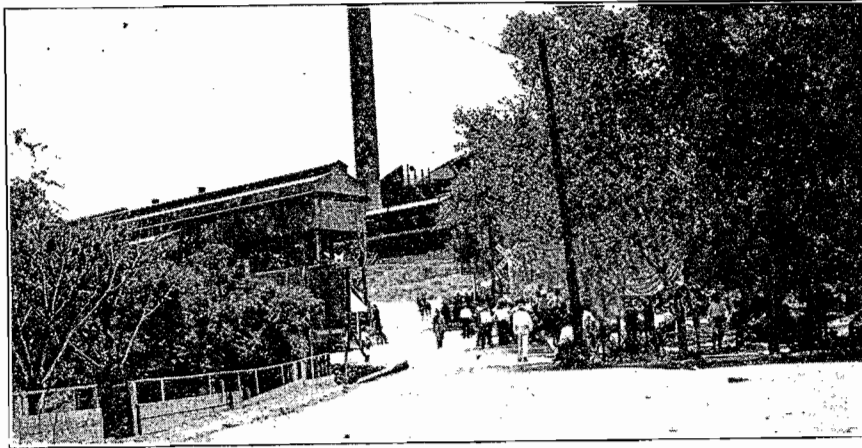
By JOHN MACDONALD

IF YOU have any red blood in your veins you will take off your hat and salute the fifty thousand copper miners who are fighting from Butte to Bisbee for the right to organize into one big union. They want a union big enough to take in the 500,000 unorganized men in the metal mining industry in this country.

For years their separate unions have been spied upon and broken up by Pinkerton and Burns detectives who were in the employ of the copper companies. They have been betrayed and double-crossed by many of their own officials who posed as union men, but were on the companies' pay rolls. They have been buried and blown up by the hundreds in producing profits for the copper kings and they now demand and are going to get together in one big union, which will be under their control.

They are having to face government troops, company gun men, deportation from their homes and misrepresentation by a lying prostitute press—they are being accused of being "German sympathizers" and of having received huge wads of German money, by lying labor leaders. Hundreds have been torn from their homes, herded into cattle cars without food or drink and are now threatened by company-owned sheriffs with bull pens. Still they fight on! Every socialist who is a socialist and every union man who is a union man will support this strike of the copper men to the limit.

The big industrial walkout of metal mine workers in the copper industry is spreading rapidly over the entire west. The miners of Butte were the first to go out, 14,000 strong. The Arizona miners of Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union, No. 800, of the I. W.



SOLDIERS AND PICKETS AT THE O. D. MINE. NO SMOKE IS COMING FROM THE SMELTER STACK.

W., are refusing to scab on the miners of Butte. Bisbee, Globe, Miami, Clifton, Morenci, Jerome, and Golconda are already out, and the mines shut down.

Capitalist papers now admit that copper production has decreased a million and a half pounds daily, owing to the big industrial strike. The newspaper men are used to the old time craft and local strikes, where the miners in one camp strike while the miners in other camps work overtime producing ore (altho calling themselves union men) so it is hard for them to understand that this is the dawn of the era of a new winning union, the I. W. W.

The big dailies scream in thick black and red headlines "I. W. W. Strikes Break Out In All Mining Districts." They will soon learn that, instead of being many different strikes, it is a big industrial walkout. All for one and one for all. All of the different camps and districts are in close touch with each other and with the headquarters of No. 800 in Salt Lake City, Utah. The propaganda of the One Big Union is spreading like a forest fire. Education and organization are on the march.

There is much of interest to the working class in our fight with the copper kings; our solidarity will stand as a message to slaves throout the world in other industries, to organize and fight. The boss is the only foreigner in the eyes of the workers here. All nationalities are together. Out of three hundred and fifty Mexicans, who were working on top at the mines, only eighteen are scabbing.

THE BISBEE DISTRICT

Ninety per cent of the five thousand who work in the mining industry in Bisbee are out, the ten per cent who love the boss more than themselves include bosses, imported gunmen, old pensioners, mule skinnners, watchmen, and others who imagine they are far above the common herd.

A great many have turned in their out of date craft union cards, lining up in 800. Of the five thousand miners in the Bisbee district over three thousand eight hundred have already joined the One Big Union. The others who are out with us are lining up fast every day. On June 26th our demands were presented and refused; next morning the strike was on, and pickets were at all the shafts. Wobblie Tactics! The mine owners were very much surprised that we didn't give them a month's notice to prepare to fight us and bring in gunmen.

We have meetings every evening in the city park. The last two evenings Fellow Worker James P. Thompson spoke to four thousand people at each meeting. He was greeted with rousing cheers which re-echoed thru the canyons of Bisbee. Thompson pointed out that for every drop of blood spilled on Everett's bloody Sunday hundreds of red cards have been issued. The miners are taking advantage of their little vacation to study diligently the methods, spirit and organization power of the rising One Big Union. After our present demands of \$6.00 for eight hours are granted we will begin to prepare for the next step onward, \$8.00 for six hours.

In Santa Rita, New Mexico, the company has granted a "voluntary" raise in wages to the Mexicans working there. Instead of \$2.30 for ten hours, they now receive \$4.00 for eight hours. We expect that they will get another "voluntary" raise in the near future. One of our demands in Bisbee is \$5.50 for all top men at the mines, most of whom are Mexicans; they formerly were paid \$2.25.

Twice a week we have a big dance at the Union Hall, which has the best dance floor in town. Several hundred fellow workers, girls and boys, always have a good time at all our entertainments.

We have received telegrams assuring us support from many sections of the country. From the harvest fields, where the Agricultural Workers are gathering in the grain, and the Construction Workers, we receive messages and words of cheer and encouragement.

Solidarity and intelligence will win. Our victory is assured. The army of the Workers is advancing under the banner of the One Big Union.

On June 26th the following demands were presented to the mining companies of the Warren District:

1. Abolition of the physical examination.

This abominable outrage has been inflicted upon the self-respecting workers of this district long enough. All union and non-union men as well freely voice their dislike for this system. It is really a blacklist in disguise and answers the same purpose as the rustling card system in Butte.

Often able-bodied, husky men are turned down by the so-called "doctors," while the unfit are often accepted. Nothing but a blacklist in disguise. No real man likes to be stripped and handled like a mule at an auction sale when he applies for work.

2. Two men to work on machines.

The machines used today, operated by one man, are much heavier than the machines formerly run by two men. It is hard enough for the men to operate one of these machines at the pace set by the companies at present.

3. Two men to work together in all raises.

How can the companies follow their own advice, "Safety First," without considering this demand?

4. To discontinue all blasting during shift.

Blasting during the shift and at dinner time is part of the speed-up system and we intend to do away with it. Also we have enough powder smoke from the previous shift, without continually eating smoke and being subject to severe headaches and sickness from this cause.

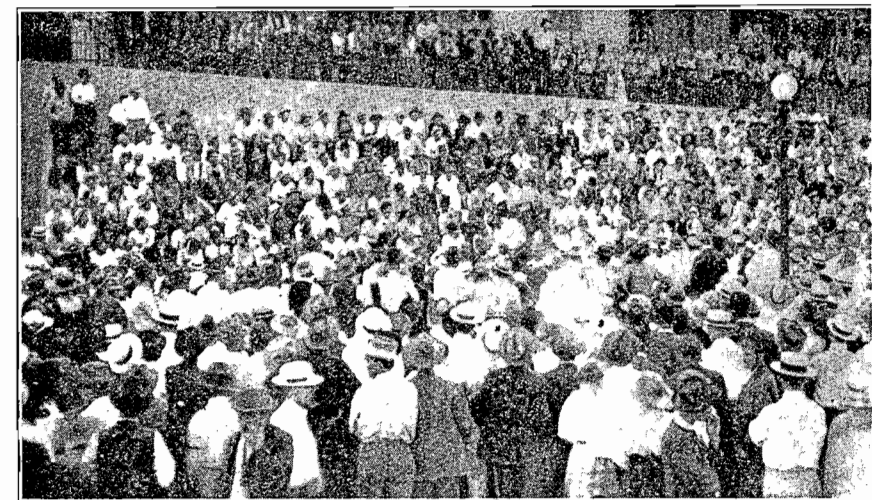
5. The abolition of all bonus and contract work.

The men are working hard enough now at day's pay. Under the bonus and contract system, the men are setting a pace that the men on day's pay must eventually follow.

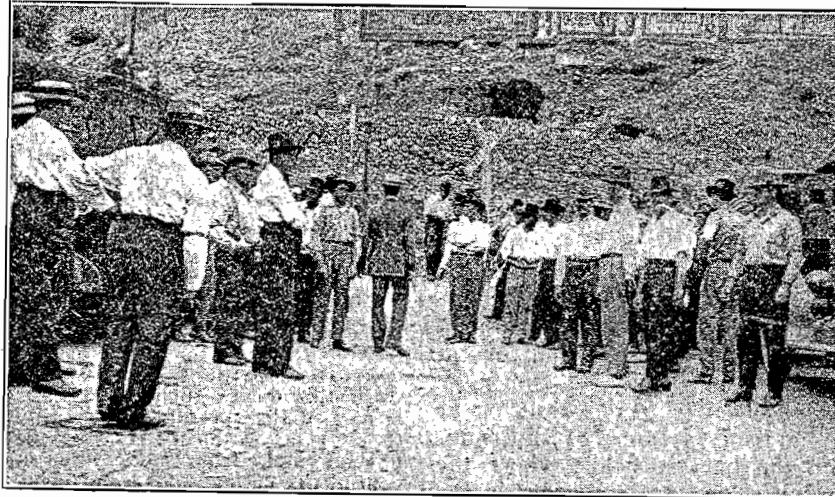
6. To abolish the sliding scale. All men under ground a flat rate of \$6 per shift. Top men \$5.50 per shift.

The cost of living is gradually going up; we don't know whether the sliding scale will or not. Probably not. Under the sliding scale the men have no protection whatever. When the scale slides down and the cost of living stays up, we don't intend to be the goats. So with the Butte miners, we demand the flat rate in order to insure us at least a decent living.

7. No discrimination to be shown against members of any organization.



MASS MEETING OF STRIKERS AT CITY PARK, BISBEE.



PICKET LINE AT BISBEE, ARIZONA.

GLOBE-MIAMI DISTRICT

By J. Oates

The miners are standing solid as granite. Not a ton of rock is coming up from below and no smoke is rolling out of the smelter stacks. It is a 100 per cent tie-up.

We have been denied the right of free assemblage in Globe. Our meeting last Sunday was orderly until it was invaded and broken up by U. S. troops. We then formed in line four thousand strong and hiked out past the city limits to the hills, where we held a hot meeting. Speeches were made in seven languages and a giant cactus served for a platform. Stanley Clark hit the mark when he said, "a certain Galilean agitator had to wear a crown of thorns on His head but the Wobblies have to walk on them to win."

Company gunmen and the Loyalty League are hollering their heads off about law and order thru the lick-spittle press, yet they are the very crowd who are working overtime to start trouble by threatening to drive us out of the district.

The fact is the miners are determined to win the strike. They realize full well what every day the mines are closed down is costing the Copper Trust, and they also know it is but a matter of time when their full demands will have to be granted. The miners are strong for the six-hour day proposition. The picket lines are growing stronger every

day and the general situation is well in hand.

At Globe, on July 4th, a bunch of gunmen cleared the streets with bayonets while Governor Campbell and Superior Court Judge Shitz drove a truck load of provisions thru the picket line into the company's property.

On Saturday, June 30, the Miami-Globe district branch of the Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union 800 presented to the managers of the mines, mills and smelters of the district the following demands:

1. Two men shall be employed on all piston and Leyner machines.
2. Two men to work together in all raises and stopes.
3. No blasting in raises, stopes or drifts during shifts.
4. Abolition of the contract and the bonus systems.
5. Abolition of the rustling card system.
6. Abolition of the sliding scale.
7. Representation in the control of the hospital.
8. No discrimination against members of any union.
9. A minimum wage of \$6.00 for all men working underground.
10. A minimum wage of \$5.50 for all men working on the surface.

These reasonable demands were ignored by the managers, and a strike, effective at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon, July 1, was called.

Every wage worker going to or from work on July 12th read the news of the deportation of hundreds of miners in Arizona and the following telegram was immediately sent from headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago:

"July 13th, 1917.

"PRESIDENT WILSON,
"Washington, D. C.

"More than two thousand men who were dragged from their homes and forcibly deported from Bisbee, Arizona, are adrift on the desert at Nermanas, New Mexico. These men are miners, useful citizens, residents of Bisbee, Arizona. The United States can ill afford to permit these Prussianized methods to go unchecked. We demand that these men be cared for and restored to their homes and families.

"WM. D. HAYWOOD,
"General Secretary-Treasurer Industrial Workers of the World."

President Wilson immediately protested against the deporting of the I. W. W's. and sent the following message to Governor Campbell of Arizona:

"Secretary of War has instructed General Parker to send officers to Arizona at once to report to him conditions there, with a view to co-operating in the maintenance of order.

"Meantime, may I not respectfully urge the greater danger of citizens taking the law into their own hands, as your report indicates their having done. I look upon

such actions with grave apprehension. A very serious responsibility is assumed when such precedents are set.

"WOODROW WILSON."

As we go to press, news comes in that all the active union men are being arrested and jailed, including the two workers in Arizona who furnished the photographs and information which is contained in this article. The following telegram and resolution just reaches us from Butte:

"Butte, Mont., July 18, 1917.

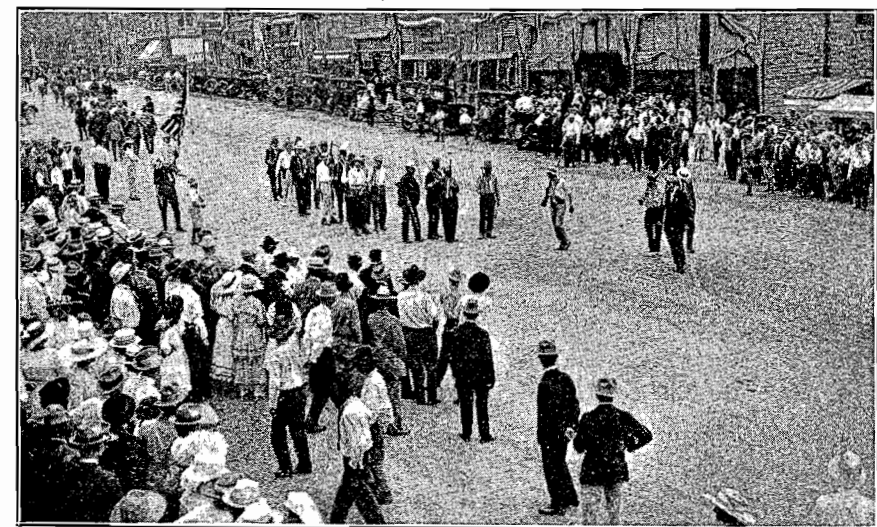
"Do not believe press reports. Strike still on. Let every one know. Will notify you officially when strike is off. Stay away from Butte. Give this widest publicity.

"Press Committee Metal Mine Workers Union."

Resolutions adopted by the Metal Mine Workers Union of Butte, July 12, 1917:

Whereas, Owing to the corruption and disloyalty of Western Federation officials in 1914, we the miners of Butte lost our organization and since that time have waited without avail on the American Federation of Labor or a similar body to organize us once more; and,

Whereas, This, our new organization, numbering not less than 90 per cent of the men employed in this district, was led to believe by officers of the American Federation of Labor that if it would affiliate with the American Federation of Labor thru the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, it would be received as a body into and get the full and active support of the entire Federation in continuing its strike and securing the redress of every one of its grievances; and,



CITIZENS ALLIANCE OF GLOBE ON THE FOURTH DAY OF THE STRIKE.

Whereas, Accordingly, in this belief, it was decided to put to the full and free vote of our members the question of affiliation, and preparations were at once made for this purpose; and,

Whereas, At the eleventh hour, when everything indicated an almost unanimous vote in favor of affiliation, the accredited representative of the Metal Mine Workers' department of the American Federation of Labor, W. H. Davidson, formally announced that the only conditions on which we could affiliate would be that we immediately break up our union that we affiliate as individuals and not as a body, that we at once end our strike and go back to work, and that in consequence we should lose all the fruits of our efforts and our sacrifice; and,

Whereas, This last-minute move on the part of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and its officers here at once brought forcibly home and clear to us its incompetence, its uselessness and its utter disloyalty to labor and the striking miners of this district; and,

Whereas, In the result we have shown by an overwhelming vote that we shall have nothing to do and no connection with such infamous traitors to the cause of labor; and,

Whereas, There are now engaged in the metal industries in this country not less than 500,000 men, and of this number less than 15,000 belong to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and,

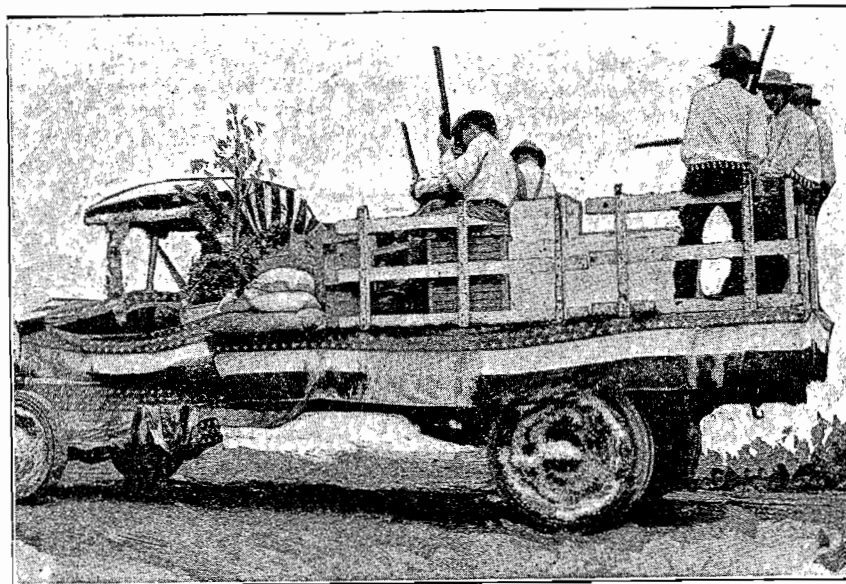
Whereas, The same harsh and intolerable conditions obtain all over; and,

Whereas, It is beyond question necessary and the time is now ripe for all of us and our co-workers to unite and organize for our welfare and protection,

Now, Therefore, Be It Unanimously Resolved, by us, the metal miners of Butte, in mass meeting assembled, that we do hereby call upon all metal mine and allied workers of this continent to meet forthwith at their respective camps and then and there, for the purpose of uniting and organizing and consolidating all our forces, to select, in the proportion of one to every five hundred men, or less if the camp be less in number, delegates to attend a conference, not later than August 1, 1917, at Denver, Colorado, then and there to deliberate and form one clear and definite union of the metal mine and allied workers of this country, then and thereafter to be solely and entirely devoted to promoting the best interests of its members.

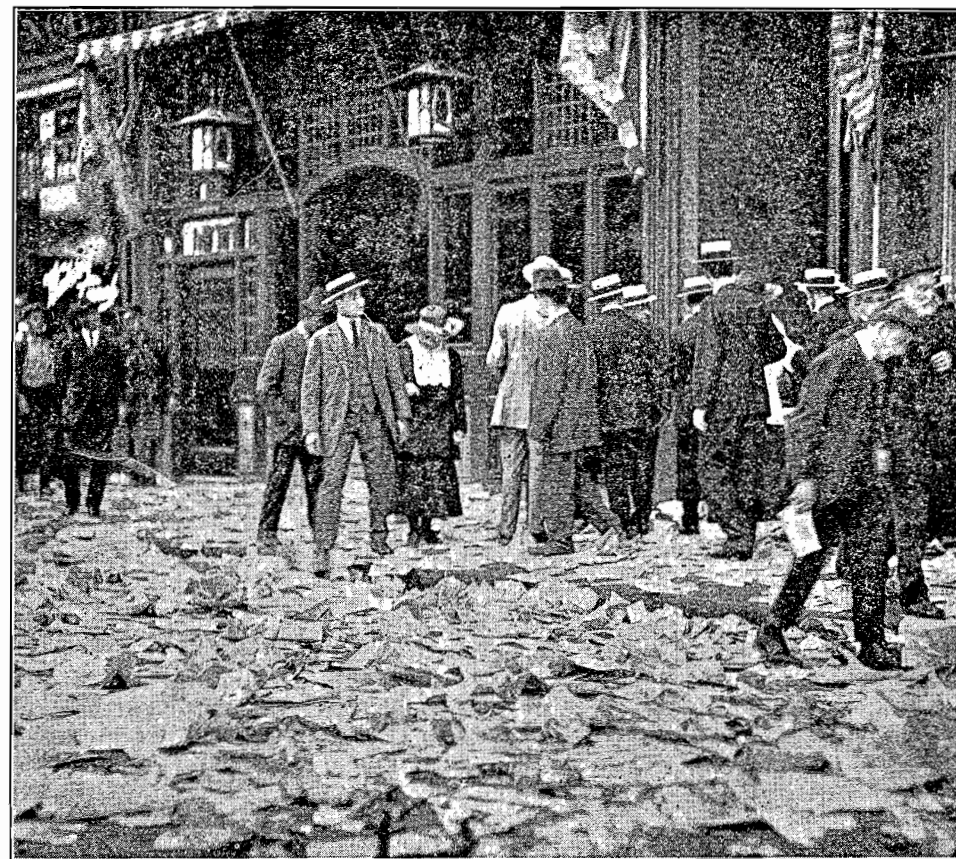
And Be It Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to every metal miners' organization on this continent, and that copies be furnished to the press.

H. W. REIHANON,
THOS. RIMMER,
JOHN DORAN.



COMPANY GUN MEN PREPARING TO RUN THE PICKET LINE AT THE OLD DOMINION MINE, GLOBE.

RIOTS IN BOSTON



—Copyright by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

SCENE IN FRONT OF THE SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS IN BOSTON AFTER IT HAD BEEN WRECKED BY UNIFORMED THUGS.

(From *The Boston Journal*)

“A DEEP disgrace to Boston and a sorry stain to the American uniform—that is a mild judgment of the rioting yesterday in our streets and in that historic park dedicated to the cause of Liberty.

A parade of civilian men and women within their rights and within the law was attacked by American soldiers and sailors. Innocent citizens were injured, private property was destroyed. The free streets and the public park were taken in possession by the uniformed men, and the rights of the civilian were denied.

And this in Boston, U. S. A.—and in a year when the nation has been urged to

give its blood to “make the world safe for democracy!”

* * *

The Socialists, a political party existing by law, were having one of their customary parades. With the American flag they carried their usual banners, bearing their party inscriptions.

And then along comes a gang of ruffians dressed in the proudest regalia of the United States, and attacks the persons and the liberties of the paraders, including both men and women.

In Park Square, under the shadow of Abraham Lincoln's statue, a second gang breaks into and plunders the Socialist head

quarters, burning furniture and fittings in the street.

The United States uniform lent a hand to breaking, entering and larceny—in broad daylight, in a public square of one of the most populous cities in the country.

* * *

The scores of soldiers and sailors who took part in this brutal outburst have insulted their service, their uniforms and the flag they so cheaply pretended to "honor." By executive order of the President, they should be searched out and disciplined, and no citizen who is awake to the value of citizenship rights will rest until such an order has been issued.

Incidentally no single misfortune in all the country in these troublous times has done as much as this will do to harden the hearts of the already numerous skeptics against our war for democracy. If peaceful citizens cannot pursue their orderly way without interference by the military the old fear of "militarism" must rise again.

It will be well for the country if yesterday's outrage is promptly disavowed and as promptly punished. Free America will not stand much of German style military autocracy in its democratic army.

As for the uniformed men who outraged our citizenry; they are, we are glad to say, only a small part of the whole number of those who have chosen to fight for their country. But it may not be out of place to suggest to the government that, if this is the temper of so many men that further riots are threatened, it is best for the cause of peace at home to hustle these troops to France where they may fight for their lives against an armed foe without any spare time for bullying innocent women and tired laborers.

* * *

(From *The Nation*, N. Y.)

"AGENTS of the Federal Department of Justice, under the direction of Assistant District Attorney Goldberg, arrested a number of persons who were alleged to have made unpatriotic remarks. . . . None of the soldiers and sailors who figured in the disturbance was arrested." So goes an account of a riot which for two hours on Sunday disgraced the city of Boston. A Socialist parade, announced as a peace demonstration, presumably under proper permit

of the city authorities, was broken up by an organized band of uniformed men of the Naval Reserve, National Guard, marines, and Canadians in kilts; flags and banners were seized and trampled and persons were beaten, and disorder lasted for nearly two hours. Things like this are happening all over the country; soldiers and sailors in uniform, with or without open sanction of their superiors, are invading the domain and usurping the functions of the civil authorities, and not infrequently committing or causing breaches of the peace. It may be that many Americans, proud of the traditions of liberty, enthusiastic in support of the American participation in the enterprise of "making the world safe for democracy," will look with complacency upon such a scene as this; will see no peril in riots started by uniformed men who profess to be enlisted in the war against "Prussian militarism." Others and soberer men will see in it only tendencies of the most sinister character.

* * *

(From the *Milwaukee Leader*)

"INTOLERABLE" is the word which Secretary of War Newton D. Baker uses to characterize the recent actions of men in the naval or military uniform of the United States who have broken up peaceful and lawful meetings in this city, Boston and elsewhere.

James Oneal, state secretary for the Socialist party, says:

"We have also gathered sufficient evidence to indicate that a recruiting officer on the common had for several days urged his audiences to break up the parade and meeting. Witnesses are also ready to testify that this officer led the sailors and soldiers in the street assaults and in the raid on the state office. Pictures have also been secured showing the soldiers and sailors making the assaults, and these will be used as evidence in legal action that is to be taken.

"The loss to the state office from the raid is estimated at over \$1,000. The loss to the various organizations in expensive banners that were torn up will be as much. Legal action will be taken to recover the loss, and as the statute is very clear in the case of riot, we have great hopes of recovering the greater part of the loss from the city."



—From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

"HAIL, LIBERTY!" (A TYPICAL RUSSIAN CARTOON GLORIFYING THE REVOLUTION.)

Syndicalist-Socialist Russia

By MAX EASTMAN

WHAT makes us rub our eyes at Russia is the way all our own theories are proving true. Nothing else could give us this crazy feeling of surprise! One by one the facts fall out exactly as they were predicted by Marx and Engels and the philosophers of Syndicalism. To me the distance of Russia, combined with the almost comic patness of everything that happens, makes me feel that I am not watching history, but a kind of William Morris' dream or a Gilbert and Sullivan staging of the Social Revolution in Comic Opera. All the esoteric terminology of the Marxian theory that used to be locked up in the Rand School Library, or employed to enliven in Jewish accent the academic deliberations of East side debating societies, is now flashed in the

despatches of the Associated Press from one end of the world to the other. The theory of the Class Struggle, the Bourgeoisie versus the Proletariat, the Expropriation of the Capitalist, the International Solidarity of the Working Class—these abstruse matters are explained on the front page of the metropolitan dailies. The names of our theories have become the names of current facts. And the literati who conduct our newspapers cut some ludicrous capers in their attempt to be glib with these names and these facts.

One of the reporters for a New York paper heroically worked out the translation of a motto which was put up on the facade of the Imperial Palace in Petrograd. "Proletarians of every country, join yourselves together!" he wrote. And he was moved

to admire the skill with which this significant watchword had been "evolved from the brains of ignorant Slavic peasants!"

Perhaps the most ludicrous touch, the most suggestive of Comic Opera, is the figure of Elihu Root, a hasty if aged emissary dispatched from the United States to quiet all this tumult of Marxian lingoos that he can not understand, with the old fashioned fluid of Republican oratory. I imagine he spent some considered moments with Charles Edward Russel on the way across the ocean, trying to find out just what Socialism is from an oratorical standpoint. He made such a mild little amateurish venture to hint at it in his address to the Council of Ministers:

"We believe in the competence of the power of democracy and in our heart of hearts abides faith in the coming of a better world in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity."

We musn't smile. It was an intellectual effort, and a noble stretch of heart, for Elihu Root to acknowledge that there might be a better world than the one he has spent his life defending. Charles Edward must have taught him that. But Charles Edward himself never read the books; he was an emotional, a sort of journalistic, evangelical Socialist; whereas this Russian revolution seems to be conducted in the terms of the most erudite modern interpretations of the straight Marxian science. I do not see how even Charles Edward's overflowing heart can pilot the old man with his eighteenth century mind, thru those peculiar tumults of nineteenth century theory and twentieth century fact. I am sorry for him. I know he is going to become pessimistic over there.

One feature of the drama surpasses in its truth to Marxian theory, anything that might have been conceived by a poet. The books never painted it plainly enough. That is the arising, side by side with the bourgeois political government, of an unauthorized government representing the economic and military power of the working-class. A Parliament of proletarian deputies, entirely unofficial politically—a body like an American Federation of Labor convention with a majority of I. W. W.'s—is in essential control of Russian affairs. And this, altho the representatives of "The People" are sit-

ting officially at the same capital. This industrial parliament is edging gradually, it appears, into all the human functions of government, leaving only ritual and war and diplomacy to the political branch—and growing rather weary of those! It is this fact that our newspaper wise men, who never heard of the economic interpretation of history, or the class theory of government, can absolutely not understand. They fail altogether to comprehend the sovereign power of a non-political government.

To us it is merely an amazing visualization, or embodiment, of the truth we learned long ago and have been telling ever since—that either thru, or aside from, political forms, the economic forces always rule. The reason why the Russian State is compelled to obey the mandates of Russian labor, is that labor is in actual or potential control of the economic forces. Aside from the extraordinary influence of a vast army, recruited from the workers and expressing their class power with especial poignancy, the secret of the situation—it seems to me—must lie in the factories and on the land. The following excited despatch which I quote from the *New York Times*, and which predict "economic collapse" for Russia, describes the economic fact which must constitute and fortify the power of the workmen's delegates:

"The outstanding features of the labor situation are as follows:

"An investigation shows that virtually the same difficulties prevail in all the big factories in Petrograd, and apparently authenticated reports from the Moscow, Donets, and Ural districts indicate general disorganization. In many of the factories the demands by the workmen for increased wages are actually greater than the entire profits of the factories under the best conditions of production. The workmen, thru their committees, are in virtual command of the factories, and all business has to be submitted to them for approval. Wages in a majority of the factories have already been increased from 100 to 150 per cent. But there has yet been no offset by an advance in prices of the output.

"In one of the works in Petrograd the workmen recently demanded the immediate payment of 13,000,000 rubles—normally \$6,500,000—to cover an increase of 15 kopecs per hour for each workman since the beginning of the war. The directors of the organization immediately communicated with the government and asked to be placed under voluntary arrest as protection against the threats of the workmen, which, as usual, accompanied the demand.

"An eight-hour day has become effective in all factories.

"An ironical feature of the difficulties confronting the employers is the fact that, tho suffering serious loss, they do not dare to close the estab-

lishments owing to threats of bodily and material vengeance. The power of the workmen's committees so far has superseded the authority of the owners. No man in a factory can be dismissed without the consent of the committee.

"In eighteen metal establishments in the Dontes district with a capitalization of 195,000,000 rubles and annual profits of 75,000,000, the workmen had demanded an increase of 240,000,000 rubles. The owners had agreed to 64,000,000, but the workmen refused to accept this.

"In some of the works, according to the statement of a representative of the union, the owner decided to cede all the profits to the workmen, but even this did not meet their exorbitant demands."

To those who assume that private profit on capital is an essential condition of modern production, this situation must, indeed, mean economic collapse. But to those already familiar with the idea of a workmen's syndicate simply taking over, along with the conduct of an industry, the capital and the profits, it means Industrial Democracy, or the genuine prosperity of the people. And it is this transfer of economic control, prospective or already accomplished, which, with the democratization of the army, explains, and also certifies, the power of the workmen's and soldiers' parliament. In the long run they who control the forces of production control the state. And those expert emissaries of our "democracy" in which less than ten per cent of the people control the forces of production and control the state, will find it difficult indeed to comprehend the revolution which involves, perhaps, an actual transfer of capital stock to the people. They will think the world has run wild. They will not believe in the syndicalist-socialist Russia. They will predict failure.

And it may be, of course, that their prediction will come true. That Russia should issue with a single convulsion from Czarism to the industrial democracy is far more than I can learn, in so few days, even to hope. But never mind—the events have already verified our hypothesis, and confirmed us in the whole direction of our thoughts and deeds. And whether this revolution wins to the extreme goal, or falls short, may be accounted incidental to its success in clearing and verifying the way forward. It has established us and made us sure. A working-class will yet own the tools with which it works, and an industrial parliament will yet govern the co-operative affairs of men.

It Is True

After I sent those paragraphs on Syndi-

calist Russia to the printer I lost heart a little about publishing them. They were good, perhaps, but weren't they a little too good to be true? Did I quite believe that story quoted from the *Times*? Could it be possible that only ten years after I began to learn the meaning of the dream of expropriation, the working class of a whole country should be in physical possession of the machines? I am not sure I would have published those paragraphs if Lincoln Steffens had not arrived from Petrograd before the proofs were corrected. Now I know that the whole dream is true. The control of the factories by the workmen's unions is "practically universal." In some cases these unions are "allowing" their employers a slight dividend as a matter of temporary courtesy, but in practically no cases are the employers in a position to demand it.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies is in absolute control—so far as there is a control—of Russian affairs. And even they are afraid to exercise extreme power, because they are so directly followed up and coerced by the groups of individual workmen and soldiers whose servants they are. For once in the world, as Steffens says, "The mob rules." And it rules well. Peace and pleasure and quiet usefulness prevail in Russia.

I call Lincoln Steffens the friend of Revolutions. It was inevitable he should be the first one at Petrograd and the first one home to tell us. He is always a little more interested in the spiritual condition of men than I am. So inspired by the fact that an entire population, including thieves and capitalists, can live in a state of ideal mutual tolerance and friendly goodwill under virtual anarchy, in the exaltation that follows a democratic revolution—so inspired with this, that I can hardly persuade him to tell me the facts I most want to know about the conduct of industry and the location of the economic power. But he always has these facts, and he really knows more about what happens when there is a revolution than anybody else. He knows what makes it happen. And when Lincoln Steffens, after five weeks in Petrograd, tells me that he will never be sad again—I know that the essence of liberty is there. And the essence of liberty is possession by the people of the sources of income.—From the *Masses*.



—Kirby in the New York World.

"I REMEMBER THOSE BOYS WHEN THEY BOTH HAD GOOD JOBS."

The Spectre of Industrial Unionism

By ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD

ASPECTRE is haunting the world—the spectre of Industrial Unionism. Capital is frightened at its own shadow; the stupendous reflex of its own stupendous development. And well it might be.

Industrial unionism is the greatest inspiration that has ever come to the army of labor—for it is an inspiration, not a plan devised by this or that labor leader.

And it comes to the *army* of labor, to every unit of the rank and file, not to this or that labor Moses.

Its message, thrilled with the breaths of an age of martyrs, says to the worker: "No Moses will lead you out. Emancipation is yours, but you must take it for yourself."

This message is not for *some* workers but for *all* workers. It is breathed louder to the homeless, the propertyless, the voteless, the jobless and the godless. The more the worker is dispossessed of all that adds up "*life*," the louder it is breathed, and for a simple reason—the inspiring message comes, not as all past hopes (?) of labor, from up above in the twinkling stars, but from below, out of the solid earth.

First it is heard, first understood by the despised bum, hobo, tramp, stiff, for he is nearest the source from which it comes. But its message of hope for an enslaved working class is wafting upwards and is affecting the entire soul of the great labor army.

And because it comes from the bottom and not the top, its philosophy, its ethics and morals are what some will call upside down. There is no *up* nor *down* in the universe except relatively, and the upside downness of the Industrial Union philosophy is best expressed in the word "revolutionary." Industrial Unionism is "Revolutionary Unionism."

The Old Unionism

Hitherto wage-earners have been organized in trade or craft unions. The craft union does not admit capitalists into the union, for capitalists are its enemies, nor does it admit all workingmen, for all workingmen over and above the number of jobs available, are its enemy.

In other words, a craft union is an organization of workers engaged in a par-

ticular craft or calling, and the object of organization is to stint the number of persons who might learn, or become employed in that particular trade. Why so?

Because it helps solve the unemployed problem *for the craft*, but correspondingly *increases the problem for the remainder of the working class*.

A commodity is a thing of value produced for exchange on the world market. Butter, eggs, boots, etc., exposed for sale in a shop are commodities. Electric power is a commodity. Labor power is a commodity.

The law of supply and demand says that when the supply of a commodity exceeds the demand, the price of that commodity goes down. Inversely, when the demand for a commodity exceeds the supply, the price of that commodity goes up.

Craft unions reduce the supply of craft labor-power and increase its price. Hence the big wages in unions with big entrance fees and exacting conditions of apprenticeship.

But craft unions, as we have shown, increase the supply of labor power turned in other directions and thus put the rest of the working class in a less favorable relation to the law of supply and demand. Hence the low wages among unskilled and unorganized workers.

Craft unions fight and enervate the working class. However useful they were an epoch ago, they are absolutely disastrous and a source of disintegration among the working class today.

"Recognition of the craft union by the boss," the "Union Label," "Trade Agreements," "Arbitration and Conciliation Boards and Courts," etc., are each and all wholly alliances between craft unions and more thoroly enslave the whole working class.

Craft unions are good things for craftsmen and if there was a larger force of craftsmen than "dead level" workers, craft unionism would still prevail.

But economic development has destroyed the crafts and reduced nearly all workers to a dead level. We workers are all sufficiently down and miserable to realize our identity of interest. Not one of us can rise unless we all rise. It has become a *class* matter, not an *individual* nor a *craft* matter. New times have new troubles and require new treatment.

The New Unionism

Right never did prevail and never will without the aid of might.

Existence is a perpetual struggle; the weak go to the wall. It isn't the *few* who go to the wall but the *weak*.

The capitalists are few and the workers many. The workers however, are weak and the capitalists strong. The workers are going to the wall. In fact they are there already—right "up against it."

Why are the few strong and the many weak?

Why can a child lead an elephant?

The "elephant" labor has power in both hands, but lacks the co-operation of that divine speck of grey matter we call brain.

BRAWN and brain!

In impossible proportions. Plenty brawn, too little brain.

The greatest power in the world is *power to produce*, but it "cuts no ice," *except when it is withheld!*

Labor has power in its two hands, greater than any controllable power that does or ever did exist.

What is the mountain?

Have not the two hands of labor tunneled it?

What is the ocean?

Have not the hands of labor shaped and jointed iron that it floats in the most tempestuous ocean. Labor laughs at the argy sea!

And Niagara?

Has not labor already diminished that mighty roar? A hundredth part of that mighty volume is led, like the elephant, by the ear, to serve the needs of society. It comes like a roaring lion to dash upon the rocks below the fall as it has done for countless ages, but labor gently leads the way to the whirring wheels of the mill and after extracting its mighty power, leads the peaceful volume like a gentle lamb to join the rapids far below and beyond. And what labor has done with a hundredth part, it can do with a hundred hundredth parts.

What can be done that labor cannot do? Nothing.

What can be done without labor? Nothing.

What is labor?

The power possessed by the working class.

What does this power mean?

That society couldn't exist without it.

What power exists apart from labor?

No power creative at will.

What would happen if labor withheld its power to produce?

Capitalists, priests, politicians, press hirelings, thugs, sluggers, hangmen, soldiers, policemen and all creeping and crawling things that suck the blood of the common working man would die of starvation. Like Sampson in the Temple, labor's arms may rend the pillars which support society and bring the social edifice down to destruction about its own ears.

The new unionism says to the worker, weary with agelong travail, "Bowed and humiliated as you are, be you despised ever so much, your mothers, wives and sisters forced to lives of shame, your children stunted and starved, you hold in these two hands of yours the power to save not only yourself, your mothers, wives and sisters, and your children, but the whole human race. The world lies in the hollow of your dirty, blacked and horny right hand—save it!

How We Didn't Used to Win

Formerly when a wage slave had a grievance he complained and if his grievance was not redressed, he would at times become wild and agitated and say things, whereat his boss would "can" him and employ another wage slave.

After a time, this being an experience of all wage slaves in a given trade or workshop, collective bargaining was resorted to. At first the boss was discomfited, but as the field of labor which he exploited became international, he used craft against craft and workshop against workshop as he had formerly used individual against individual and so got the upper hand.

Industrial unionism embraces the uttermost man within the uttermost limits of this earth and as the boss can get no farther, he is—so to speak—"up against it."

The old unionist based his philosophy and morality in the sacred rights of private property in things socially used. He believed in a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. A fair rate of interest, a fair margin of profit and reasonable rent. He wouldn't hit a boss below the belt and if the boss put the belt around the crown of his head he wouldn't hit him at all. He wouldn't go out on a strike before giving the boss sufficient notice to cancel contracts, refuse fresh

agreements, hire scabs, or in other ways get ready for the conflict.

Then the old unionists would walk out of the workshop, lift their hats respectfully to the boss, and apologize if their heads should happen to break a policeman's club.

They would stay out on strike for weeks and eat up the union funds, saved in the preceding thirty years; then they would perforce practice a starving stunt, and when tired of that would go back to work and sign the pledge not to strike again for anything or anybody.

The New Morality

The new morality says:

Damn interest!

Damn rent!

Damn profits!

Damn agreements!

We've damned well enough to do to look after our own damned selves and families.

The boss don't care a damn about us and quite right, too. He has his own self and family to look after.

We ought to be damned if we don't look after our own dear wives and dear little ones.

For wife and little ones are as "dear" to the worker, as any such ever were to his boss.

And ninety per cent of the wives and children of the world belong to the working class!

Our morality asks—what will help them?

What will stop them starving by the millions?

And whatever is calculated to help our class is moral, good and pure.

What injures our class is immoral and must be fought down and out.

We didn't make the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, but it's there, and it's our business to uphold our own interest if we don't want to go under.

The power must be taken out of the policeman's club!

How?

Anyhow!

Why?

Because it hurts our class and is therefore immoral.

The guns mustn't point our way if they aren't spiked, because they are liable to go off and hurt us and that would be immoral.

So we must spike the guns or turn them round. Anyhow, and because it hurts our class and is immoral.

If we go on strike we must strike quickly, sudden and certainly. Don't give the boss time to think or prepare plans. He might get the better of us and that would be bad for us and immoral.

Strike when he has a big order which he must fulfil. It will hurt him more and us less and that is moral.

Tie up the industries in town, all the industries in all the towns, in the whole country, or in the whole world if necessary. The strike will end quicker and we will starve less and that's good for us, and therefore moral.

How to Win

Don't let the strike eat up your funds. That's bad for you and immoral.

But let it cost the boss a bit. His power consists of the things he owns and if he owns less his power will be less. His weakness is your strength and is good for you—therefore moral.

A bolt taken out of a machine may be a big help in a strike, even if the bolt is buried in a hole six inches deep.

Innocence is sometimes a crime! See capitalist courts sentence innocent workingmen and discharge guilty capitalists.

To step out on strike and starve is foolish if you can strike on the job and eat. Striking on the job means, doing such a thing—i. e., anything—that will compel the boss to do what you think is the fair thing. If you win it's good for you and therefore moral, however many little things belonging to the boss disappears, or however little work you might do.

Pat from Erin's isle got a job once to the surprise of his friend.

"So you're working Pat?" asked the friend.

"Hold yer whist, man," said Pat, "I'm just fooling the boss. Sure! I've bin carrying the same hod of bricks up and down the ladder all day, and the boss thinks I'm wurrking."

Pat may have been working but he knew how to get one on the boss.

Another immoral thing is to stop outside the factory door and watch the scabs trooping in. If you can't keep them away, get in yourself, and if the boss doesn't settle with you, come out later on after the scabs are gone.

Of course all these methods have to be mixed with brains as well as brawn.

If you intend to go by what the courts say, you might as well appoint your boss leader of your strike. Nowadays, it's illegal to strike in any part of the world. A good many other things are illegal and if you get caught you will surely get punished, so don't get punished, for, as punishment hurts, it isn't moral.

A Few Pointers

Be a patriot, in the sense that you are loyal to the class from which you spring.

Be moral and don't do a thing to hurt a single member of your own class.

Don't strike for more than you have a right to demand.

You have a right to demand all you have power to enforce.

If you try to raise a two-hundred pound weight with a 150 pound muscle you can only expect to get hurt and that's not moral.

If you decide to strike for shorter hours or better wages and find you don't develop the power you thought, get back to work on the best terms.

Don't think going back on less than you demanded is defeat. The workers have never been defeated. You can't tell the winner till the battle ends.

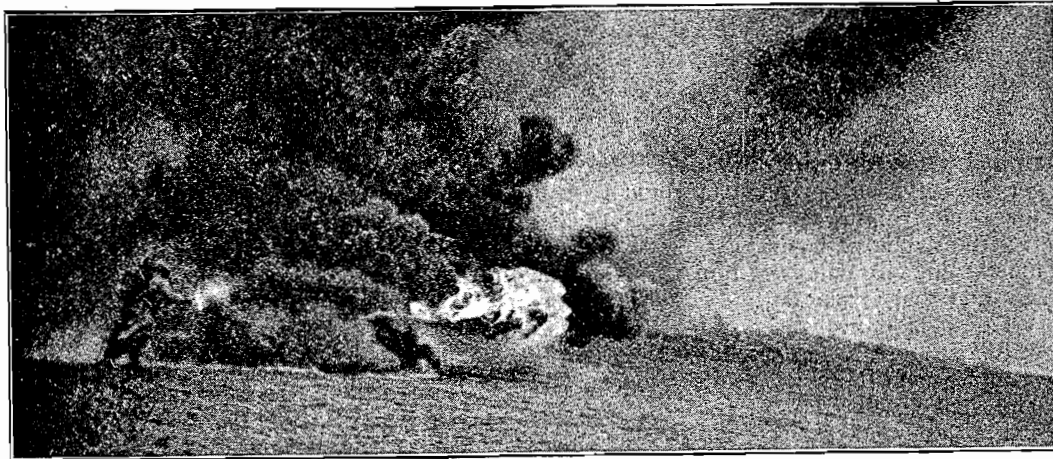
Don't hit the boss in the same place twice. He'll get wise and get on an armor-plate.

When the boss gets the better of you don't growl. Give him credit and try and beat him next time.

Don't weep over a scab.

An Albany (N. Y.) paper the other day said: "When complaining about your job, remember your boss doesn't compel you to work for him."

The Industrial Unionists say in reply: "When people complain of the ingratitude of labor, remember you need not be grateful. Further, if labor makes it hard for you to own the means of life, remember you need not own these things. If you let them go, your worries will vanish, and since you do not yourself use them and scarcely ever see them, you can't have much affection for them. Have no fear for your future. If work is a hardship we will remember that and give you a lighter task. If you can't work we will see you are provided for. Industrial democracy is inevitable anyhow, and if you do suffer, you have the satisfaction of knowing you suffered for a good cause."



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FLAME-THROWERS IN ACTION. THIS PHOTO SHOWS FRENCH TROOPS MAKING AN ATTACK. IT IS BEING USED BY BOTH SIDES WITH GREAT "SUCCESS." A SOLDIER WHO IS "GASED" NEVER RECOVERS.

The Firing Line ("Le Feu")

By ROMAIN ROLLAND

From the Chicago Daily News, July 12, 1917

[This article, entitled "The Journal of a Squad," is a review in Romain Rolland's usual impassioned style of the most remarkable book yet written on the war—"Le Feu"—by Henri Barbusse.—Paul Scott Mower.]

"HERE is an implacable mirror of the war. Day by day, for sixteen months, the war has been reflected therein; the mirror of two fine, clear, accurate, intrepid French eyes. The author, Henri Barbusse, has dedicated his book, 'To the memory of the comrades who fell beside me at Crouy and on Hill 119, December, 1915,' and this book, 'Le Feu (Journal d'une Escouade),' has just received, at Paris, the consecration of the Goncourt prize.

"By what miracle have such words of truth been able to make themselves heard integrally at a time when so much free speech, speech infinitely less free, is repressed? I do not try to explain it, but I profit by it; for the voice of this witness casts into the shadows all the selfish lies which in the last three years have sought to idealize the channel house of Europe.

The Soldiers as a Mass

"The armies stay buried there for years, 'in the depths of an eternal battle field,'

packed in, 'chained elbow to elbow,' wrapped and padded 'against the winds from above, against the water from below, against the cold, that species of infinity which is everywhere.' The men, muffled in skins, bundles of blankets, sweaters, oversweaters, squares of oilcloth, fur caps, tarred, gummed or rubber coated hoods, look like cavemen, gorillas, troglodytes. One of them, while digging in the earth, finds the hatchet of a quarternary man, a pointed stone with a bone for a handle, and uses it. Others make elementary jewelry, like savages. Three generations together, all races but not all classes—plowmen and workmen, for the most part, small farmers, farm hands, teamsters, delivery men, a factory foreman, a wineshop keeper, a newspaper seller, a hardware dealer, miners—not many liberal professions. This amalgamated mass has a common tongue 'made of workshop and barracks slang and of patois seasoned with a few neologisms.' Each has his own silhouette, exactly seized and outlined; they are not to be confused when once one has seen them.

"But the process by which they are depicted is very different from that of Tolstoy. Tolstoy cannot see a soul without

going to the bottom of it. Here one looks and passes on. The personal soul scarcely exists, is merely a husk; underneath, aching, crushed by fatigue, stupefied by noise, poisoned by smoke, the collective soul dozes in boredom, waiting, waiting, endlessly ('waiting machine'), no longer seeks to think, 'has given up trying to understand, given up being itself.' They are not soldiers (they do not want to be); they are men, 'poor, ordinary fellows torn brusquely out of life; ignorant, unemotional, limited in view, full of great good sense which sometimes runs off the track, inclined to let themselves be led and to do what they are told, inured to hard labor, capable of long suffering, simple men still further simplified, in whom, by the force of things, nothing is accentuated save their primitive instincts—instincts of self-preservation, egotism, a tenacious hope of living through everything, the joy of eating, drinking and sleeping.

"Even in the danger of a bombardment they get bored after a few hours, they yawn, play cards, talk nonsense; 'they drop off asleep,' they are bored. 'The grandeur and extent of these outbreaks of artillery tires the mind.' They go through hells of suffering, and do not even remember them. 'We've seen too many. And everything we've seen was too much. We aren't meant to hold it all. It gets away on every side, we're too little. We're regular forgetting machines. Men are things that don't think much, and mostly forget.' In Napoleon's time each soldier had a marshal's baton in his cartridge box, and the image of the little Corsican officer in his mind. At present there are no longer any individuals, there is a human mass which itself is drowned in elementary forces. 'Ten thousand kilometers of French trenches, 10,000 kilometers of misery, similar or worse * * * and the French front is one-eighth of the total front * * *

What the Soldiers Think

"But I must be brief and reach the main part of the work—its thought.

"In Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' the deep meaning of the Destiny which guides humanity is ardently sought for, and is seized, at long intervals, by the light of a flash of suffering or of genius, or thru a few personalities unusually refined in race or in heart. Prince Andre, Pierre Besouknow

—a levelling roller has passed over the peoples of today. At the very most, there may arise above the immense herd for a moment the isolated bellowing of an animal about to die. Such is the pale visage of Corporal Bertrand 'with his thoughtful smile'—scarcely outlined—'speaking but little ordinarily, never speaking of himself,' and who only once reveals the secret of the thoughts which torment him—in the twilight of the slaughter, a few hours before he himself is killed. He thinks of those whom he has slain, of the madness of the hand-to-hand fight.

"'It had to be,' he said. 'It had to be for the sake of the future.'

"He crossed his arms and shook his head.

"'The future!' he cried, suddenly. 'With what eyes will those who live after us look upon these killings and these exploits, which we who achieve them scarcely know whether we ought to compare to those of the heroes of Plutarch and Corneille or to the exploits of apaches? And yet,' he continued, 'look! There is one face which stands out above the war and which will continue to shine in the beauty and import of its bravery.'

"I listened, braced upon a stick, leaning toward him, absorbing this voice, which, in the silence of the twilight, issued from lips almost always silent. He cried in a clear voice:

"'Liebknecht!'

They Who See Clearly

"But most often the human cry which arises from these humble comrades is anonymous. One does not know just which of them is speaking, for all, at times, have a common thought. Born of common trials, this thought brings them much nearer to those other unhappy men in the enemy trenches than to the rest of the world, which is back yonder in the rear. Against those of the rear, 'trench tourists,' journalists, 'exploiters of public calamity,' warlike intellectuals, their contempt, not violent but unfathomable, is general. To them has been given 'a revelation of the great reality; a difference which arises between beings, a difference much deeper, moats less easily to be crossed, than those of race; the sharp, clean cut and truly unpardonable division which exists, in the mass of men composing the nation, between those who profit and those who toil; those who are asked to sacrifice all, everything, who offer to the utter-

most their numbers, their strength, their martyrdom, and on whom the others walk, advance, smile and succeed.'

"'Ah,' says one of them, bitterly, in the face of this revelation, 'it doesn't make one want to die!'

"But he dies, nevertheless, bravely, humbly, like the others.

The Future of the Slaves

"The culminating point of the work is the last chapter: 'The Dawn.' It is like an epilogue, the thought of which completes that of the prologue, 'The Vision,' and widens it, as in a symphony, when the theme announced at the beginning takes its full form in the conclusion.

"'The Vision' depicts for us the arrival of the declaration of war in a sanitarium in Savoy, opposite Mont Blanc. And there these invalids of all nations, 'detached from things and almost from life, as distant from the rest of mankind as if they were already posterity, look out before them into space, toward the incomprehensible country of the living and the mad.' They see the deluge below, the shipwrecked people clinging; 'the 30,000,000 slaves, flung against one another by crime and error, in war and mud, lift up their human faces where germinates at last a will. The future is in the hands of the slaves and one sees clearly that the old world will be changed by the alliance which those whose numbers and whose miseries are infinite, will one day build between themselves.'

"The final 'Dawn' is a picture of the 'deluge below,' of the rain drenched plain, the caved in trenches. A spectacle out of Genesis! Germans and French flee the plague together, or sink pell mell into the common ditch. And then these shipwrecked men, cast away on the reefs of mud in the midst of the inundation, begin to

awaken from their passivity, and a redoubtable dialogue takes place between the sufferers, like the responses in a tragic chorus. Their excess of suffering overwhelms them. And what overcomes them still more, 'like a greater disaster,' is the thought that perhaps some day the survivors will have forgotten such miseries.

"If People Remembered!"

"'Ah, if people remembered! If people remembered, there wouldn't be any more war.'

"And each in turn accuses, insults the war!

"'Two armies are fighting like one great army committing suicide.'

* * * * *

"Thus clamor the armies. And the book closes with the hope and mute vow of an understanding between nations, while the dark sky opens and a tranquil sunbeam falls across the flooded plain.

"A sunbeam does not make a clear sky, and the voice of a soldier is not that of an army. The armies of today are nations, in which many diverse currents clash and mingle. The Journal of Barbusse is that of a squad composed almost exclusively of workmen and peasants. But that in these humble people who, like the third estate in 1789, are nothing and will be everything—that in this proletariat of the armies such a consciousness of universal humanity is being formed—that so bold a voice has arisen in France—that these battling people should be making a heroic effort to free themselves from their present misery and the obsession of death, to dream of the brotherly union of hostile nations—in this I find a grandeur which exceeds all victories, and whose dolorous glory will survive that of battles—will, I hope, put an end to them."

Why Not Register Them All?

By MARY E. MARCY

ACCORDING to the June 22nd issue of the *Chicago Tribune*, under an editorial on "Why Not Register Them All?" the Chicago police say "that the registration for military service has been of great aid in the identification of men the police want to keep their eyes upon."

"If it is an advantage to have men from twenty-one to thirty-one registered it would be a greater advantage to have every one registered," continues the editor of the *Tribune*.

"Americans have a distaste for this method of identification, but without good reason. They associate it with an autocratic espionage system intended to keep citizens under strict police regulation to prevent them from establishing themselves in greater liberties.

"It may suggest to Americans a police government which would interfere with private rights and create an intolerable, even if petty, police tyranny.

"We do not think that any such thing is likely to happen in the United States. The police could not ride the people successfully. The registration of all citizens would be no imposition upon the people who conduct and expect to conduct themselves with respect for others' rights and in obedience to the law. It might be an intolerable nuisance to be compelled to carry an identification card and have life cluttered up with new minor details. A forgotten identification card would be or might be a mischief maker.

"The men now registered carry their registration cards because the police are making a search for men who did not register, and the card is the simplest proof that can be given and is the simplest means of avoiding annoyance. But there would be no requirement in general registration that people keep constantly with them means of establishing their identity. While there would be no requirement, it might be of such value as a means of identifying one's self that many people would want to carry them.

"Registration would help to give citizens an idea of closer association with the state. We run considerably on the loose now and

do not have as intimate an idea of relationship as ought to prevail in the citizen's conception of the state and himself.

"We believe that general registration would increase the sense of obligation and responsibility, and it might at any time be valuable for the nation to know who its citizens are and what they are doing."

Before the United States declared a state of war between this country and Germany, the *Review* declared that the Morgans, Guggenheims, McCormicks, Rockefellers, the lumber, coal and transportations and all the other great profit-grabbers were envious of the German system for keeping its working class cowed and submissive. They are now seizing the opportunities presented by "a state of war" to fasten upon the American working class chains that only can be forged while a country is swept off its feet in the excitement of war.

Of late the *Chicago Tribune* has stood among the first of the advance guard for capitalism and we are not surprised to see it editorially advocating a universal registration that will actually be used (as the *Tribune* well knows) "to keep citizens under strict police regulation to prevent them from establishing themselves in greater liberties."

This universal registration, for which the *Tribune* is now making a plea, was one of the weapons which the German autocracy has used most effectively in its industrial as well as its military system.

In Germany every married workman was compelled every week to bank a certain portion of his wages which he might only withdraw to pay in the purchase of a home. If, because of his strike activities—unprofitable to his employer—he sought to change his residence he could only accomplish the change by sacrificing his savings. The German system of universal registration enabled his past and future employers to keep an eye on him. All his Socialist or union activities were on record and he was unable to lose his past and begin anew.

This enabled German capitalists to know and to watch union agitators and Socialists and to prevent them from making headway in their desires and aims for the improve-

ment of the condition of the working class.

As the mouthpiece of capitalism in its most brutal and most aggressive form, the *Chicago Tribune* advocates universal military service, beginning at the age of nineteen and its plea for universal registration is not even proposed as a war measure, but as a method for keeping a governmental eye upon the doings of the militant workers.

With every policeman in the United States carrying his index of the names and records of every workman, what chance would the boys in the I. W. W. have, what chance would anybody have for going into a factory, a shop or mill to educate or organize the workers "on the job?"

He would be spotted the moment he applied for a job and he would be either arrested as a vagrant, a disturber of the peace, or would be placed in some position where he could work little good for his class.

Universal registration means police tyranny as well as industrial tyranny; it means that the active Socialist, the rebel, the unionist will be hounded to death or incarcerated on some trumped up charge.

Universal registration was one of the weapons that enabled the German capitalist class to perfect an organization that has almost crushed out and disciplined away whatever spirit of revolt the German workers originally possessed. For so long has the German autocracy regulated and spied upon the lives of the German workers that

there has remained to the workers little of leisure and less of energy with which to study and organize and fight for the emancipation of the working class.

Universal registration will make of all workers what is known as "honest" men. The steel worker who is injured on the job and forced to move his family into a tenement because he is unable to pay the rent at the old place, will have his first landlord trailing him from Maine to California. He will have to pay his back rent if he wants to get a job. And he will have to stall off the last landlord if he wants to pay the first. The United States will not be big enough to hold the worker who owes a butcher bill, or who could not pay the grocer when he was sick or his fifth new baby was born.

Universal registration will insure the capitalist class from casual laborers, from agitators, Socialists and industrial unionists. It will show up the intelligent worker, loyal to his class, just as plainly as tho his face were covered with smallpox.

The big capitalists, who take our products and make hundreds of millions of dollars out of them are going to tell their kept editorial writers to hooray for *universal registration*. It is going to be up to the working class to show them in unmistakable terms that they will have none of this new bondage.

Every labor paper in this country should take up this question at once.

"State Constabulary Best Insurance When Guard Leaves"

By GURD M. HAYES

Jackson City Press, June 22, 1917.

"WHEN the national guard is called out of the state it is feared that I. W. W. agitators and pro-German sympathizers may cause serious trouble in some sections of Michigan, and in order to be prepared for any emergencies that may arise where a well trained and thoroly disciplined military force is needed to handle situations with which local authorities are unable to cope, the war preparedness board has organized a constabulary similar to the famous Pennsylvania mounted police.

"Business men, prominent manufacturers in the various industrial cities where a big foreign population furnish a constant

source of anxiety to local police authorities, and military men in general, have strongly endorsed the idea, and Troop A of the Michigan state troops or mounted constabulary may be but the first unit of an organization that will furnish to the people of the state the same measure of protection that has heretofore been afforded by the Michigan national guard.

Best Kind of Insurance

"Gov. Sleeper believes that for the duration of the war the constabulary force will constitute the best kind of an insurance policy that the state of Michigan can buy, and Auditor General O. B. Fuller of the war preparedness board, who is extremely

conservative in regard to the expenditure of the state's money, has expressed the opinion that in order to furnish complete protection the constabulary should be increased to 500 men and possibly 1,000 when it is definitely determined that the militia is no longer available.

"For the present, however, the constabulary force will remain at its initial quota—fifty men; but if it becomes apparent that a larger number of men will be needed, it is generally believed that the war preparedness board will not hesitate to strengthen the organization to meet all requirements.

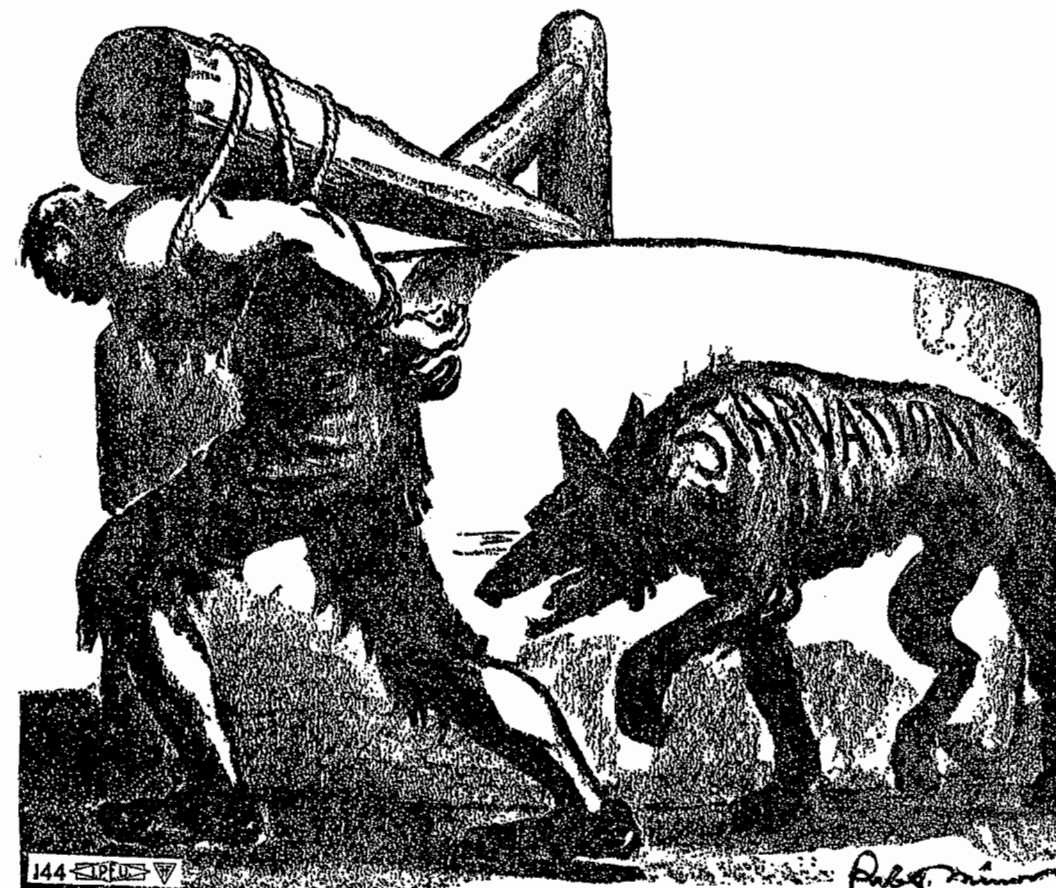
"While the various home guard organizations will be of use in some instances, it is apparent that a thoroly trained and well disciplined state police will be as essential during the absence of the national guard as local police and firemen are necessary for the safety of any municipality.

"During the serious riots in the upper peninsula a few years ago, the Citizens' Alli-

ance was considered a mighty effective force, but the combined efforts of the Citizens' Alliance, local police and a large number of deputy sheriffs were unable to preserve order among the foreigners who were bent on making trouble.

"Familiarity breeds contempt and the fact that many of the local rioters were more or less acquainted with members of the local organizations weakened their authority. For this reason the military board refused to put the Calumet company of national guardsmen into service to preserve order in that city. The Calumet guards was used to police its own armory, while the troops from other sections of the state did the real work.

"The same condition will prevail in Michigan, if serious trouble arises after the national guard leaves the state, and as an auxiliary force it is believed that the constabulary will prove a mighty handy organization."



—Robert Minor in New York Times.

STARVING AT THE WHEEL.

"GENERAL STRIKE SOCIALIST PLAN TO FORCE PEACE"

"Will Call all Workers in Europe if Plea is Refused"

By JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT

(Special cable to Chicago Tribune.)

"OF THE six delegates from the Russian workingmen's and soldiers' committee who either are in Stockholm or en route here for the Socialist preliminary peace conferences, five will proceed soon to London, Paris, and Rome to work for peace on the program of no annexations and no indemnities, and for the nationality principle among the Socialists of those countries.

"No annexations, no indemnities, and the nationality principle are the fundamentals of the Socialists. It develops from today's discussions between the Russians and the German majority and minority delegates that the big immediate aim of all of the

Socialists now conferring is to prevent another winter campaign.

"With this purpose foremost, the Socialists are agreed that, however much they may disagree in the preliminary conferences or in the general conference, they will unanimously support the decisions which the general conference finally reaches.

General Strike Weapon

"Furthermore, if the warring governments refuse peace, Socialism will attempt to draw the weapon which it believes will enforce peace—the weapon of a general European strike.

"In other words, the representative Socialists agree that they are not obliged to agree on everything, but they do agree to give unanimous support to the conference's final decision.

"In defining their authority to entertain such a proposition, the Russian delegates said: 'We represent the power of the Russian masses,' and they pointed significantly to an editorial printed in a newspaper representing M. Kerensky, the leader of the Russians, which said:

"'Vain are all of the efforts made in western Europe to distort the Russian democracy's aims. The Russian democracy will not even discuss it.'

Would Give Back Colonies

"After the Russian Socialists had been welcomed by Herr Branting, the leader of the Scandinavian committee, they went into a conference with Hermann Müller, secretary of the German Socialist party, representing the German majority, and with Dr. Adler, representing the German and Austrian Socialists. Later they conferred with the German minority.

"As a result of these conferences the Russians expressed the conviction that the German colonies must be returned to Germany. These Russian delegates were selected by the workingmen's and soldiers' committee and later confirmed by the whole body."



—From the Public Ledger, Philadelphia.

THE IMPERATIVE KNOCK OF RUSSIAN LABOR.

The Labor Movement in Japan

A Period of Success in the Labor and Socialist Movement

By S. KATAYAMA

PART II

EIGHTEEN months after we had begun the labor movement in Japan our experiences assured us that our prospects were very good. The Iron Workers' Union organized on Dec. 1st., 1897, and the R. R. Engineers' and Firemen's Union, organized in March, 1898, were in a flourishing condition, both with a growing membership. The year just closed was the most fruitful one for the labor movement in Japan.

Every one connected with the movement had a firm faith in the great future of the working class and each worked with courage and enthusiasm. Two of our leaders settled in Kobe and started a similar movement in that city. One of these was a shoemaker by trade who had been in America for some time. He was a good labor agitator and now worked at Kobe for the movement.

At Tokyo labor meetings were held regularly in various parts of the city and its vicinity. To all came increasing audiences. Subscribers to the *Labor World* were increasing steadily, this being the only organ of the working class that gave any information about the new labor movement abroad. It was, in fact, the sole organ of labor propaganda. It attempted to educate the working class in general. Our working class was then very eager for any new knowledge and they were not slow to act on an idea when they got hold of it.

Propaganda on the subject of co-operatives for half a year or more in public meetings and in the columns of the *Labor World*, resulted in many co-operative distributive stores, organized and conducted by members of different unions.

In July (1898) the *Labor World* published a report on eleven co-operative stores. The total paid up shares of these unions amounted to 7,620 yen, an aggregate monthly business of 7,497 yen and a total membership of 1,346. One of the eleven stores still exists today at Omiya, where a great railway workshop is located.

Five years ago this co-operative union built a large club house with an auditorium which has a seating capacity of over one thousand persons and which is used for theatrical performances. This store has been of great benefit to the people of Omiya as well as to the workers. Although the labor union was crushed a few years later, this co-operative store survived and has been flourishing ever since. On account of the co-operative store, retail prices of food-stuffs and other necessities have always been cheaper here than in adjoining towns.

But to return to the labor unions. Thus far we had been comparatively free from any government interference in our work except that we could not parade in the streets or hold open air meetings. Occasionally the police attempted to stop a labor meeting, but this did not interfere with our agitation to any great extent. On the contrary, slight police interference at our meetings gave them an impetus and public sympathy was on our side.

But a strong and utterly unjust discrimination was made against us on January, 1899, when the Iron Workers' Union gave their first anniversary celebration at Uyeno Park. The government suddenly dissolved the meeting, altho we possessed a permit issued to us from the park authority, which means from the Imperial household, the park belonging to this administration.

This high-handed suppression was carried out by applying an old law copied from Prussia.

The authorities were attempting to obstruct the growth of the labor movement, but so far there was no actual law to apply to them, so that we carried on a lively work of education and propaganda for several years. Even police interference was utilized to our advantage by the agitators.

To the Japanese workers then a strike means an effective weapon with which to secure their due demands. In fact, in most instances they got what they wanted by striking for it.

Our history of feudalism shows in abundant cases that tenant farmers secured an adjustment of their grievances against their lords or their officers by means of riots. Riots in Japan during feudalism played a very important part for reform and for the progress of the working classes. In the same way our workers use strikes today as a direct weapon to better their conditions.

In March of 1899 the plasterers reorganized their old guild into a new union under the leadership of Mr. Sukenobu Ota, who had been an able labor leader in his trade guild for more than half a century. The Plasterers' Union had then 2,600 members.

Beside the Japanese unions already mentioned, such as the ship carpenters, stone masons, etc., there were others who followed the example of the former unions. The *Labor World*, in an issue of Aug. 1st, 1900 printed the following union items:

"The Cargo Boats' Union has 2,000 sailors as members who work on 500 boats. The owners of boats supply medical and some benefit funds.

"Sangiyo Kumiai is the name of the dockers' union in the Bay of Tokyo and has a membership of 400.

"There are two unions for men who work in the wharfs with a total membership of 1,800.

"There are two dockers' unions besides Sangiyo Kumiai, one consisting of workers on ship-board and the other on the wharfs. The former has 3,000 members and the latter 1,000."

This shows that the labor movement was then well advertised thruout the country and that the workers in every trade felt the need of having their own union.

The Printers' Union of Tokyo attempted to work out its own problems by different tactics than those employed by the iron and railway workers. From its very inception this union advocated the so-called identity of interests of capital and labor. To clearly illustrate its attitude:

The union elected Mr. Soburo Shimada, M. P., as its president, because they considered him a friend of both capital and labor. The Printers' Union adopted this policy in order to accomplish its ends and, in fact, they received the ardent support of the professors of the Imperial University of Tokyo. They were even given a splendid feast on the celebration of the founding of

the Printers' Union on November 3rd, 1899, at the Tokyo Y. M. C. A. Hall. This union claimed to have a membership of 2,000.

At this time the university professors and their followers, encouraged by the friendly attitude toward them of the Printers' Union, inaugurated a sort of social reform movement under the name of Social Reformism. These university men were influenced largely by German ideas. They advocated pure and simple reforms, based on the present capitalist society. With them we held heated discussions at public meetings and also in the pages of the magazines. The majority of the workers sided with the attitude taken by the Iron Workers' Union and the editors of the *Labor World*.

From the beginning of the year 1899, the *Labor World* had been giving a special column in every issue to the discussion of Socialism. Before that time it had, from time to time, reported events in the Socialist movement abroad, but now we thought it time to educate the workers on the aims and principles of Socialism.

In November of the same year there had appeared in Osaka a labor paper called *The Osaka Weekly*. It advocated Socialism outright as the only solution of the labor problems. It was owned and edited by Mr. Kentaro Oi, the veteran of a prominent liberal movement before 1890, when the liberals were demanding a national constitution and a parliament. But the *Osaka Weekly* failed soon on account of lack of means and support from the workers.

Eighteen hundred and ninety-nine was a very prosperous year for our movement. I made two trips to the northeast along the Nippon railway lines, first in the spring and again in the autumn, both in the capacity of secretary of the Iron Workers' Union, with gratifying success. Every branch of the Iron Workers' was in best condition and there was little or no trouble for the labor movement. In Tokyo a Cooks' Union and in Yokohama a Furniture Makers' Union were organized during that year under the direct auspices of the *Labor World* and its editor.

Socialism a Popular Policy of the Day

Nineteen hundred and nine dawned with even brighter prospects for the Socialist and labor movement of Japan. The public in general had become very much interested in Socialism and especially in social reform. Count Itagaki, the founder of the liberal

movement in Japan and one of the leaders in the revolution of 1866, founded a reform club called the Doki Club, based on Socialist principles. At the cities of Wakayama and Omiya, both industrial cities, a labor club was established for the education and amusement of the workers. Dr. Ukichi Taguchi, M. P., editor and proprietor of the *Tokyo Economist*, who is a recognized leader of the school of "laissez faire" economists, came out as an ardent advocate of the principles of the single tax and severely attacked the landlords.

The rising interest in and the eager discussion of social reforms came at this time as a reaction to capitalist injustices and the utter cruelty of the capitalist classes toward workmen and women. To give a few examples:

In June, 1899, at the Hokoku Colliery, Kiushiu, 207 miners were buried alive and permitted to be burned to death in order to save the mining properties. A little later thirty-one young spinning girls were burned to death in a dormitory of the spinning company. After working sixteen hours a day these girls are locked up in the dormitories, to which doors and windows are fastened on the outside to prevent the girls from escaping from their jobs. When the fire broke out at one o'clock in the dormitory where the tragedy occurred, the poor worn-out girls were unable to escape. Those who jumped from the windows were maimed or killed and the others were all burned to death. Again forty workmen were killed on the Nippon R. R. line on account of the utter neglect in supervising the bridge Howoki.

These and many other disasters occurring in various industries thruout the country awakened the public into a conscious or unconscious indignation. These joined in protest against capitalist brutalities. Consequently the policy and tactics adopted by the *Labor World* were largely approved by the public.

Public Peace Police Law

In the spring session of the Imperial Diet, 1900, a bill was passed and enacted immediately. The law is entitled the Public Peace Police Law. It proved to be the death knell to all phases of the labor movement, because it prevented the working class from organizing themselves into unions. The law practically prohibits the industrial working classes as well as the tenant farm-

ers from agitating in their own interests and against the employers and landlords.

To attempt to enlist others in a movement to raise wages, shorten hours of labor or to lower land rents was declared a crime against the peace and order of society. And later the law was interpreted to mean that all labor movements were a crime!

In the same session a co-operative law was voted upon. But on account of the Public Peace Police Law the workers were never able to utilize the co-operative law.

The very oppressive features of the Police Law against the working classes caused these classes and their friends to feel an urgent need of obtaining universal suffrage in Japan. With this purpose we organized an Association for Universal Suffrage. Many prominent men came into the association. The Tokyo Barbers' Union and the Nippon R. R. Workers' Union joined. But all the suffrage movement ever achieved was the passage of a Universal Suffrage Bill in the lower house. The bill was killed in the House of Peers.

Meanwhile, we preached Socialism at the workmen's meetings, perhaps with more zeal and enthusiasm than we advocated trade unionism, and this was altogether a new subject, although at the same time the oppressive measures against the working class adopted by the government gave our cause a great and convincing impetus. These measures impelled us to agitate among the workers for Socialist politics.

There was then more freedom of speech for labor and Socialist politics at public meetings than there was freedom on the subject of trade unions, strikes and the boycott, since the latter were directly concerned with the existing industries of the country. This being the situation we gradually educated the Japanese workers in Socialism for several years. The following was perhaps the first direct result of our propaganda.

The Nippon R. R. Workers' Union, at its annual meeting, held in the city of Mito, in March, 1901, voted a resolution proclaiming that Socialism is the only ultimate solution of the labor problems, and instructed its executive committee to join the Universal Suffrage movement.

Social Democratic Party

The clear stand on Socialism taken by the Nippon R. R. Workers' Union in this resolution and many other signs of the

times convinced us that our workers were fairly well prepared for political action, so on May 20th, 1901, after deliberation and consultation at the headquarters of the Iron Workers' Union for a few weeks, we formed a Socialist party which we called the Social Democratic Party. At the same time we published a Socialist Manifesto and a Party Platform. The original members of the party were: D. Kotoku, I. Abe, N. Kinoshita, K. Kawakami, K. Nishikawa and myself.

Our Manifesto was printed in four daily papers and in the *Labor World* at Tokyo and in one country daily. The party was suppressed by the government. But for the first time Socialism was widely advertised, making a very strong impression on the people because of the widespread publicity given our Manifesto in the four big Tokyo dailies. The trials of the editors who published the Manifesto in their respective papers gave the subject still further publicity thruout the country.

With this splendid advertising of Socialism to encourage them, the six members of the suppressed Social Democratic Party turned their energies into a Socialist educational and propaganda campaign with increased vigor and enthusiasm.

We formed a non-political organization, called Shakai Shugi Kyosai (Socialist Association). Under this name we held Socialist meetings, of course, charging admission. Slowly but steadily our members increased and soon these began to take part in the meetings.

At the time that propaganda for a pure and simple trade union movement was more and more severely dealt with by the authorities, our labor politics and Socialist agitation had comparative freedom and was rather popular among the people. The *Niroku*, a penny daily, published a series of articles on Socialism which lasted for two weeks. The articles were written by Comrade Isowa Abe, one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party.

Even the big bourgeois dailies like the *Jiji*, gave us notices for our Socialist meetings while others mentioned these in their news columns. This apparently friendly attitude of the press in general, tho it may have been based on business motives and a desire for greater circulation, nevertheless helped us much in our propaganda. To give one instance:

With the co-operation of the Iron Workers' Union, whose secretary I was, the said *Niroku*, whose owner and manager was a personal friend of mine, announced in its columns a working men's social meeting, to be held at Mukoshima Park on the 3rd of April, 1901, one of the four Japanese national holidays. To this meeting some fifty thousand workingmen applied for admission, paying a fee of 20 sen. Six thousand members of the Iron Workers were enlisted. The gathering was announced prohibited by the government, but the *Niroku* insisted on holding the meeting and, after much discussion, the government consented to permit a meeting of not over five thousand persons. The government claimed that it could not muster over five thousand police and could not, for this reason, permit a larger attendance at the park.

Niroku devised a scheme to meet the situation by announcing that the number admitted would be limited to five thousand—first come first served. Every one of the fifty thousand wanted to be one of the first-comers.

This was an exciting day in the history of the labor movement. Many came to the park the previous evening and remained there all night. When morning came there were already more than the allotted number present and when the meeting opened there were from thirty to forty thousand people present.

The police force was powerless before the peaceful mass demonstration. The assemblage voted a resolution demanding a factory law, universal suffrage, and made other demands. The meeting was a great success in every way. It seemed that for that day at least the working classes of Japan realized their own power. This meeting was followed by other meetings thruout Japan in the course of a month or so. But the government deemed these dangerous to the country, for never again to this very day has it permitted the holding of vast meetings. It must indeed have felt itself powerless before the mass action of the working class!

Immediately after the suppression of the Social Democratic Party, the *Yorozu*, a popular daily paper in Tokyo, started to organize a party. It was called the Ideal Association (*Risodan*), a sort of liberal reform club containing a great part of the Socialist program. In the *Yorozu* Com-

rades Kotoku and Sakai were the principal writers. The public was under the impression that the *Yorozu* would take up the work of the suppressed Social Democratic Party, but after a few years this expectation died out.

When the war with Russia became imminent in the autumn of 1903, the *Yorozu* assumed an extreme jingoistic stand, which caused Comrades Kotoku and Sakai to leave the daily.

The growing interest in the Socialist movement shown by the success of meetings and the increased circulation of the *Labor World*, made us feel the necessity of enlarging the paper and in the summer of 1901, we announced that it would be changed into a daily with the issue of the

coming December number, which would be the last of the first one hundred issues which had appeared. The paper had been a bi-monthly.

With this end in view we asked the workers to pay one year subscription in advance, Y 2.40. Our request met with ready response and we received a large number of subscriptions in advance. After about eight months of preparation, on January 1st, 1902, we sent out the first number of the first Socialist daily paper appearing in Japan.

The free use of the Iron Workers' Headquarters was given us, the second floor being given over to editorial and composing rooms. Our office occupied the first floor front and in the back rooms the paper was printed. The daily was chiefly supported by the working class. Comrades Abe, Kotoku, Kawakami, Kinoshita and many others helped by contributing articles. Financially I was wholly responsible for the paper. It cost just one thousand dollars to get types, machines and other necessary equipment.

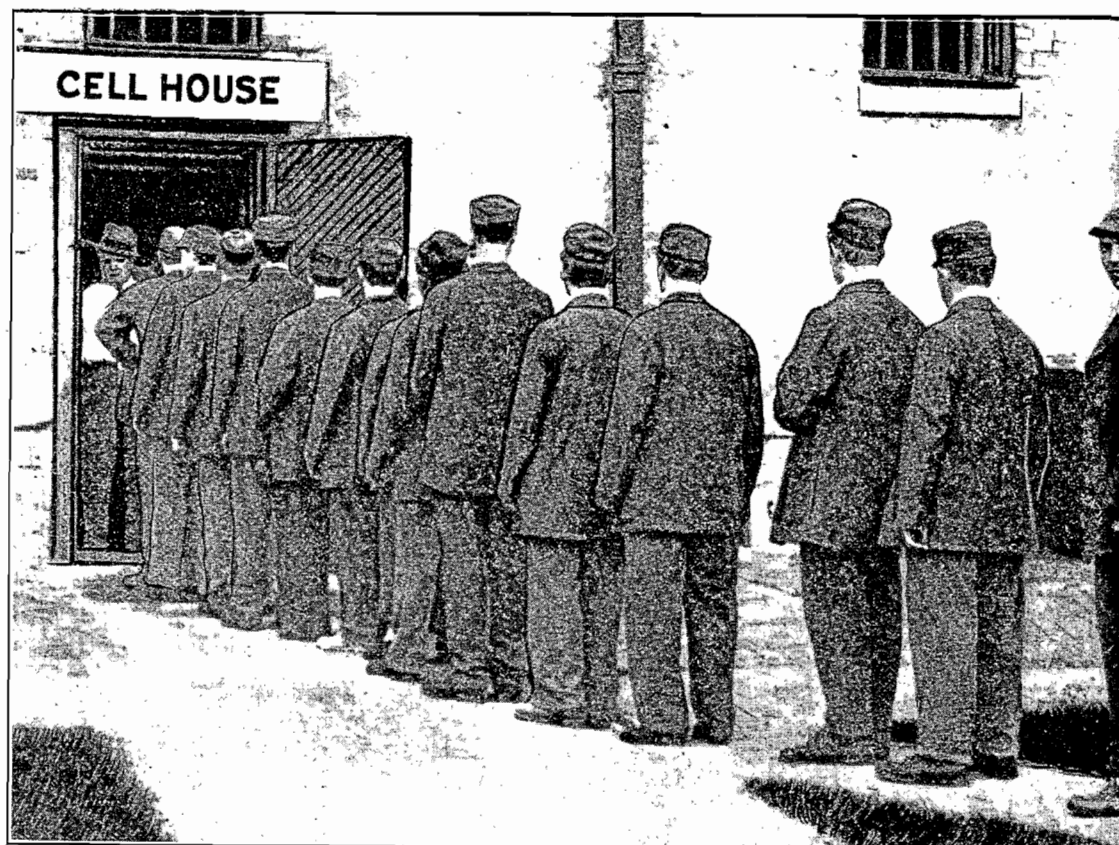
The paper came out for just two months. At that time the city newsdealers (twenty-one) monopolized the entire business of selling and distributing papers and they wanted to charge outrageously high prices for our paper, so that it was utterly impossible for us to place the paper at the door of each subscriber every morning. Moreover, the lack of business experience more than anything else caused us many difficulties in spite of the hearty sympathy and support of the working class, particularly of the Iron Workers' Union.

Besides my own health was broken down on account of overwork and I had to seek a warmer climate than chilly Tokyo to regain it. These circumstances compelled us to give up the daily with great loss to me and to the cause of labor and of Socialism. We thought it best to cease publication at once and to continue the propaganda work in some form in order to renew publication in the near future.

(To be continued)

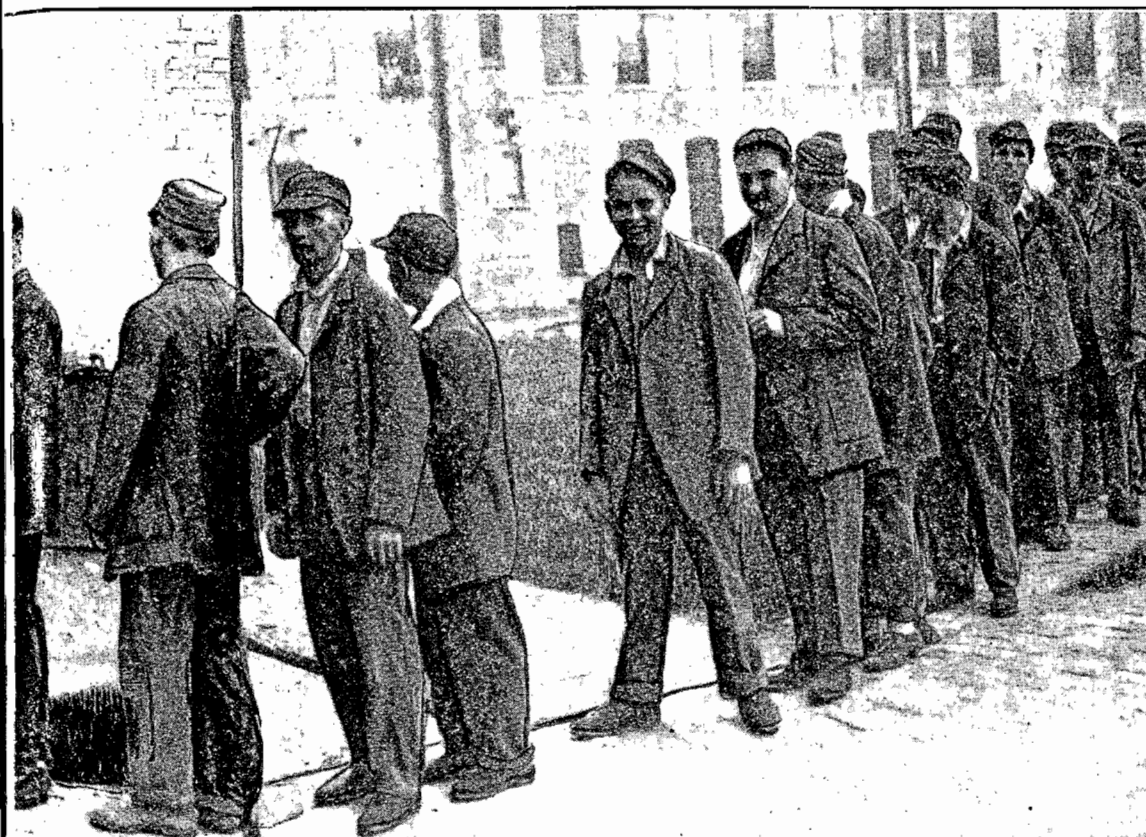


A JAPANESE MINER.



—By Courtesy of the Post, Chicago.

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE MEN ENTERING BRIDEWELL WORK HOUSE, CHICAGO. THE



WERE SENTENCED TO ONE YEAR'S HARD LABOR BY JUDGE LANDIS FOR REFUSING TO REGISTER.

One Hundred and Twenty-One Men

THE following accounts of the trial and imprisonment of 121 Socialists and members of the I. W. W. who voluntarily gave themselves up to the sheriff rather than register is taken from the Chicago newspapers.

Judge Landis first won fame by fining the Standard Oil Co., \$29,000,000.00—which of course was never paid.

From the *Tribune*:

Freeport, Ill., July 5.—(Special.)—Characterizing them as "whining and belly-aching puppies," Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis today sentenced 117 of the slackers who took part in the Rockford riot of June 6th to a year and a day each at hard labor in the house of correction in Chicago, the limit which the law allows. Four

others received short sentences in the house of correction. All will be forced to register and stand their chance in the draft.

The court became particularly incensed while questioning Nel Larson, who testified he had lived in the United States for over nine years, that he had not taken out any naturalization papers, and that he had left Sweden to avoid military service there.

"So you dodged military service in the country of your birth, and now when the country in which you have been earning a living for the last nine years calls upon you to help it out, you deliberately do the same thing here.

"One year in the house of correction, and take this man out of here at once," the court shouted.

TYPE THAT DAMNS SOCIALISTS

The ire of the court was again aroused when Swan Lingren stated he had a positive objection to all wars.

"Do you belong to any party or organization?" he was asked.

"I am a member of the Socialist party."

"This is the type that has damned the Socialist party," said the court, addressing Attorney Seymour Stedman, who was in court representing some of the defendants.

"It's probably a matter of conscience with him," Mr. Stedman said.

From the *Post*:

"No Man's Land" took on a new significance within the walls of the bridewell today. And every one of the 2,600 prisoners confined there—men charged with all kinds of crimes and misdemeanors, short of murder—avoided the small section of the quarry where a special detail of 116 prisoners were put to work early this morning. It is the section where the "slackers" are detailed. They had tried to escape from "No

Man's Land" in France, only to find themselves in a worse "no man's land" at the bridewell.

"That is no place for a man," was the comment of the other prisoners, and they left the "slackers" to themselves. Indications are that the men who refused to register for service for their country at war are going to spend a mighty lonesome time at the bridewell for the next year. And the striking thing about it all is that the "slackers" can't understand why they are held in such contempt by those whom society has branded as criminals.

"ONLY CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS"

"We are only conscientious objectors to the war," was the comment of one of the younger prisoners sent to the bridewell by Federal Judge Landis at Freeport. "We are living in a free country, and are only exercising our rights and protection under the Constitution."

But that explanation, made late yesterday, as the newly arrived "slackers" were being searched and "dressed up" for their cells, was not understood by the other prisoners. The "slackers" had just arrived on a special train, amid the hoots and derisive shouts of men both without and within the prison walls. Even the little children in the streets ran after the train shouting, "Slackers! Slackers!" and pointing their fingers at the row of heads at the car windows. And when the train had arrived within the bridewell the prisoners there paused in their work on the grounds and sneered at the new arrivals. Three elderly women, apparently employed in some office capacity at the prison, stood near by and watched the "slackers" march in double file toward the receiving cell.

"And just imagine how their mothers must feel," remarked one of the women, for all of the arrivals were under 30 years of age. Many seemed hardly more than 20. "God! I'm glad my boy isn't there."

And all the time the long double line was silent. Not a word was passed among them. They seemed dazed at their reception. They could not understand it all. They were "conscientious objectors," they kept assuring themselves.

EMPTY OUT POCKETS

"Throw up your hands!"

The order was imperative—contemptuous. And each "slacker," in turn, found himself looking into the glinting eyes of a big, black negro.

BRIDEWELL MEN WHO WILL ENLIST TO GET FREEDOM

New Jail Head Makes Offer in July 4 Speech

Bridewell prisoners between the ages of 18 and 40 will be given their freedom if they wish to join the army or navy, it was announced yesterday in an Independence day address by Joseph Siman, the new superintendent.

Army and navy officials in charge of recruiting here have yet to express their opinion of the plan. Much resentment was caused some time ago when a plan to give law violators a chance between military service and jail was broached.

Mr. Siman was given a three minute ovation by the prisoners when he concluded his remarks. Many of them made vociferous offers of their services on the spot. A census of the inmates will be made today by Mr. Siman and the government will be furnished with

They had just laid their money on the desk at the receiving cell—each with a flourish, as if to impress those in charge, for they all were well supplied with money. But they were hustled away to the "searching squad." And the three negro prisoners assigned to this duty were experts, who seemed to take a sort of joy in "going thru" their victims with a thoroughness for which no penalty would be applied.

GET "UNIFORM" ALL RIGHT

Thirty minutes after the "slackers" had filed into the receiving cell, they were marched, single file, out again and into the long steel cages which are to be their sleeping quarters for the next twelve months and a day. And they were all in "uniform." But not the uniform of freedom and the greatest democracy on earth. They were not marching to the front amid the applause of men.

From the Examiner:

Stedman says virtually all the prisoners are Socialists. Roy Dempsey, one of them, says more than half of them are members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Both the Socialist and I. W. W. organizations contributed funds to them and provided legal counsel.

Walls near the Bridewell bore the words chalked conspicuously in many places:

"Don't join the navy; join the I. W. W."

the names of those eligible for service who want to go.

"Our country is now at war and needs you men," said Supt. Siman in addressing 1,922 of the 2,200 prisoners and 1,000 visitors in the new cell house. "The country is calling you to come forward and fight for Old Glory."

"All of you men between the ages of 18 and 44 years who wish to join the fighting forces are to be given an opportunity to do so through the efforts of the Illinois League for Justice, which has taken upon itself this work in the name of duty and patriotism."

Mr. Siman said the Illinois League for Justice would obtain pardons or payment of the fines of those men desiring to join the nation's fighting forces. Among those present at the address were Will T. Davies, county jailer, and president of the League for Justice, and former Judge McKenzie Cleland, counsel for the organization. Earl H. Reynolds, president of the Peoples' Trust and Savings bank, and treasurer of the league, was unable to attend.

The cell house was decorated with the national colors and fourteen vaudeville acts by performers from various Chicago theaters were included in the holiday program. There was also speaking, music, and patriotic songs.

—From the Chicago Tribune.

Building a New Society

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

THE longer the war lasts, the plainer it becomes that the present order is shaking itself to pieces. Old-style individualistic capitalism was placed on its death bed in the United States the day that the first manufacturer got an order from the government instructing him to deliver a certain quantity of goods by a certain date at a given place and notifying him that his remuneration would be determined later. State capitalism reigns in its stead and government ownership, operation and control is in for a run.

The whole world now recognizes that mankind is entering upon a period of reorganization and reconstruction. But here in America it is a question if we are not losing sight of our real mission by too great concentration upon opposition to the war. We instinctively and from principle oppose war whenever and wherever we find it, but it is well to reflect that we shall never get very far on a purely negative program. It is our business to combat and to overcome oppressive institutions wherever we discover them, but it is also our business to have something ready to replace them.

When some day we shall find the old order here in America dead of its own inefficiency, we shall not have solved our problems merely by electing a Socialist majority to Congress or by installing a Socialist president and Socialist legislatures in all the states.

It is vital that we recognize this fact: that the welfare of modern society rests no longer upon the efficiency of political governments, but upon the proper administration of industry.

At the present time our rulers are thinking faster than we are, or rather, they are showing more alertness in recognizing facts.

Witness the present situation of Congress. The prevailing attitude toward it is one of cynicism and disgust. Daily the newspapers pillory it for its confusion and delay in face of the national crisis, for its alleged narrowness and lack of grasp. It is not true, however, that Congress is composed of bone-

heads or crooks, even tho its personnel consists mostly of politicians with localized visions.

The fact is that Congress has simply been *outgrown*. Its members came to Washington to deal with matters of law and politics. Instead, they find themselves confronted with problems of industry. These problems have become the more urgent now that the country has discovered that waging a modern war requires not only the organization of armies, but the organization of industry. And Congress simply has not the knowledge, the training, the structure, adequately to deal with such matters.

The result is that Congress has become little more important than a rubber stamp. The real government of the United States is now vested in small groups of men like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the National Council of Defense with its numerous subcommittees, etc., etc. Some of these bodies are invested with power well-nigh dictatorial and it is they who are administering and regulating the industrial affairs of the country today.

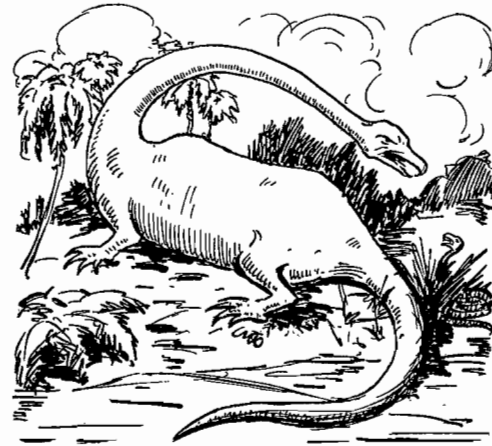
The lesson for us is that we must have our own committees ready to step in and carry on industry when the capitalist machine breaks down utterly, as it threatens to do at no far distant date.

The congress of the future will be not a congress of political representatives, but a congress of *industrial* representatives. Here the representatives of the coal miners will meet with the representatives of the agricultural workers; the clothing workers will meet with the weavers and spinners; the shoe workers will meet with the building trades—not in a conspiracy to gouge that myth known as the Public, but to discuss their common wants and to adjust their common needs, and not on a basis of profit but on a system founded on the necessary expenditure of labor power.

Let politicians debate the merits of political democracies. Our chief concern is with the merits of industrial democracies.

Animals Lost During Evolution

By E. S. Goodrich, M. A.



EVOLUTION is too often represented as a history of success and progress; it is also one of extinction and failure. Authors, seeming to forget that for one line of development that succeeds there are a hundred that fail, are fond of invoking some mysterious guiding principle, some internal perfecting agency—or what not—to account for evolution; but there would appear to be little scope for such mysterious forces in a world where the majority of individuals are crushed out, where most lines of development fail hopelessly to establish themselves. What guiding principle there may be behind the whole of creation is a subject outside the scope of Natural Science, and on which it can express no opinion.

It cannot even prophecy whether man or the bacillus will eventually triumph in the struggle for existence; indeed, both would seem to be doomed to destruction in the end by an unfavorable environment when this earth becomes too hot or too cold to support life. In the meantime, it is the great merit of the Darwinian principles of evolution that they account for the failures as well as for the successes. The elimination of the unfit, leaving the better adapted in possession, is a necessary part of the process.

The living organisms of today show us the types which have succeeded; for the failures we must appeal to the record of the past as revealed by a study of fossil remains. This record, in spite of its incompleteness, has much to teach. Every theory of evolution must be tested by the results of palæontology; no conclusion can be accepted which is inconsistent with them.

In the first place, the conviction derived from a study of living forms is confirmed, that evolution does not proceed along continuous straight lines, but, on the contrary, along a multitude of diverging branches. Just as individuals are found to vary in all directions compatible with their structure and composition, so groups become differentiated in various directions each adapted to a particular mode of life. Having reached a certain favorable combination of characters, they start on this new plane of structure to diverge, according to the principle of adaptive radiation, as it has been called by Osborn, many instances of which are found in the history of the land vertebrates.

Derived from some fish-like aquatic ancestor in Devonian or pre-Devonian times, the land vertebrates appear in carboniferous strata as clumsily-built Amphibia with four walking limbs. Like their modern representatives, they spent their early life in water, breathing by means of gills, and made use of lungs for respiration in adult life on land. These primitive amphibia soon diverged in various directions. Some acquired a large size and formidable dentition, like the Labyrinthodonts; others remained small, and were probably harmless herbivores; some became elongated, lost their limbs, and were adapted to an eel- or snake-like mode of progression; while others, losing the original scaly covering of the fish-like ancestor, gave rise to the modern groups (the frogs and toads, or Anura, and the salamanders and newts, or Urodela). These latter are all specialized forms, the existing Urodela being only the degenerate remnants of a once flourishing class which have become more or less com-

pletely readapted to an aquatic life. In fact, the Anura are the only order which has succeeded and expanded in recent times.

The Amphibian was the dominant type in Carboniferous times; it now occupies a very subordinate place. But from some unspecialized branch of it arose the more thoroly terrestrial Reptilia towards the end of the Carboniferous or beginning of the Permian epoch. The class Reptilia reached a higher grade of structure, and soon almost completely superseded the Amphibia on dry land. So successful were the reptiles that already in Permian and Triassic times they had spread over the whole earth, becoming adapted in various directions to all sorts of life. The earliest reptiles known so closely resemble the primitive Amphibia that it is difficult to say where one class begins and the other ends; but these undifferentiated reptiles soon gave way to more specialized successors.

The Theromorpha gave rise to remarkable forms some with large, flat grinding teeth; others active, vigorous creatures with a formidable carnivorous dentition; while the highly-specialized Dicynodontia retained only two huge tusks. None of these specialized reptiles survived beyond the Trias. Other lines of differentiation lead toward a return to aquatic life. Plesiosaurs and Ichthyosaurs quite independently took to marine life, and their limbs became transformed into swimming-paddles. Neither group persisted beyond the Cretaceous epoch. Among the most interesting extinct reptiles are the Dinosauria. First appearing in the Triassic, they flourished in the Jurassic and Cretaceous, but became extinct before the beginning of the Eocene epoch. Often of gigantic size these remarkable animals were the lords of the earth in later Mesozoic times. Some were adapted to a herbivorous vegetable diet, like the huge Iguanodon; while others were aggressive carnivores.

But in spite of every effort, so to speak, to succeed in all possible directions, in spite of elaborate adaptations, terrible weapons, formidable defensive bony plates, horns, and spines, these splendid Dinosaurs all failed in the struggle for existence by the end of the Cretaceous epoch.

But although the reptilian type, once so successful and widespread, has failed so signally in the struggle for existence, it has given rise to other types which have re-

placed it. The birds are doubtless descended from some primitive reptile allied to the Crocodilia and Dinosauria. The avian branch has undergone comparatively little pruning. Quickly supplanting the Pterosauria after the Jurassic epoch, they radiated along all sorts of adaptive lines, most of which survive to the present day. The beautifully adapted organization of birds, with warm blood, efficient lungs, sharp senses, quick movements, and light feathers, has secured them a supremacy in the air which has hardly been challenged even by the mammals.

The Mammalia, that class of vertebrates to which we ourselves belong, arose earlier than the birds, probably from some primitive reptilian stock in Permian times. Indeed, the Theromorph reptiles of the Trias so nearly approach the mammalian type of structure in the character of the skull, palate, lower jaw, and other important points, that they are now generally held to have been, if not the ancestors themselves, at all events closely allied to them. Quite independently of birds, and on different lines of specialization, the Mammalia have acquired a four-chambered heart, completely separating the arterial blood from the venous, and a self-regulating mechanism, keeping the blood at a constant high temperature, independent of that of the surrounding environment. Of very adaptive build, the mammals soon diverged from the primitive ancestral egg-laying type now almost extinct, but still preserved in the archaic Monotremes living in Australia, the famous Ornithorhynchus, and Echidna. Adopting the advantageous method of nourishing their young during early life in the mother's womb, the placental mammals spread rapidly over the earth, ousting the lower reptilian type of organization, and diverging in various adaptive directions, they became the dominant group in Eocene times. The mammals have, however, suffered severely in the struggle. Large groups have vanished altogether, while others are on the verge of extinction. The Marsupials, once widely distributed, remain only in Australia, where they have escaped from competition with the more advanced Placentalia, and as scattered genera in America. The Dugong and Manatee are now the only representatives of the order Sirenia; while the Edentata, including the gigantic ground Sloths (Megatherium) and Glypto-

donts, once all-powerful in South America, are reduced nowadays to a few highly-specialized tree-sloths and armadillos.

Most instructive is the history of the large order Ungulata, which includes all the hoofed herbivorous mammals. Starting in Eocene times from primitive forms about the size of a fox, with complete unspecialized dentition and five-toed feet, known as the Condylarthra, and long ago extinct, the Ungulates branched out into a number of sub-orders. The Amblypoda developed into huge creatures, like Dinoceras, with large tusks and four horns on the skull, but did not survive beyond the Eocene age. A somewhat similar but quite distinct group of massively-built herbivores, the Titanotheria, lasted only into the Miocene, while the highly-specialized and aberrant sub-order Ancylopoda occurs up to the Pliocene epoch.

Those who believe in a guiding force directing the course of evolution must admit that it has been singularly blind and inefficient, leading more often to destruction than to success.

Still, it is sometimes argued, organisms seem to get into a groove of specialization, to pursue a road along which they can no longer stop, to become overspecialized by virtue of some sort of momentum driving them over the limits of usefulness to inevitable destruction. Thus over and over again we see, in the record left by fossils, animals acquiring a larger and larger size, and then suddenly dying out. Some animals develop certain organs to an excessive extent, as, for instance, the canine teeth in the extinct sabre-toothed tiger (*Machairodus*), or the monstrous antlers of the extinct Irish elk. Now it is quite probable that these animals died out owing to overspecialization, a narrow adaptation to a particular environment accompanied by a corresponding loss of power of accommodation; but it is a mistake to assume without clear proof that the course of their evolution can have been useless.

Variation may be useless or harmful, and doubtless these unsuccessful forms may have got into grooves of variation; but

variation is not evolution. And seeing that natural selection looks not to a distant future but to the immediate advantage, there is nothing in the history of these animals which cannot be explained as due to the ordinary action of selective elimination. We have every reason to suppose that every step in increase of size gave some advantage to the giant forms over their competitors.

Very important also is the evidence of palæontology, concerning the gradual character of the transition from one form to the other. We need not describe in detail the case of the horse, which is familiar to all, but shall only mention that it can be traced from an unspecialized comparatively small Eocene ancestral mammal, with five digits on each foot, a normal short skull, and the full complement of short rooted teeth. The complex pattern on the grinding surface of the teeth can be seen to evolve by almost insensible steps from the original six-cusped form, just as the lateral digits gradually become reduced on the feet. Exactly how gradual these transitions have been we cannot often yet say, but the more complete the evidence the smaller appear to have been the steps.

In this record of the past we read the work of natural selection, the drastic action of elimination, and see on a large scale what is happening today not only among the competing groups of organisms, but among the struggling individuals. From the record we also learn that evolution does not proceed along an even course such as we might expect to see pursued owing to the pressure of some internal or external directive force. On the contrary, it is the rule that groups quickly expand, radiating in various directions of adaptation. This specialization leads to a certain rigidity, a loss of adaptability in other directions, and sooner or later to a failure to meet new conditions, while some obscure side branch committed as yet to no special line of adaptation acquires some advantageous combination of characters, enabling it to compete successfully with the dominant race.

Adaptability is one of the most useful attributes an organism can possess.



—By Courtesy of the Tribune, Chicago.

THE STREET CAR WORKERS OF BLOOMINGTON, ILL., ON PARADE DURING THE RECENT STRIKE.

STREET CAR WORKERS WIN

IN SPITE of the fact that more than one thousand Illinois soldiers were rushed to Bloomington, Ill., in record time, the street car workers won their strike.

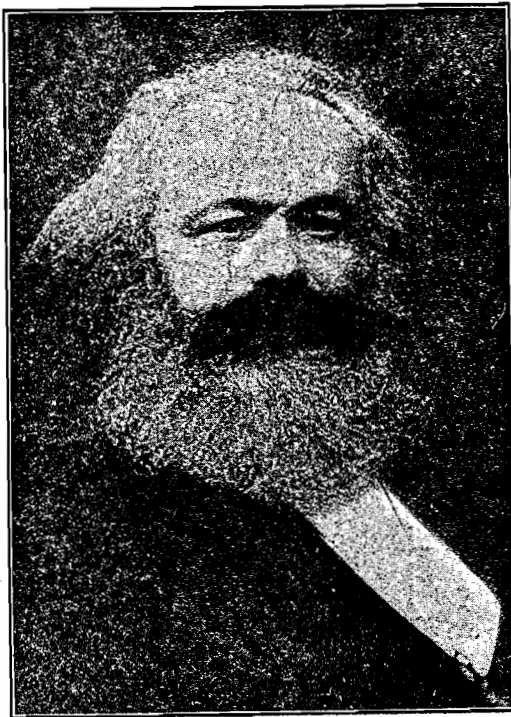
The solidarity of labor was 100 per cent strong. More than two thousand employees of the Alton shops downed tools at three o'clock on the afternoon of July 6th and marched to the office of the street car company, where they demanded that the car strike be brought to a satisfactory settlement at once. Every

union in Bloomington lined up behind the strikers.

The big power house was closed. Newspapers were unable to misrepresent the strike as there was no power to run the presses, and many of the big industrial plants had to close down for the same reason.

This is a striking example of how solidarity means success. If the workers will stand together as they did in Bloomington they can always win,





KARL MARX

Capitalists and Workers

By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

THE history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern capitalist society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of capitalism, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Capitalists and Workers.

From the serfs of the middle ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of

America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolized by close guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle-class; division of labor between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labor in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand, ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle-class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern capitalists.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the modern capitalist class developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how modern capitalism is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the capitalist class was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune,* here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France),

*"Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters, local self-government and political rights as "the Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country, for its political development, France.

afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the capitalist class has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole capitalist class.

This class, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

Capitalism, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless infeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

Capitalism has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers.

Capitalism has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

Capitalism has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigor in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

Capitalism cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of pro-

duction, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the capitalist epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the capitalists over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

Capitalism has thru its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual product. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures there arises a world-literature.

Capitalism, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication,

draws all, even the most barbarian nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the capitalist mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image.

The capitalism has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

Capitalism keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralized means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralization. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together in one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

Capitalism, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange on whose foundation capitalism built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under

which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organization of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their places stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the capitalist class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern capitalist society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the capitalist class and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire capitalist society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of capitalist property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of capitalist society, endanger the existence of capitalist property. The conditions of capitalist society are too narrow to comprise the wealth

created by them. And how does the capitalism get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which capitalism felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against capitalism itself.

But not only has capitalism forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working-class—the proletarians.

In proportion as capital is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-lass, developed, a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital. These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack that is required of him. Hence the cost of production of a workman is restricted almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and also of labor, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labor increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work enacted in a given time, or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little work-shop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As pri-

vates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the capitalist class, and of the capitalist State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual capitalist manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion or strength implied in manual labor, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labor of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labor, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

The lower strata of the Middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the working class, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the working class is recruited from all classes of the population.

The working class goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the capitalist class. At first the contest is carried on by individual laborers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individual capitalist who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the capitalist conditions of production, but against the instrument of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labor, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the laborers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the capitalist class,

which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole working class in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the workers do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial capitalist, the petty capitalists. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the capitalists; every victory so obtained is a victory for the capitalist class.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the capitalists, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual capitalists take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the capitalists; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real proof of the battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern workers, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organization of the workers into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the capitalist class itself. Thus the ten-hour bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The capitalist class finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the capitalist class itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the capitalists of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the working class, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The capitalist class itself, therefore, supplies the *proletariat* with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the workers with weapons for fighting the *capitalists*.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the *proletariat*, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the *proletariat* with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class-struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the *proletariat*, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the *capitalists* today, the working class alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in

the face of modern industry; the *proletariat* is its special and essential product.

The lower middle-class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the capitalist class, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so, only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the *proletariat*.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a *proletarian* revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the *proletariat*, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The *proletarian* is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many capitalist prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The *proletarians* cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The *proletarian* movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The working class, the lowest stratum of our present society,

cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the workers with the capitalists is at first a national struggle. The working class of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own capitalist class.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the working class, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the capitalist class lays the foundation for the sway of the working class.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty capitalist, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a capitalist. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of raising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper,

and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the capitalist class is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under capitalism, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the capitalist class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the capitalist class, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which capitalism produces and appropriates products. What the capitalist class, therefore, produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the working class are equally inevitable.—From the Communist Manifesto.

Justice for Ireland

By Wm. E. BOHN

ON July 25 there is to be another attempt to solve the Irish problem. Parliament passed a home-rule bill just before the war began. It had cost no end of trouble, and no one was satisfied with it. But such as it was, it was passed at last. Then came the war. A reasonable outsider might suppose that such an external trial for the government would be reason enough for hastening the application of the law. If Britain ever needed the whole-hearted support of the Irish she needed it in this war. But Premier Asquith and his cabinet suspended the law indefinitely. There was discontent everywhere on the green isle. It finally burst forth in the Easter uprising a year ago.

And all that England could do was to put down the Irish republicans with a brutality which would have done credit to Prussia. The government has not dared to enact a conscription law for Ireland. Troops sorely needed at the front have been kept in Ireland to prevent an uprising among people who have been under British rule since the Middle Ages. Never was there a better case of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children. In the day of her trial England's Irish sins rise up to smite her.

It was partly because of failure in Ireland that Mr. Asquith lost his post. He and his secretary for Ireland, Mr. Augustine Birrell, just muddled along. They

knew very well that an uprising was being prepared, but they dared not propose a bold measure either to placate the people or to frighten them. Lloyd George seemed to have some grasp on the situation. He has, no doubt, some social imagination. When he became premier we all expected to have something done about Ireland.

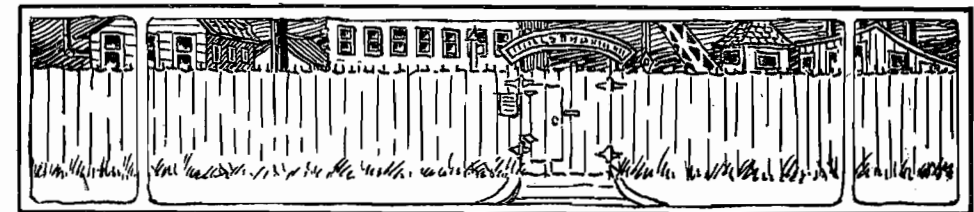
And now we have his plan. We are all disappointed. The big thing to do would have been to throw Ireland upon its own resources, make it settle its own fate. Many Englishmen would have backed up the new premier if he had done this. But he was not a big enough man even to propose it. What he did propose was a constitutional convention—but a convention with a string to it. In the first place, the scheme of representation is a manifestly unjust one. There is to be no direct representation of the people. The English government will be represented by fifteen members. The peers of Ireland will have a group present. Irish labor will have a representation about half the size of that accorded the peers. In addition the local government boards are to send delegates. These boards were elected before the rise of the Sinn Fein. They represent Ireland as it was more than ten years ago, not as it is today. At that time the Naturalists, the Redmondites, were in the ascendant. The great strikes of the transport workers and all that has happened since the outbreak of the war have changed the face of the Irish world. There have been three by-elections recently in Ireland. Every one of them has been against Redmond and in favor of the revolutionists. But the men and women of Ireland are not allowed to choose the members of the convention.

Arthur Griffeth, one of the organizers of the Sinn Fein, made three demands of

the government (1) that the convention be left free to declare the independence of Ireland; (2) that the government pledge itself to ratify the decisions of the convention; (3) that the convention consist of persons elected by the people of Ireland. Not one of these demands has been granted, and yet it is reported that the Sinn Fein is to participate. It is even said that the Ulster leaders have the power of veto over the proceedings.

The present writer speaks but guardedly of these matters. An outsider never understands Ireland and no two Irishmen ever understand it alike. But all signs point to another awkward bungling of the whole great matter. Back of the politics and back of the religion lies the labor problem. The aristocrats of Ulster are among the worst exploiters in the world. They must keep the religious bogey alive. If their Protestant followers once find out that the Roman Catholics to the south are the same sort of people as others—then the old game of divide-and-rule will be up. And Redmond will probably be the last Irishman who will play a great part in British politics at the expense of the Irish people. The strikes have done much to set matters straight. The bloody suppression of the Irish Republic did much. There must now be in Ireland a large number of people who want freedom from England, not merely for the sake of national glory, but because they want a chance to deal directly and effectively with Ireland's own problems.

Everything goes to show that this is what is furthest from Lloyd George's mind. He wants to do something to soothe the Irish and leave us as we were. It is just a continuation of the old policy which has led from one generation to another.



THE DREAMERS

From the New York Times, June 16, 1917.

THE Allies should call on Russia to define her intentions, if only for the internal good of Russia. What that country needs is to be brought face to face with actualities, so that the inevitable conflict between the builders and the wreckers within her own borders should begin at the earliest possible moment. It is the postponement of that conflict that has brought about this perilous situation. There are multiplying signs that the builders are stiffening in their temper, but an abrupt 'Quo Vadis?' from the Allies would help mightily in the stiffening process.

"It should be understood clearly that it is a waste of time to argue with the workmen's and soldiers' council or to try to compromise. The reason is that the object which these men seek is not that which the Allies seek, and there can be no compromise on methods without a common object. What the council seeks is not the defeat of Germany, but a new war to be made in all the countries of the globe by the masses against their governments. The council are not pacifists, they are warriors, only they would declare a different war from that now going on. They aim to incite a civil war in each separate land; to have the Germans make war on the Kaiser, the English on the House of Commons, the French on the President and Chambers, the Americans on the President, with the aim of establishing universally proletariat republics.

"In such a world cataclysm, of course, the present war between Germany and the Allies would disappear. The utter impracticability of their idea does not make its way thru the fog of misinformation in which they sit. Doubtless the news from other countries that is brought to them, coming by way of men just like themselves, leads them to the belief that this universal revolution is at hand everywhere, that what was

done in Russia against the Czar is about to be repeated in England, the United States, Germany, Italy, France, everywhere. Therefore, the present insignificant little war does not interest them; it is about to be swallowed up in the real war which shall liberate every land from its oppressive presidents and kings and parliaments, from the rule of capitalists and the bourgeoisie.

"It is for this reason that President Wilson's words, which struck so responsive a chord everywhere else, do not move them. They are merely the sophistries of another 'capitalistic' ruler, near the end of his tether like his fellow-despots, the Kaiser and King George and President Poincare and the Sultan. His argument is a 'strange pretense,' and really mystifies instead of enlightening the organ of the council, which kindly explains the real situation to him:

"The Russian revolutionary democracy knows very well that the road to the passionately awaited universal peace lies only thru a united struggle of the laboring classes with the imperialists of the world."

"It is idle to wait for such men to see the need of fighting Germany, simply because their eyes are fixed on quite a different object, and any words the Allies may employ will be as in a foreign and incomprehensible language.

"From this state of things there is only one outlet. The Russians who can see clearly must palter no longer with the Russians who are in a fog. The struggle is inevitable and can only be postponed. The Peasant's Congress has taken the right method; instead of arguing with insurgent Kronstadt, it sternly warns that center of anarchy that its supplies will be shut off unless it submits. Sterbatcheff's soldiers have taken the right method; instead of coddling mutinous comrades, they arrest them, and he dissolves their rebel regiments."

Peace Terms Urged by German Minority

From Chicago Daily News, July 9, 1917.

IMMEDIATE conclusion of peace conditions, which shall include the establishment of an international convention to bring about general

disarmament is the demand of the international proletariat, according to German minority Socialists, who have just issued a lengthy memorandum. Economic isola-

tion of states is condemned, the memorandum continues, and obligatory international arbitration should be established. Equal rights of all inhabitants of any country, regardless of nationality, race or religion, is an imperative necessity. Other recommendations are:

"Secret treaties must be abolished.

"Modifications of frontiers must depend on the consent of the populations concerned and must not be effected by violence.

"Annexations and indemnities shall be fixed on the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

"Re-establishment of Serbia as an independent autonomous state is necessary.

Autonomy for All Poland

"The aspirations of the Polish people toward national unity are understood, but to concede right to autonomy to Russian Poland and refuse it to Prussian and Austrian Poland is irreconcilable with the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

"Continuation of the war to establish this right as well as to solve the question of Alsace-Lorraine is condemned. An opportunity ought to be given Alsace-Lorraine to decide by referendum to which country it wishes to belong.

Restitutions for Belgium

"It is impossible to refuse Belgium complete political independence and complete economy autonomy. The Belgian people should receive reparation for damages due to war, especially restitution for economic losses, this having nothing in common with war indemnities, which are condemned.

"The policy of colonial conquest is condemned.

"The essential preliminary of a lasting peace is the independence of the Socialist parties in their relation with imperialistic governments.

"A peace program would be idle talk unless supported by energetic international efforts of the masses."

General Strike of Lumber Workers

AS we go to press a telegram brings the news of a general strike of all lumber workers west of the Mississippi river. It reads as follows: "Seattle, Wash., July 17. General strike has been called by Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500 of the I. W. W. Thousands responding to call. Solidarity fine. No scabs so far. John Martin."

The lumber trust and its henchmen, the state officials, county and city officials, with the aid of the militia, are resorting to the most ruthless methods to break the strike. Halls have been closed, strikers by the hundreds arrested and thrown in jails, or herded in stockades, but still the spirits of resistance grows.

The lumber jacks have made up their minds that they are tired of the rotten

conditions, and the long hours, and they will simply not tolerate them any longer. They are out to win this fight, and the \$500,000 defense fund raised by the Lumbermen's Association will not stop them. If the Lumbermen's Association can raise half a million dollars to defend their profits, then the "jacks" say that the Lumbermen's Association can raise half a million more dollars to increase the pay of the lumber jacks.

Late reports state that the authorities are backing down and the halls are being reopened. The September Labor Day edition of the REVIEW will have an illustrated article covering the strike which we hope to call—How the Lumber Jacks Won!



EDITORIAL THE GREAT ISSUE

We as Socialists are opposed to wars, but the great issue is not whether the war shall end this year, or next year, or whether it shall drag on into later years. The great issue is whether, when the war does end, it will end with the working class of the world strong enough to stop future wars, and to demand and take control of the processes of production.

In Russia, the impossible has come to pass; the workers of Russia are in power and they are making over the industrial and political life of the nation in their own interest. One great menace to the peace and happiness of the world, the warlike ambition of the Czar and his military machine, has been removed.

In Germany, the Kaiser's throne is shaking. The too patient, too obedient workers show signs of beginning, for the first time since 1848, to think for themselves. The rulers are beginning to make concessions, and it is not impossible that before many months the whole imperial structure may collapse and the workers may undertake the task of rebuilding.

We can say with the approval of the censors, that a revolution in Germany will make for the permanent peace and happiness of the world. And so it would. But that is only part of the truth. It is not merely Germany and Austria-Hungary that need to follow the example of Russia; it is also England and France and the United States.

The daily press tells us that this war is to make the world safe for democracy. In the final outcome this may be true in a far broader sense than the well-paid editors dream. Political democracy without industrial democracy is a hollow sham, but Russia has just shown the world that industrial democracy is something possible and real. In England the financial

lords of yesterday are taking orders from Lloyd George, whom they regarded three years ago as a dangerous demagog. In France the sense of national peril is still so acute that the financiers have to take back seats. Today the United States may safely claim the title once accorded Belgium—"Paradise of Capitalism."

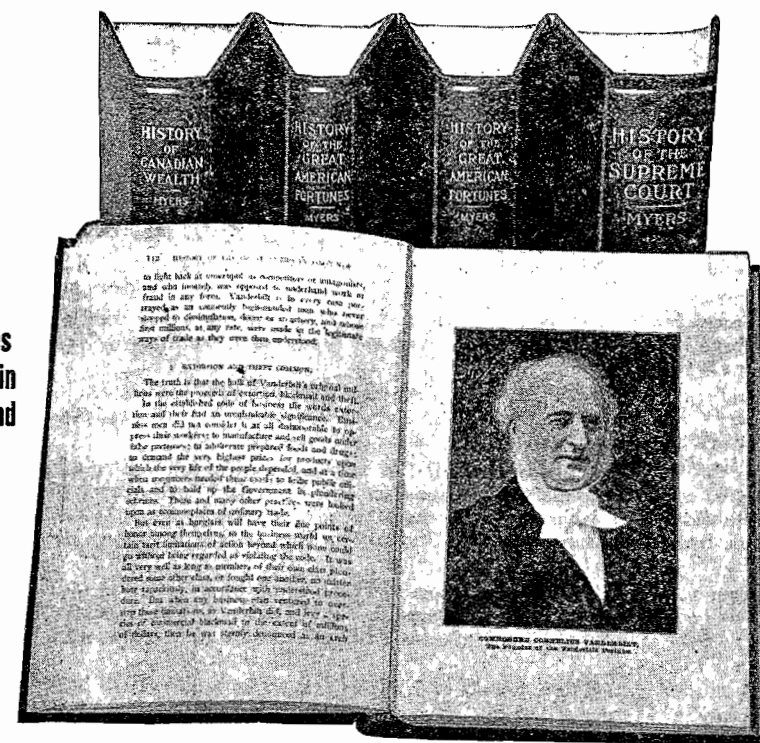
But this may soon be a "Paradise Lost." We are not yet fairly in the war. When the first million conscripts have been taken out of industry and have to be put into a high state of efficiency for war, the troubles of the American capitalist will just begin. Labor power and more of it will be vitally necessary to win the war. Labor power will become a scarce commodity and its price will go up. Labor need but stand together and it will dictate terms to capital.

It is no accident that the Industrial Workers of the World is growing by leaps and bounds. By long and slow experiments they have evolved methods of organization and of tactics in labor struggles that are highly efficient and will bring results. Soon the great American capitalists will have to put one enterprise after another under government control in order to keep up production on the vast scale necessary.

But when this tendency has made some progress, when the United States government has become the employer of some millions of men, economic conditions will rapidly evolve a strong Socialist party, and this party will voice the demands of twenty million workers for control of their hours, wages and working conditions.

Censorship and repression are annoying but not dangerous. Economic forces are working in America as in Russia, and neither magnate nor censor can halt them.

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The work is of great value. Its short histories of the judges, of the party affiliations and business connections are all of utmost importance to him who wants to know the truth and where to find it.—*American Journal of Sociology*.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

For Lasting Peace

It is well for all lovers of peace to carry a note-book during these stirring days. Here is an item worth preserving. When General Pershing was received at Bolougne it was with a peace speech. General Dumas said to him: "A new era has begun in the history of the world. The United States of America is expanding by connecting itself with the United States of Europe. In time we shall form the United States of the world, all solidly combined. That will mean the end of war. It will mean a peace which is productive, harmonious and durable, a society of nations. You are welcome among us, General, because you represent the humanity of the future."

Sinn Feiners Elected to Parliament

Four members of the Sinn Fein have been elected in recent Irish by-elections. The last one is Professor Edward de Valera, of Dublin University. His platform was the constitution of the Irish Republic. He was known as a leader of the Easter uprising. He announced everywhere that if elected he would never go to London. His majority over the Redmondite was nearly 3,000.

This policy of electing men sworn not to take their seats in the British parliament is called the Reading policy, for it was devised by Irishmen imprisoned in Reading jail. It begins to look as if the Irish Republic has the majority of Irishmen behind it.

Independent German Social Democrats

The socialists of Norway and Holland have been asking for declarations from other socialist groups. Finally they have received a splendid one from the new German party. The real socialists of

Germany favor self-determination for all people, *even for Alsace-Lorraine*. No annexations, no indemnities, no oppression of any sort—this is their demand—and when the vote is taken in any territory the women should be consulted as well as the men. There must be disarmament and world-government. But, in the opinion of these Germans, the task of keeping order, of making war impossible, is the task of the international organization of workers. In order that socialists may work for peace, they must everywhere cut loose from their governments.

The Rising Tide in Germany

The great hope of revolution in Germany receives definite encouragement as time goes on. The Emperor has (July 12) issued a rescript directing his ministers to grant equal male suffrage to Prussia. He has put this off again and again. He would not do it now if he were not forced to do so.

A few days before this happened Matthias Erzberger made a great speech before the General Reichstag Committee. He demanded a definite declaration by the chancellor in favor of no annexations and no indemnities. Herr Erzberger is a member of the Centrist group. He is a leader of the Christian (Catholic) Labor Unions. His speaking shows that discontent has spread beyond the ranks of the socialists. After this speech the Emperor called a meeting of the Crown Council, and von Bethman-Hollweg lost his seat. As we go to press it is reported that the Reichstag has refused to vote a new war budget. The tide is rising.

The Call

At last a copy of the new English paper, *The Call*, has come to the REVIEW

Library of Science for the Workers

To understand modern Socialism, you must understand Evolution. Socialists predict the speedy end of the capitalist system as a result of irresistible NATURAL LAWS, the workings of which have been studied for two generations since their discovery. Most of the books in which these laws are explained are too difficult to read and too expensive to buy, except for the leisure class. That is why we have used the slender capital subscribed in small sums by wage-workers to publish the most essential of the facts in simple language at low prices. The ten books here described will give you a clear understanding of the great process in which Socialism is the next step.

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office. It is the number for May 31, and a fine, clear piece of journalism it is. We congratulate the British socialists on having such an organ.

A Real Revolution in Russia

The Russian revolution cannot be overturned. There is economic weakness over there. The railways amount to little, the factories were running down. When the Romanoffs were discharged Russia was bankrupt. But in three months wonders have been performed. It is evident to the most skeptical outsider that the Russian people are behind the new government. There may be attempts to overthrow it, but they will fail.

The Socialist Party of France sent Marcel Cachin and Moutet as a committee to hear greetings and bring back a report. Here is a part of what they said when they came back: "The Russian republic has tendencies which are frankly Socialist. Those who inspire and lead it are men who have long held our ideas. It is something which the non-socialist French deputies admit with reluctance, but it is nevertheless true, that Socialists rule in Russia. They constitute the whole of the committee of the soldiers' and workmen's deputies; there are six of them in the cabinet of Prince Svov. They are planning for democratic control of factory work; they will make the internal administration of the country as democratic as possible. But beyond this—and here lies the real scandal—they have given to the army a new regime, a new discipline, which has nothing in common with the old one. But what seems to our bourgeois politicians worst of all is that they have put an end to secret diplomacy. She must now reform from the ground up these mean structures of little, furtive international combinations. The Russian revolution has given its support to shirt sleeve diplomacy."

Jap Socialists Endorse Russians

On the first of May, 1917, we, the Socialist group in Tokyo, Japan, gather together here to express our highest respect for and deepest sympathy with the Russian revolution!

We recognize that the Russian revolution means in one respect a political revolution of a newly rising bourgeois class against mediaeval absolutism and at the same time a social revolution of the Meimin Karkin (proletarian class) against modern

capitalism. Therefore, to make the progress of the Russian revolution advance the goal of Socialist revolution is not only the responsibility of Russian Socialists alone, but also really that of international Socialists.

The capitalist system of every country has reached now its last stage of evolution, that is, fully matured capitalistic imperialism. At this time Socialists of all countries, without being misguided and disturbed by the ideals of capitalistic imperialism, standing firmly on the principle of the international, ought to concentrate the fighting forces of the proletariat of each nation that are abused and squandered by the very ruling classes of those nations and to direct them against the common enemy. To do so is to complete the historic mission of the international proletariat.

At the present opportunity, therefore, it should be endeavored to realize a declaration of the immediate cessation of the present war, and at the same time let the proletariat of the present belligerent countries turn the guns that are aimed at the working class in enemy countries at once on the ruling classes of their own respective nation. This is the responsibility of the Russian Socialist Party as well as that of the international Socialist party.

We trust in and depend on the persevering courage and heroic fighting of Russian Socialist party and of Socialist comrades of the world. We sincerely hope for the steady spread of the revolutionary spirit!

(By the Acting Committee of the Socialist Group, in Tokyo, Japan.)

Socialists of nearly all countries have accepted the Russian formula, "Peace without annexations or indemnities." Our French comrades believe the Germans should be compelled to give up Alsace and Lorraine and pay for the damage done in Belgium and elsewhere. When they made representations to the Russians they were told, "After all, the main thing is that the people be allowed to determine under what government they shall live. Let us agree on that."

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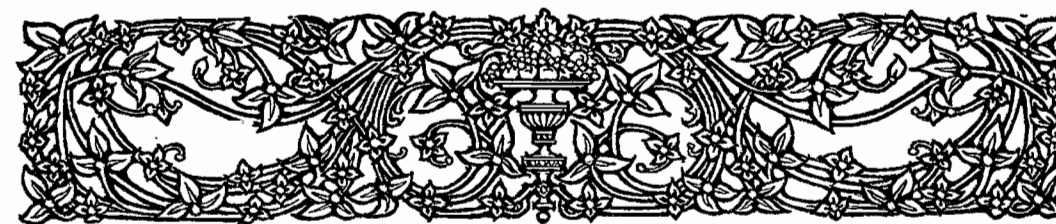
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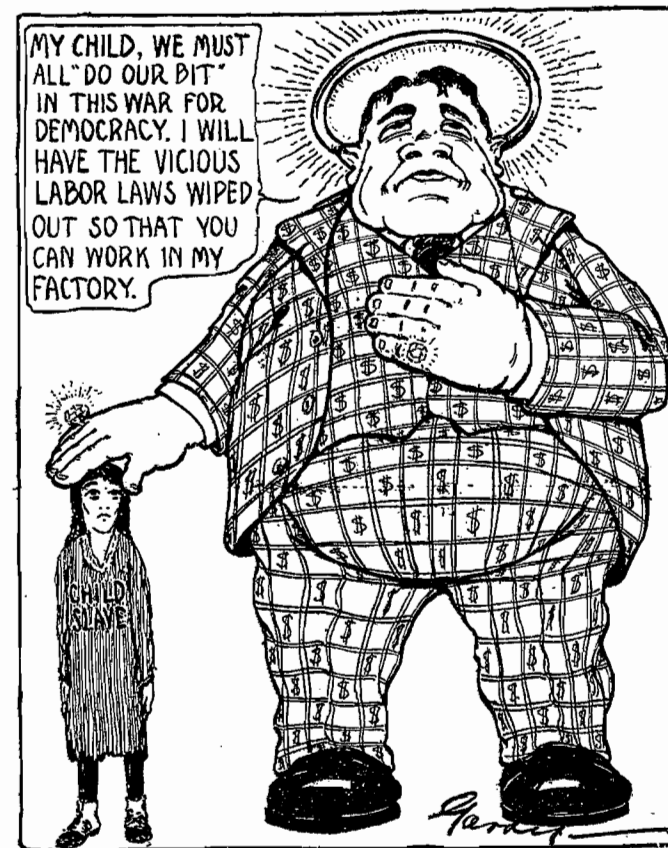
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—From the New York Call.

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"It is not surprising to know that the REVIEW has been suppressed. To the contrary, it would indeed be surprising to see autocracy fail to suppress such a fighter for the working man as the REVIEW has proved itself to be.

"These are surely trying times for us. It is hard to think that speech is to be curbed and the press throttled here in 'free America,' but it seems that the powers that be are doing it.

"Go on with your fight. We have no compromise to make with the capitalist class nor any apology to offer. Yours for the revolution."

Champaign, Ill.—"The radical comrades in

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It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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this community certainly appreciate the REVIEW and fully understand why it has been singled out for attack. We also realize that you could have gotten by very easily with the issue if you had been 'good,' but we congratulate you for not being 'good,' and sincerely hope that you will continue to take the revolutionary socialist position, even if it means denial of the use of the mail service for the REVIEW, altho, we would much prefer to have the REVIEW come the more convenient way—thru the mail.

"Be sure and send the bundle by express, if possible, and you may feel sure that we will stick with you and fight to the finish. Yours in the fight."

Canton, Ohio—"Send forty more July REVIEWS and one hundred August REVIEWS as soon as they are printed. We are with you to the finish."

San Francisco, Cal.—"July number is so good that we have sent for some more. Keep your eye on San Francisco, as the movement is on the go again. The Jack London Library youngsters are a fine bunch and are going to do great work for the REVIEW and other good Socialist papers. The Industrialists are also driving again. Rena Mooney's case is moving nicely to what looks like a sure acquittal. The community is largely for her. Oxman is on trial and thoroughly outlawed and the Chamber of Commerce is menaced with apoplexy."—McD.

From Petrograd, Russia—"Be so kind as to send your REVIEW for 1916 and 1917. It is the best Socialist magazine that I know."—P. L. Tsimbal.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—"The REVIEW is doing good work for real proletarian Socialism."—Justus Ebert.

Central City, Neb.—"We received the bunch of literature you sent us last week. On Sunday last we took an automobile and distributed it among the comrades, to be in turn distributed by them to their friends. We are particularly 'stuck' on that study course in scientific Socialism by Local Payallup. That's the best ever and should be the first thing read by an inquirer. A comrade jumped me today and asked me to get him some more of that book at once. He says he thought he was a Socialist for a long time, but admitted he didn't know anything about its real principles until after he read that book. It tells it all in a few words. I am joining the comrade in sending for 25 copies and enclose \$1.50 to pay for same. I wanted him to wait until we could get the comrades together and make up enough to make an order worth while, but he wants his NOW. He is full up to his ears and running over and can't wait, so send them on. We will order more soon. Send this order to address below."—Yours fraternally, S. E. Cosgwell, secretary.

To Distribute Reviews—Scores of letters are coming into this office from comrades who are offering to distribute copies of the REVIEW to our subscribers, who cannot receive them thru the mails. Among these are Frans Bostrom, who runs the Liberty Book Exchange in Tacoma; Comrade Huebner of Ohio, Let-

tini of Vermont and the Jack London Memorial Library of San Francisco. Letters are reaching us by every mail, assuring us of the support of our readers and we want to take this means to thank you all for your loyal support. The REVIEW has broken no law and it does not propose to give up the fight for the emancipation of the working class under any circumstances, but the days ahead are rather dark and we will need the cooperation of all REVIEW readers.

Throttled Press—Comrade Burt of Minnesota writes: "I enclose \$1.50 for which extend my REVIEW sub. a year and keep my copies and the 50 cents to send them to me. Things have come to a pretty pass, when the freedom of the press is throttled by our public servants. I am seventy years old and the blood in my veins does not pulse as fast as in youth, yet I feel very indignant in this matter. It looks as though we stood in need of revolution here more than in Russia. The REVIEW advocates the true sentiment of this little neighborhood on the war."

"Pension System for World War Being Framed"

From the Chicago Tribune, July 9, 1917.

(By a Staff Correspondent)

"THE most revolutionary proposal in war legislation yet considered will be submitted to Congress by the administration, probably within the next fortnight.

"The administration proposed to abolish the system of pensions for wounded soldiers and for the surviving kin of soldiers killed in battle and to substitute therefor a casualty insurance plan.

"A committee of officers of some of the largest life insurance companies in the country will begin a series of conferences with Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo this week regarding the formulation of the proposed legislation.

Tentative Proposals

"Secretary McAdoo proposes that Congress shall specify before American soldiers are sent into battle the death and injury benefits that shall be paid by the nation. The tentative proposals are:

"A minimum compensation of \$1,500 for the death of an enlisted man.

"A maximum compensation of \$1,500 for total disability.

"A maximum compensation of \$5,000 for the death or total disability of an officer.

"It is proposed to pay this compensation not in a lump sum but in a series of installments extending over a period of years.

Two Plans Considered

"Two plans are under consideration. One provides that the government shall insure its soldiers against death and injury with the insurance companies which accept the business at the high rates which would be charged for war risks. The other provides that the government shall undertake the whole obligation, Congress appropriating sufficient funds to cover the death and injury benefits.

"The administration is opposed to continuing the present pension system during and after this war. Secretary McAdoo holds that the plan he proposes will be less wasteful, more equitable, and more satisfactory both to the government and to the pensioners.

Pension System Too Costly

"It is contended that, whatever the compensation provided, the total cost to the government would be much less than under the present pension system.

"Civil war pensions already aggregate \$5,000,000,000, and it is estimated that the total bill will be \$6,000,000,000 before the last civil war pension is paid."

HOW THE FARMER CAN GET HIS

MARY E. MARCY has just written, under this title, the best book of Socialist propaganda for farmers that has yet appeared in the United States. She talks to the farmer about the prices he pays for what he buys and the prices he gets for what he sells, instead of explaining primitive communism or trying to interest him in the troubles of the wage-worker. But she discusses prices from the Marxian point of view, and shows the farmer that the capitalists leave him, on the average, just about as good or as poor a living as they allow the wage-worker to have. She proves that the working farmer without much capital can improve his own standard of living only by joining the wage-workers in their fight against capitalism. All this is told in short words and short sentences, printed in large type. Just the book to win the farmer. Price 10c; in lots of a dozen or more, 6c, postpaid.

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CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 341-351 East Ohio St., Chicago



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

July Review Unavailable

After nearly all copies of the June INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW had been mailed to our subscribers, the Chicago postmaster advised us that he had been instructed by Mr. W. H. Lamar, solicitor of the P. O. Department at Washington, to advise us that further copies would be unavailable. We were also advised that it would be necessary for us to mail copies of the July number to Mr. Lamar for his consideration before we would be allowed the privilege of using the United States mails.

We therefore, held up the July issue, and forwarded copies to Washington, with the earnest request that Mr. Lamar telegraph us which, if any, articles were considered unavailable, so that we could omit them from the REVIEW and mail the censored copies to our subscribers.

After much delay we were advised by the Chicago postmaster that he had been instructed to advise us that the July Review was "unavailable." Later we received from Mr. Lamar a copy of the late Espionage Act, some part of which has been invoked to bar the REVIEW from the mails.

In response to our request for information as to what article or articles were considered unavailable, Mr. Lamar wrote us under date of July 2nd:

"Furthermore, I may say that as a practical proposition it would be utterly impossible for this office to undertake to point out to publishers of magazines and newspapers which are offered for mailing, the specific passages which are nonmailable under the Act of June 15, 1917, known as the Espionage Bill. . . . the only feasible method of handling the work has been to cease reading any one issue of a publication when any unavailable matter is found therein, then taking up the next publication and handling it in the same way."

This explanation is intended to appear in the August number of the REVIEW, copies of which we are again required to forward to Mr. Lamar, for approval.

We are advised that the following publications have also been withheld from the mails: The American Socialist, Chicago; The Michigan Socialist, Detroit; The Socialist News, Cleveland; St. Louis Labor; The Social Revolution, St. Louis; Appeal to Reason, Girard; The Rebel, Hallettsville, Texas; The Peoples Press, Philadelphia, and The Masses, New York.

In commenting editorially on the action of the Post Office officials, the New York Nation of July 12th, says:

A strong protest should be lodged against the abuse by post office officials of their wide powers under the Espionage bill to forbid the free use of mails to various publications. Up to date, this indirect form of suppression has not been used against any large or powerful members of the press, but only against small and feeble periodicals. The ground for withholding the privilege of the mails was that the suppressed publications printed articles calculated to discourage recruiting. This is an indictment of very broad scope and endless elasticity. It is an indictment typical of the bureaucratic frame of mind, leaving plenty of room for bureaucratic discretion, a discretion which has been carefully exercised in favor of the big sinner. There are a number of the great dailies, backed by influence and power, which have freely and openly said things much more discouraging to recruiting than the worst that has appeared in the pages of the suppressed periodicals. Perhaps, in the course of time, this indirect censorship thru the post office will feel itself strong enough to attack bigger game.

Under the head, "A Dangerous Power," the St. Louis Republic sounds the following warning:

Representative London's call for an investigation, which shall reveal the methods and principles followed in the suppression of Socialist newspapers all over the country, should be approved and acted upon.

The power of the Postmaster General over the mails is singularly liable to abuse. His right to refuse the use of the mails to what are deemed objectionable publications is a species of absolutism which needs watching by the representatives of the people. It would be possible for the Postmaster General and Attorney-General to Kaiserize this country in

a manner which would make the imprisonment of Liebknecht look like an amateur job.

This is not said because the *Republic* believes the Postmaster General entertains any such purpose, but to call attention, without mincing words, to the danger that lurks in the Postmaster General's power at a time when the country is hourly on the verge of hysteria over one thing or another and even the grave and reverend Senate is running around in circles instead of getting somewhere with the food bill.

The post office authorities are no more immune from the unsettling effects of these abnormal times than other people. They may, in an excess of zeal, destroy the reputation of this country abroad as a land of free speech.

An investigation by Congress will have a sobering effect and will give the post office a chance to lay its cards on the table and show just what policy has been pursued and the reasons for it.

Again we quote from an editorial in the July 6th edition of *The Public*:

THE SEED OF ABSOLUTISM

The attention of Mr. William H. Lamar, attorney for the post office department, must be

called to the first amendment to the constitution of the United States. This says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Mr. Lamar should study this section because he is under the impression that authority to abridge freedom of the press has been conferred upon him by the Espionage Act. Acting on this impression he has entered on a policy of suppression which, if upheld and persisted in, must make the democratic sections of the constitution mere scraps of paper; and must make the United States a very insecure place for democracy. His latest exploit is the suppression of an issue of *The American Socialist* of Chicago. The issue has been suppressed merely because it happens to be Mr. Lamar's personal opinion that something in it is contrary to the Espionage Act. Leaving out of consideration congressional lack of authority to abridge freedom of the press, there still remains the fact that Mr. Lamar's individual opinion, the basis of which has not even been made public, should not decide what may or may not be admitted to the mails.

GREATEST OF ALL SOCIALIST BOOKS Marx's CAPITAL

You can be a Socialist without reading CAPITAL, but you cannot talk or write about Socialism, nor hold your own in debates with old-party politicians, without a clear understanding of the principles and theories which are explained in this book.

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What will the future society be like? William Morris tells us, not as a prophet, but as the Dream of an Artist Revolutionist.

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Price, postage included, \$1.00.

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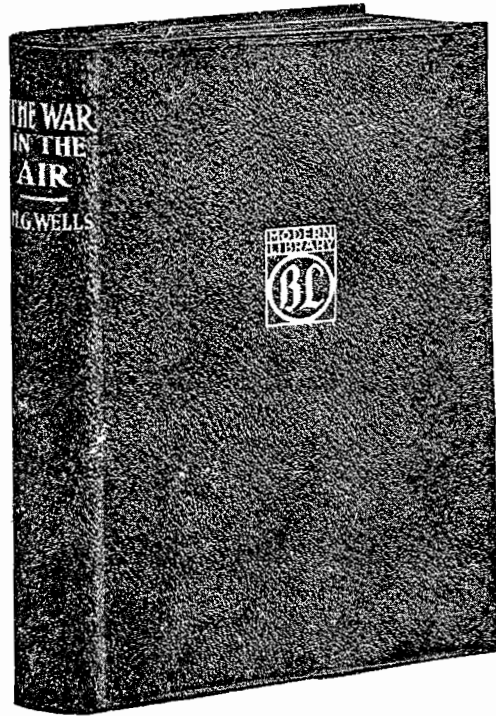
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SEPTEMBER, 1917

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"We find it highly significant that just as the American nation is setting forth in its righteousness to avenge the Belgian deportations upon the German kaiser, our own kaisers, sitting in the persons of the Phelps Dodge Corporation of Arizona, should round up 1,500 free citizens in a corral, herd them into a train of stinking cattle cars and ship them into the middle of the desert.

"Our United States army has to go and rescue its own citizens from its own kaisers and feed them and shelter them and try to find something else to do with them besides send them home clothed in their rights, which is the one thing it dares not do."

—From the Chicago Herald.



Jack London's Books



Until Jack London died, most of us scarcely realized that America's greatest fiction-writer was a revolutionary comrade. Perhaps it was because Jack did not take himself seriously, did not pose as a Great Man. That is something that he was too intelligent and sympathetic to do. So many of us thought of him as successful, lucky, even while we enjoyed the things he wrote.

Now he can write no more, and we have lost the one writer who could state Socialism in terms that penetrated the brain of the ordinary careless American worker. But, thanks to "whatever gods there be," his books are still here. We have arranged to supply all of them that are now published at popular prices. The wholesale rate has been greatly increased on account of the cost of paper, but we can still offer twenty of his best books at 50c each; five to one address for \$2.00, or the set

of twenty for \$7.00. The titles we offer are:

The Iron Heel is a notable book that you should not fail to read. It is a picture of the future of America as Jack London conceives it, in the event that the trust magnates win out in their fight against organized labor and Socialism. It is a vivid picture of a possible hell on earth which some of us may live to see.

In contrast with this book and supplementing it are two other pictures of the future. **Looking Backward**, by Edward Bellamy, tells of a state in which capitalists are abolished, but all people from twenty-one to forty-five work under a sort of military discipline with their elders as the bosses. Bellamy pictures equality as being won at the cost of liberty, though he seems to approve the system he describes. The book has had wide influence and should be read. We have it at 50c.

News from Nowhere, by William Morris, is a picture of a dream-country that is run by the workers, who have abolished the capitalists and landlords and are living their own life in a more delightful fashion than any other writer, before or since, has ever pictured. We have just published a new edition of this classic at \$1.00.

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September

1917

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XVIII

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 3

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature

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Editorial: What Is Treason?
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FRANK LITTLE

Organizer and General Executive Board
Member of the I. W. W., Murdered
by Gunmen in Butte, Montana,
August 1, 1917

TO FRANK LITTLE

(Lynched at Butte, Montana, August 1, 1917)

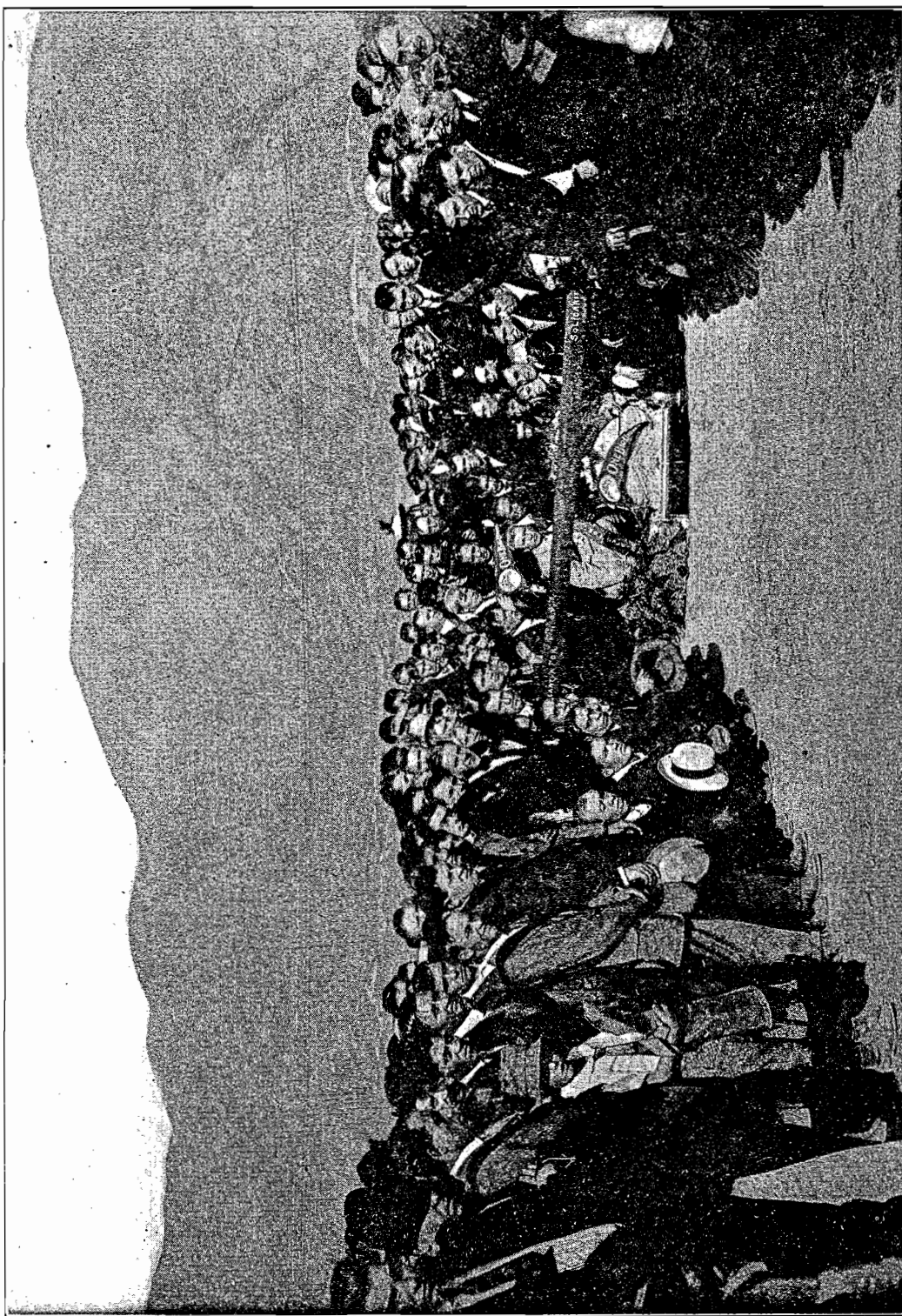
We'll remember you, Frank Little!
They couldn't still your voice,
So they strangled it;
They couldn't chill your heart,
So they stopped it;
They couldn't dam your life blood,
So they spilled it.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
They didn't come in the broad of day
And warn you that in a world
Being made safe for democracy
There was no safety for you.
In the dead of night they came
And pounced on you,
Dragged you out as if you were an animal
Without daring to let you put your clothes on
Or bind up your broken leg.
They spared you no indignity,
They withheld from you no shame;
Afterward, no doubt, they washed their hands
With the air of men who've done their bit
In the cause of freedom.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
The papers said: "So far as known,
He made no outcry."
No, not you! Half Indian, half white man,
All I. W. W.
You'd have died ten thousand deaths
Before you'd have cried aloud
Or whimpered once to let them
Enjoy your pain.

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
Long after the workers have made the world
Safe for Labor,
We'll repeat your name
And remember that you died for us.
The red flag that you dropped
A million hands will carry on;
The cause that you loved
A million tongues will voice.
Good bye, Frank Little!
Indian, white man, Wobbly true,
Valiant soldier of the great Red army,
We'll remember you!

—Phillips Russell.



AT THE GRAVE OF FRANK LITTLE, MOUNTAIN VIEW CEMETERY, BUTTE, MONTANA.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XVII

SEPTEMBER, 1917

No. 3

The Man That Was Hung

WELL, they got Frank Little. No wireless message ever sped faster than these five words thru the world of labor. For on the first morning of this month an agitator was hung in Butte, Montana.

A social war has been going on in that hell hole of labor since the 12th of June. On the one side are the few mine owning capitalists represented by their henchmen and an army of 600 Standard Oil gunmen. On the other side are 17,000 unarmed striking copper miners with their Metal Mine Workers' Union.

Came Frank Little, a fellow unionist, with a message of good cheer and solidarity from the miners of the southwest. He told them that their real enemy was the industrial kings and copper barons of America.

He repeated his words to Ex-Governor Hunt of Arizona: "Governor, I don't care what you are fighting for, but we, the Industrial Workers of the World, are fighting for Industrial Democracy." And the miners of Butte cheered his words.

The copper barons replied by sending six of their gunmen to "get" the damn agitator, who championed the cause of hated labor; who made war upon capitalism and the wage system, who advocated industrial democracy. The story of the assassination and what followed is told in the *Montana Socialist*.

"Driven to desperation by the peaceful, non-resisting strike of the Metal Mine Workers, the company has played its last trump—murder.

"In the gray of the morning of August 1, Frank Little, an I. W. W. organizer, was taken from his room in the Steel block by six masked men, hurried into an automobile, with no covering but his underclothes, driven swiftly to the Milwaukee railroad trestle near the Centennial brewery and hanged to the trestle. It was one of the most brutal, cruel, cowardly murders that ever disgraced an American city. Six armed men take this cripple, without a chance to defend himself, and after beating his head to a pulp, tied a rope around his neck and threw him off a railroad trestle. It was an act too fiendish and cowardly to credit even to a band of Sioux Indians. It is doubtful if Little ever knew that he was hung, for the blows on the head no doubt rendered him unconscious or made the hanging unnecessary except to gratify the murder-lust of the perpetrators.

"Following the murder all three of the Butte daily papers came out with venomous editorials against the victim that might well encourage a repetition of this outrage and lay the blame on the federal authorities. It ill becomes the daily press of this city to excuse the murders by throwing the blame on the federal authorities because they did not take action against Little on account of remarks he made about this country and its government. This government does not need the help of midnight assassins to carry out the enforcement of the law. The federal authorities are no doubt as competent as the daily papers and the

interests they represent to interpret what constitutes a violation of the law. Those who commit and condone midnight assassination are not safe guardians of the law.

"And the daily press itself had made veiled threats of violence before Frank Little came to Butte. In the editorial quoted above the *Standard* hints that somebody has a card up their sleeve that they are going to play when the proper time comes. In the leading editorial on the Home Guards, in the same issue (July 1), it says:

"There may be nothing for the Home Guards to do, and again there may be. The city and county authorities are faithful and reliable and they are determined to maintain order, but they may need help at any time, and when they need it they should have it. The Guards should soon be able to render very effective assistance."

"In this issue of July 16, the *Standard* says editorially, 'the agitators should take a lesson from what has happened in other sections of the country.'

"First, we see trouble prepared for—then we see trouble predicted—then we see trouble started. There may be no connection, but it looks suspicious to any one familiar with the methods of the Standard Oil Company.

* * * *

"To those outside of Butte, who are not acquainted with conditions here, let it be said that while Butte is within the confines of the United States, it is a principality of the Standard Oil Company. While the working people are peaceful and law abiding, the rulers care no more for a law that stands in the way of the accomplishment of their ends than a cow does for a cobweb. Anyone who knows the history of the Standard Oil Company knows that it will trample under foot any law that stands in the way of the creation of profits.

"The fact that all thru this strike, since the 12th of June, there has been no violation of the law except on the part of *officials and gunmen*, proves that the working people of this community are exceptionally slow to resort to violence. Under the most aggravating and exasperating circumstances they have kept their heads and refrained from any overstepping of

their legal rights which might be taken as an excuse for the company to inaugurate a campaign of murder and terrorism, such as occurred at Ludlow.

"The papers for several days have been telling us that more and more men were going to work and that soon the mines would be running about normal. If this were true then what was the need of resorting to murder to try to break the ranks of the striking miners? If the company has plenty of men to run the mines, why should it care how long the Metal Mine Workers remain on strike?

"The truth of the matter is that all this talk about the increased output of the mines was a big bluff. The mines are not turning out the dividends that have been promised the stockholders. The heart of the Standard Oil Company is profits and to cut out the profits is the same thing as cutting out its heart.

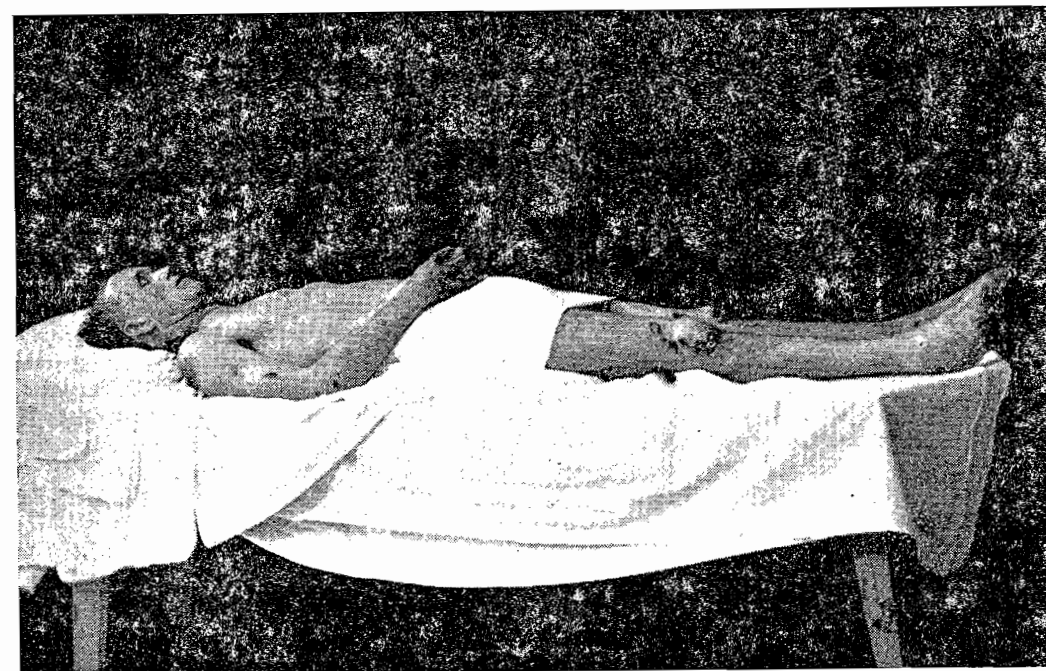
* * * *

"And again they have failed. Again the workingmen refused to fall for their game, but are still sitting with folded arms. With all their army of spotters and eaves-droppers they have only been able to report one threat made in the heat of passion, which is said to have been made by one man in front of Finlander hall. And who knows but that this is a reporter's lie.

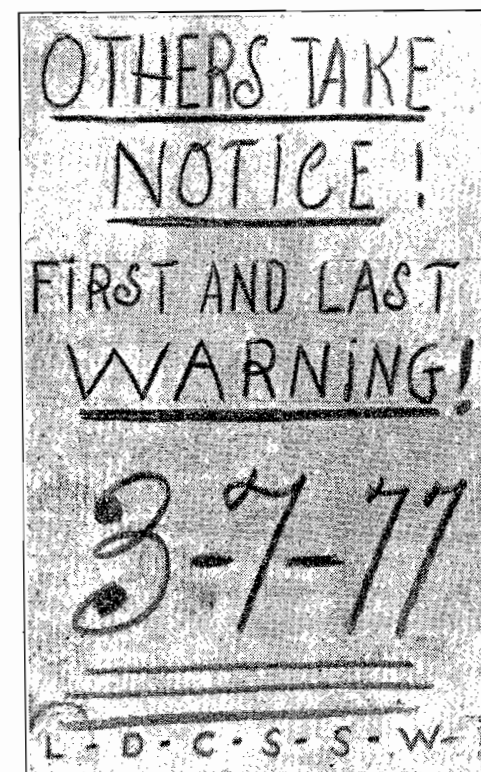
"The thing that stands out most prominent in this strike is the peaceful manner in which it has been conducted. We do not know of a strike of such magnitude ever having been carried on for such a length of time with so little disturbance. Only a couple of days ago a policeman, on what is considered one of the toughest beats in Butte, said that the town was the quietest he ever saw it. 'Why,' said he, 'a year ago I used to make over a dozen arrests a week, and now I have not seen a fight in six weeks. Finest time I ever saw for a policeman.'

"But in all this turmoil the student of economics and history sees the age-long class struggle. The crime of Frank Little was that he was on the side of the working class. And in his death he has aided the class he represents more than he could do by talking a hundred years.

"The papers endeavored to magnify every utterance of this man to the pro-



IN THE MORGUE.



portions of treason; yet, most of the things he said are, and for many months have been, heard wherever men congregate and discuss current events.

"Be that as it may, the grewsome fact remains that Frank Little was foully murdered—and his murderers are still at large.

"But, the working people of this district are aroused—and every one in Butte now realizes it.

"Nearly seven thousand people—to be exact, 6,800—followed Frank Little's body to its last resting place.

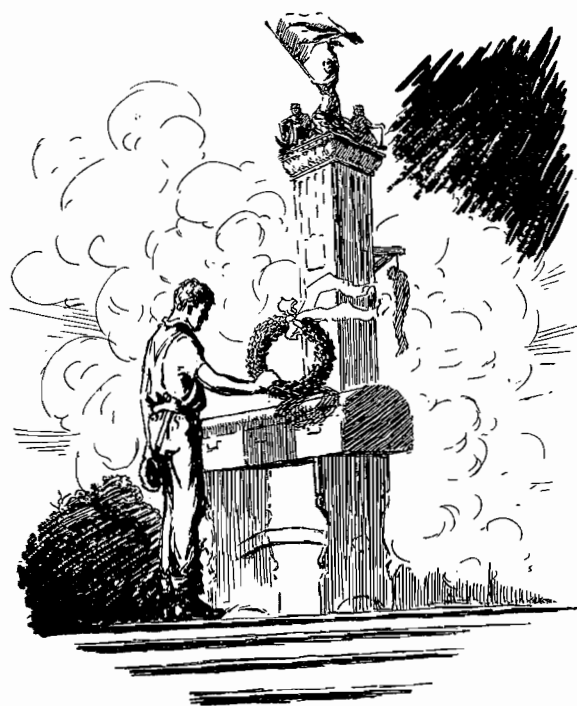
"Electrical Workers, Street Carmen,

Blacksmiths, Machinists, Boilermakers, and a number of other unions marched as a body, the Pearce-Connolly Club, wearing their colors, marched near the head of the procession, which was led by hundreds of women and children, mothers with babes in their arms or push carts. Thousands of miners were in line.

"What induced these thousands of working people to march?

"Simply their determination to call a halt on such murderous tyranny.

"If you want to help the Butte miners win send a contribution to Tom Shannon, Butte, Montana, 318 N. Wyoming street."



SHALL LABOR BE CONSCRIPTED?

By Phillips Russell

WHEN we pick up a newspaper today and read of slaughters, murders, disasters, betrayals, thefts, assaults, accusations, infamies, deportations, lynchings, burnings, beatings and suicides, we are not confronted simply with the symptoms of a diseased civilization. We are witnessing the breakup of a world.

At such a time there is no more useful or invigorating employment for a troubled mind than to read Marx's Communist Manifesto. Not only read it, but study it thoroly. Let the phrases sink in. Use it as a glass thru which to view the nations in convulsion.

One is then prepared to receive with equanimity the news than the capitalists of America plan as their next step the conscription of labor. In the early part of August the newspapers of the country carried the following dispatch from Washington:

Conscription of labor to carry out ship-building contracts taken over by the Government is being urged by Pacific Coast constructors.

Facing a 25 per cent increase in the cost of labor for building the vessels, the shipyard men declared today that the labor question has another quite as serious aspect as the increased cost. Labor men, they contended, are endeavoring to make arrangements whereby the advantage of the present apparent labor shortage will continue after the war, when the labor market probably will be glutted.

Thus far the question has been put up to the Shipping Board only. No further development can be expected, it was pointed out, until the President appoints the labor committee of the Council of National Defense or Congress takes action.

Shipbuilders stated today that if the labor element is to take advantage of a national labor shortage and the constructors have to meet their demands, then the builders should have the same advantage when the labor market is glutted. The builders stated flatly that there is an organized movement on foot to make it certain that war-time conditions will prevail after peace is established and that the fat pay they receive will go to those now engaged in that class of labor, prohibiting returned soldiers from competing with them.

If men are conscripted to go into the trenches at the certain risk of their lives, the builders have pointed out, the Government should take like steps in its war industries.

The method most favored, and actually the only resort the builders see, is conscription of labor. They strongly advocate, it was learned today on unimpeachable authority, fixing a standard reasonable wage for employes in industries indirectly contributing to waging the war, just as the pay of drafted soldiers is fixed.

Two days later a resolution, said to have been inspired by certain Arizona interests, was introduced in the United States Senate urging the conscription of labor as a war measure.

In the other warring countries they already have virtually the same thing. In Germany it is called the "industrial mobilization of the civilian population." In England when the ruling class wants a thing, they say "Let Dora do it," "Dora" being the Defense of the Realm Act. In England you cannot change your job, cross the street to work in another plant, transfer to a more congenial department, lay off for a couple of days, or go to another town to visit a sick relative, unless you obtain permission from one of numerous tribunals. You cannot agitate for better conditions, cannot even act as a delegate in the adjustment of union affairs, without risk of deportation. Only the deportation is carried out by the government and not by an armed regiment of private gunmen as at Bisbee, Ariz.

A case in point was that of David Kirkwood, of Glasgow. He acted as a shop steward in a strike. Without warning, without a hearing, he was deported from his home and separated from his wife and children. His own union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, declined to support him on the ground that the strike had not been authorized from union headquarters!

It was the Iron Heel, everybody said—no use kicking, no use protesting, such things had to be. Yet even iron heels may have their Achilles tendon. Achilles, you remember, was invulnerable except in one place. That was the tendon of the heel by which his nurse had held him when she dipped him into the River Styx to make him proof against all wounds.

The weakness of industrial conscription

is that it won't work when men and women refuse to submit to it. So a few months later, these same A. S. E.'s broke out resistlessly in one of the most dangerous strikes that England has had since the war began, a strike so threatening that Dr. Addison, the British Minister of Munitions, was forced out of office by it. The engineers accused him of being responsible for an offensive ruling under which men who had agreed to do government work under certain exacting conditions were transferred to a private plant and told to continue their work under the same conditions on the plea that the job was of national importance. The strikers further announced that the government had broken well-nigh every promise made to them and that hereafter they would specify their own conditions.

Now the A. S. E. is one of the strongest of English unions and some observers say this strike was the beginning of the split between the Labor Party and the British government which threatened to widen into a chasm last month when Arthur Henderson was dropped from the British war cabinet because he supported the Russian demand for a Socialist and labor conference at Stockholm. If this breach persists, then the "civic peace" in England is over and the British working class will once more turn its attention to its own interests.

However, industrial mobilization in the British isles has been in a large measure successful—for the capitalists, of course. Waving the flag with one hand and with the other garnering tremendous profits, they have herded immense masses of docile men, women and children into such aggregations of factories as were never conceived of before, with results in the form of physical overstrain and nervous breakdown that compose the subjects of a pamphlet to which a frightened government has permitted free circulation.

The ease with which herds of fruitful workers have been gathered together in England, France and Germany has not escaped the notice of our capitalists. In fact, it is probable that the desire of American employers to introduce this enviable state of affairs into this country was back of the loud shouts of a considerable section of our war party.

Our manufacturers probably reason

this way: "The European countries have built up an immense producing machinery which, after the war, will be able to turn out goods faster and more cheaply than we can do with our present facilities. We already produce more articles than we can sell in this country. Therefore we must have foreign markets for our surplus. To be able to compete with Europe in these markets we must have the same disciplined and highly productive labor which it enjoys. If we can conscript an army, why can't we conscript labor?"

We all know that in such contests for the control of foreign markets are carried the germs of war, but it is not often that the facts are recognized so clearly by a non-socialist as in the quotation below from a recent speech by Roger W. Babson, the financial and statistical expert, before the Industrial Trade Conference at Springfield, Mass. His remarks are so meaty that they are worth quoting at some length. For the sake of emphasis I have italicized certain passages:

"I feel it my duty to utter a word of warning in planning for trade after this war—trade both in Latin America and elsewhere—let us not forget that this *very same scramble for foreign trade, which so many are now favoring, was a large factor in bringing on the present conflict.* I believe in foreign trade. I personally have large interests in Latin America, but I want to extend my interests on a basis that is fair to my competitors living in other nations. Only such business, free from all artificial support, is the kind that will last. Moreover, under the great democratic league of nations which is coming at the end of this war, such business is the only kind that will be permitted.

"During the past generation, a certain class, in different countries, have succeeded in raising their own wages and incomes without regard to the means employed. Considering their previous conditions, they perhaps cannot be blamed; but let us see to what their uneconomic methods and efforts have led. There have been three steps in the vicious circle.

"(1) In order to pay these higher wages, rents, and other costs, without an increase of production, most manufacturers have had to ask higher prices for their goods. This has raised the cost of living for everybody, so that even these workers themselves have greatly suffered thereby. We all have been trying to lift ourselves by our boot-straps. Hence we get less for our money today than ever before.

"(2) As the prices of these domestic goods were advanced, foreign manufacturers were able to ship in more foreign goods and undersell the domestic manufacturers. Then these latter turned to their various governments and

asked for protection. The Germans wanted more colonies; the Italians and French wanted 'spheres of influence'; the English wanted greater ship subsidies and a bigger navy; while our own manufacturers have been wanting higher tariffs, Pan-Americanism, and the various other 'special privileges' that have been mentioned at this conference.

"(3) This struggle for 'special privileges' finally led to the present terrible war, which has brought so much suffering to every class. Altho in certain countries the capitalistic class may have been immediately responsible for this war, yet it was not wholly their fault. The demand for more wages, rents and profits by others spurred these manufacturers to seek greater foreign markets and to defend their present ones. Moreover, if organized labor now demands further immigration restrictions and other special privileges for itself also, the present European war will be followed by a much more brutal Asiatic-American war.

"One special privilege always leads to another. Germany did not think about her 'place in the sun' until the English began to sing 'Britannia Rules the Waves.' Labor leaders did not seek to keep out foreign labor until manufacturers got laws to keep out foreign goods. *Germany should be condemned for her brutal conduct, but we should not forget that the Allies themselves have also secured most of their foreign markets by the very force that we so rightly condemn.*"

Babson here seems dimly to realize, in his comment on the simultaneous demand by capitalism and labor for increased returns, a fact apparently not fully recognized by students of the forces which have maintained the war, and that is, that the craft unions both in Europe and America have lent considerable support to the capitalists of their respective countries because the interests of capital and skilled labor have, to a certain degree, been identical. In other words, the

skilled labor of Britain believed it would read advantage in the shape of steady work and high wages from England's control of foreign markets. In the same way the German trade unions hoped to benefit from Germany's supremacy in these markets. Both British and German labor have therefore supported the imperialism of their countries.

In the same fashion Gompers and his A. F. L. group are backing the war party of the United States and probably for the same reasons, tho they may not acknowledge their motives even to themselves.

This explains, in large measure, why the craft unions of the various warring powers have given up, almost without a murmur, the right and privileges they have spent years in attaining and submitted to an iron regime closely akin to industrial slavery. This explains, too, why the American Federation of Labor is making so little protest now against the concerted move on the part of our capitalists to deprive workers of all the rights and privileges of free men.

The only force that can cope with the menace of industrial conscription is industrial unionism. It alone can turn the capitalist plan of herding workers into immense masses into a weapon against capitalism itself. Unless all signs are worthless, this war will bring about the destruction or impotence of craft unionism in all its branches. Labor will be helpless unless it utilizes the power which its massing under great capital barons bestows upon it.

GRASS

By Carl Sandburg

Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and Waterloo.

Shovel them under and let me work.

I am the grass. I cover all.

And pile them high at Gettysburg,
And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun.
Shovel them under and let me work.

Two years, ten years, and people on passenger trains ask the conductor:

What place is this?

Where are we now?

I am the grass. Let me work.

—From *Seven Arts Magazine*.

CONSCRIPT THE MINES!

Let the Congressional Record Speak

ON August 7th Representative Jeannette Rankin made her first speech on the floor of the House. Miss Rankin's effort was in support of a resolution introduced by her empowering the President to take over metalliferous mines, to be operated by the Government in the interest of the common defense. One would suppose such a measure and the argument therefor would be of considerable interest to the citizens of Butte and Montana, but if our daily news (?) papers made any mention of it, we failed to discover it. After reading Miss Rankin's remarks the reason for this oppressive silence on the part of our patriotic company-owned jack-in-the-box editors is perfectly obvious. Hereunder is printed the speech in full, taken direct from the Congressional Record:

Joint resolution to authorize the President to take over and operate metalliferous mines in certain cases.

Resolved, etc., That the powers granted to the President by section 10 of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved August —, 1917, to requisition and take over mines for use or operation by the Government, are hereby extended to apply to metalliferous mines, the product of which is a necessary raw material in the manufacture of supplies needed for the common defense.

Miss RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I find in studying the powers that have been granted to the President to enable him to carry on the war, he has been given power to commandeer and operate practically every industry that is engaged in supplying materials necessary for the conduct of the war. Among other things, he is given the power to take over and operate the coal mines, but nowhere has he been given the power to take over metalliferous mines.

At this time copper, a metal essential to the every-day life of people in every part of the civilized world, is a necessity in war, a basic necessity. It is a necessity that we can not overlook at this time. You have been informed by the daily press that the copper mines in the West, in Arizona and Montana, have not been operating to their fullest capacity. This is due to the fact that the mine owners and the mine workers have been unable to agree. The result has been an alarming decrease in the production of copper. According to the estimates of the Council of National Defense, the production in Butte in July was 12,000,000 pounds, while the normal output is 30,000,000 pounds a month. This disagreement has also meant a great lawlessness. In Bisbee hundreds of men were deported in complete contempt of law and order. In Butte a man was lynched by masked men.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield for a question?

Miss RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Did this man who was hanged belong to an organization which declares that it owes allegiance to no government?

Miss RANKIN. I understand that he belonged to the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, if that is what the gentleman has in mind.

Mr. JOHNSON of Washington. Is the lady familiar with the preamble and the basic law of that outfit?

Miss RANKIN. Yes; but this is a question of lawlessness. It is not a question of whom they hanged. (Applause.)

As our laws read today, there is no means for handling the situation. I am advised that the President has no real power by which to act. Therefore I am introducing this resolution, which I hope the committee will have ready to report to Congress when the absent members return.

I have tried by every means that I know of to get governmental machinery in action to handle this deplorable situation in my State. I have been kept in close touch with the situation in Butte. After the deportation occurred in Bisbee I received telegrams from Butte asking for Federal protection. I reported this to the Department of Labor and was informed that the department was doing all in its power to handle the situation thru its representative, Mr. Rogers. A week ago last night I received a telegram at midnight saying that Mr. Rogers had left Butte, that no satisfactory settlement had been made, and that the people feared violence, and urged me to ask Secretary Wilson for protection. I telephoned this message to the Secretary at once. He asked me to see him the next day. I tried all the next day, until late in the evening, and was still trying to see the Secretary on Wednesday morning, when I received word that a man had been lynched.

Then came more appeals for protection. I tried to see the President, the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, and, finally, the War Department. The only satisfaction I received was in the War Department, when I convinced them that the troops guarding the mines had been federalized, and therefore were under Federal control. Then it was agreed that some investigation of the situation would be made. In a crisis of this kind, coming as it does in time of war, when all our attention should be centered upon the enemy and not on local difficulties, there should be some effective means by which the Government would be able to protect itself against a decrease in necessary productiveness, and by which the people of each State would be guaranteed the protection provided by the constitution of the United States. (Applause.)

Some explanation of the situation in Butte may be helpful at this time. Just before the outbreak of the European war difficulties in the Butte Miners' Union resulted in the disruption of the union, so that for the past three years the men have been working in Butte mines practically

unorganized. For some years the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. has been using what is called in Butte the "rustling-card system." This rustling-card system is practically a blacklist on a national scale, or perhaps it had better be called a "white list." It works in this way: The Anaconda Copper Mining Co. has an employment bureau to which every miner must apply if he wishes a job. Here his record is investigated, and if it is found that he has never complained of his working conditions, if he has a clean record as to unions—that is, if he is not what they call an agitator—or if he has voted the right political ticket, he is given a rustling card. This is in effect a permit, as we say in the West, "to rustle" for a job. The man who applies for work at any mine is first asked to show his rustling card. If he cannot produce one, he is not hired. This rustling card system has effectively discouraged the men from organizing. It has prevented them from demanding the enforcement of laws requiring safety devices in the mines. It has caused them to hesitate to discuss their grievances on the outside. The conditions of the mines have grown more and more unsafe. I have had heartbreaking letters from the wives of the miners saying that when their husbands went to work they never knew whether or not they would ever return, and that they lived in constant anxiety.

On June 8, 160 men were burned to death in a fire in one mine. This was the climax. The men stopped work.

The workers knew that they would never be safe as long as the rustling-card system existed. For under that system every man who complained of conditions or reported dangers or endeavored to form an organization was laid off for one reason or another, and it would be impossible for him to obtain work again in any mine in Montana or elsewhere. This rustling-card system is opposed by every legitimate labor organization in my State and it is easy to see the necessity of abolishing it.

Mr. John D. Ryan, of New York, the president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. is the man responsible for this situation. You are probably all familiar with Mr. Ryan's name in connection with his recent affiliation with the activities of the American Red Cross. If Mr. Ryan says the rustling-card system must be abolished, it will be. I have tried in vain to draw this fact to his attention, however. My telegrams have reached Mr. Ryan, but as yet I have received no response. The question I wished to ask Mr. Ryan, whether at this time, considering the great needs of the country in war, he would agree to abolish the rustling-card system, to meet grievance committees, and to recognize a union, a bona fide union, if it was organized.

Telegrams today say that the conditions in Butte are as bad as ever. And on my own responsibility I am urging a measure which I hope may relieve the situation.

It was with regard to these same mines that the

newspapers some months ago were filled with the news of large Government purchases of copper for the war. Thru the patriotic efforts of some prominent men the Government was able to secure copper for 16.67 cents a pound when the market price was 32 cents. At this price the Government purchased 50,000,000 pounds of copper, and later purchased 50,000,000 more. However, the companies refused to accept this same price, and they are now waiting for the Committee on War Purchases to say what they will pay. This incident has received no publicity. But it is interesting to the American people to know that if the committee sets the price at the present market price of 28 cents, this one purchase will cost the Government \$6,000,000 more than the advertised price. Added to this, the copper interests have the advantage of not being on the embargo list.

Under these circumstances I believe it is imperative that the President of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, be given the power to take over the metalliferous mines and operate them for the benefit of the Nation. (Applause.) Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record.

The SPEAKER. The lady from Montana asks unanimous consent to extend her remarks in the Record. Is there objection?

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, before that request is put I want to ask the lady from Montana if she will answer a question: Did the lady from Montana undertake to lay any of these facts that she has so graphically depicted before the President or before the heads of any of the executive departments?

Miss RANKIN. I tried to see the President and the Attorney General in order to lay those facts before them, and also the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of War, just as I reported. I was unable to see the President.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did you receive information from any one of the departments, the Attorney General's department in particular, as to whether any action might be expected against those who control the copper output, as the lady described it?

Miss RANKIN. I was told there was no way to get action except by utilizing moral influence and asking Mr. Ryan to try to act for the benefit of the Nation.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. Did the lady from Montana bring to the attention of the department officials the lynching of the man to whom she has referred?

Miss RANKIN. I appeared before the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of War and tried to see the Attorney General.

Mr. MOORE of Pennsylvania. And what satisfaction did the lady receive?

Miss RANKIN. No satisfaction, except as I have stated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.



LUMBER BARONS REFUSE GOVERNMENT REQUEST

As we go to press we learn that Secretary of War Baker sent a telegram to the West Coast Lumbermen's Association, urging an eight-hour day for Pacific Coast lumber workers.

According to an Associated Press dispatch, Robert B. Allen, Secretary of the Association, said the lumbermen were anxious to co-operate with the government, but "they did not feel that they could concede the eight-hour day at this time." This open defiance of the government by the gentlemen composing this Association, coming at this time, is rank treason, and fifty thousand lumber jacks are watching the outcome.

News from Lumber Workers' Strike

By JOHN MARTIN

THE general strike in the Lumber Industry as called by the L. W. I. U., No. 500, of the I. W. W. has spread practically to every camp and mill of the entire northwest. Not a wheel is turning, no more is to be heard the sound of the woodman's axe. Quiet reigns all over.

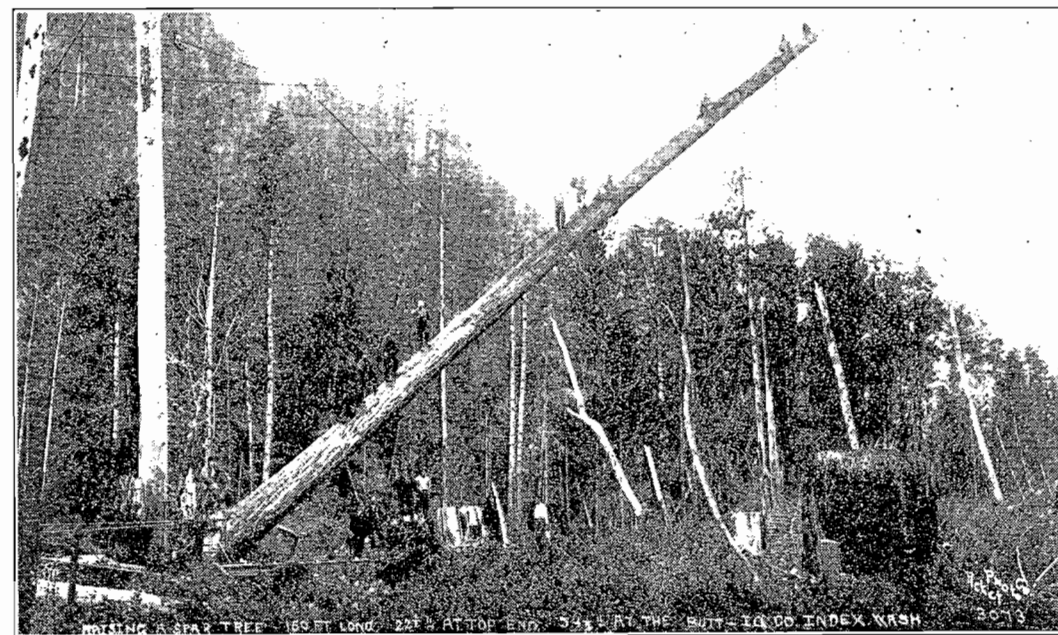
At the General Convention of the L. W. I. U. held in Spokane last spring it was decided to call a strike in the latter part of the summer, so as to obtain better working conditions thruout the Lumbering Industry. But things were so unbearable that they forced the men out on strike before they really intended to go. Out of the woods and mills they came by the thousands, determined that they would not return until their demands, an eight-hour day with no reduction in pay, were granted. And today these sturdy sons of the forests stand as a solid wall, which the lumber barons are unable to break down. Many brutal methods by the authorities have been used against them. Many of our members have been jailed, and are now being held in bull-pens and stockades, incommunicado, thruout the country, and are being treated like they are a bunch of wild animals.

In many instances lawyers have been refused by town authorities to see those in prison. At Klamath Falls, Oregon, the lawyer sent there by the organization to look after the men in jail, was deported out of town at the point of a gun after he was told by the gunmen that they would hang half of the men in jail and throw the rest of them in the river. Many of our halls have

been raided, literature and supplies stolen by the tools of the lumber companies. On several occasions our delegates have been arrested by soldiers and their supplies taken away from them, and inquiries to United States attorneys in regards to returning these supplies do not even meet with a reply, but with all their dirty tactics and high-handed methods, they have not been able to break the strike.

The solidarity displayed by the striking lumber workers is wonderful, and especially as hardly any organization existed among them up to last fall, when the delegates started to make the drive for members. The lumber workers, recalling the hard times existing in previous years and the need of organization, joined by the score, and today they control the situation of the biggest strike ever called in the Lumber Industry. Wherever you go you will meet the wobbly picket. He is on the job day and night, always on the lookout for scabs, but very few have the lumber barons been able to get so far. The lumber jacks and mill workers realize more and more that "An injury to one is an injury to all," and are staying away from the camps and mills.

The situation in general looks very promising. Idaho has been the storm center, and it is the most solidly organized section of the strike area. The Governor of Idaho has practically admitted that he has failed to break the strike, and that the only thing left to do is to get the men back to work. He wants to arrange a conference with our "leaders," and he has been informed that there are about fifty thousand leaders in



LUMBER WORKERS ON THE JOB IN WASHINGTON.



WOBBLIES ON THE FIRING LINE AT INDEX, WASHINGTON.

this strike. The Organization Committee in Spokane told him that every hall that has been closed will have to be opened again, every picket who has been arrested will have to be released, our demands granted, our right to organize respected, and a stop put to the Cossack-like tactics of "Officers of the Law" who have grown so arrogant that a Russian secret service man of the Czar's regime would be lost in admiration of them. There will no doubt be a conference of lumber barons to consider the proposition before long, and they may try to run a bluff on us. But anyone with half an eye can see that we have them in the hollow of our hands. All we have to

do now is to "HOLD THE FORT," and the victory will be ours.

Many of these pickets have been arrested for no reason whatsoever. But a new squad appears on the job the next day, always realizing that we are in this fight to win, and win we will, if the outside workers give us a helping hand. Many of our members are married and have children. These rebel women and kids must be taken care of. Remember, if this strike is won it will mean one of the greatest victories for labor. Funds are urgently needed, so donate whatever you can, and do it now. Send all funds to John Martin, Room 40, Union Block, Seattle, Washington.



PICKETS

WHY WE STRUCK

By W. L. MORGAN

THE conditions under which the lumber workers existed during past years in the Northwest were worse than any pen could portray. I am making an effort to describe them because of the misrepresentations of the capitalist press regarding the lumber workers in this great and growing strike. They have maintained that wages were high and that conditions in the lumber camps "were satisfactory." For

many years I have worked in the Northwest lumber camps and am able to tell you about them from personal experience.

Ten hours a day, which was our working day, is far too long for men who are employed at this irksome labor which taxed the endurance of the most powerful men. Besides we walked to and from the job on our own time, which stretched the working day to eleven or twelve hours.

When we got back to camp at night we were so played out that we had no strength for recreation or study, but were overcome with a desire for sleep. We existed like horses or mules. The work on the job was not only hard but dangerous and we were continually speeded up to the limit of our endurance. For this giving of our entire strength, our entire lives, as you might say, we were paid a bare subsistence. When our board bills were squared there was not much left for clothing.

Our food was of the worst and our "homes" were the dwelling place of vermin. We were packed like sardines in a can amid the odor of drying socks, filthy blankets and the breathing of many men. These unsanitary bunk houses were the breeding places of disease. We had smallpox and other epidemics impossible in clean surroundings. Medical attention was a farce although we paid our fees three or four times a month. Combined with the commissary graft life became intolerable. Many of the workers became apathetic to their surroundings and indifferent to attempts to better their lot.

At last the idea of organizing into One Big Union struck us and since then the men have awakened to new hope, a new interest in life. They have been putting up a valiant fight ever since. When the lumber jacks got interested they began to line up with surprising speed. During the last year the small beginnings have grown into a powerful organization, the members of which are recognizing their economic strength.

To offset this growing *solidarity* on the part of the workers, the lumber barons

started a blacklist. Rustling cards, similar to those forced upon the Butte miners, were introduced to weed out the union men in the camps. The blacklist proved a failure as most of the boys had already joined the union. This action to stop the organization of the lumber jacks on the Pacific coast resulted in the tragedy at Everett, Wash., when five workers were ruthlessly shot down by the hired assassins of the lumber trust.

Instead of stemming the tide of organization, this crime stimulated it, until at last the O. B. U. has become so strong that it has tied up the lumber industry like a bolt from the blue and every day seems to give better promise of the boys winning what they are striking for.

Here are our demands: An eight hour day which will allow us opportunity for recreation and for study and education.

Sixty dollars a month and free board, which every man ought to have in these days of high cost of living.

Sanitary bunkhouses, dry rooms, clean, wholesome food and shower baths, the need of which I hope I do not have to argue.

Nor for our demands for sheets and pillow cases, the like of which no lumber jack ever sees while working on the job.

The welfare of society demands that the lumber workers win this strike which will mean stronger, healthier, more intelligent workers in the great Northwest; workers who will strive always for a new social system, an Industrial Democracy wherein every man, woman and child shall be free from the shackles of wage slavery. Our last demand for no discrimination against men in the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union is essential to bring this about.

The Lumber Jacks

By OLIN B. ANDERSON

ONE of the most vital and momentous class struggles ever waged on the industrial arena is being fought by the newly awakened Giant: The Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500, I. W. W.

He has risen with indignant and virile manhood from his crouching submission in the dust and brushed the sleep from his eyes.

He has been looked upon as being too callous and inert beneath his galling burdens to unite in any place other than before the "booze bar" and this sudden and unexpected volcanic eruption on his part has sent glimmering all previous theories regarding his "specie."

It may be that the giant plumed forest monarchs have whispered their secrets of *Solidarity* to him; or that the turbulent

floods have taught him of the course gravitating toward a common end (organization, the immutable law of life) but nevertheless by some mysterious agency he, at last, has thrown aside his peavy and ax, calmly filled his "jimmy pipe" and is *demanding* a larger share of the good things his sinewy hands have produced. He did not "blow his stake" in a drunken brawl, get vicious and start a "rough house" but wisely dropped his money in a strike fund "grub stake" to put his fellow slaves next to the advantages of *Industrial Organization*; got in picket lines and began a peaceful, confident vacation of "watchful waiting."

No "morning after" headaches, black eyes, of "grim visaged" judges (with the exception of "trumped up" charges) but the putting of his great gnarled hands in the empty pockets of his "stagged" pants, his class conscious realization of being in the possession of the greatest weapon on earth: *Economic Power*.

The arduous, hazardous and abnormal conditions of the river drives which requires men to wade the icy mountain waters, from ten to fourteen hours per day and sleep in wet clothing; the greatly increased cost of all necessary outfits; (driver shoes as high as \$12) for the meager pittance of \$3, became unbearable, and culminated in the river drivers' strike.

One of the first blows was against the Eureka Lumber Company on the Fortine River Mont. They had previously boasted they would put a ban on all I. W. Ws., but upon shipping a "specially selected" car load from Spokane, they suddenly found themselves submarined by "*solidarity*" in what they supposed to be submissive and peaceful waters. They at once resorted to the old time tactics in "skinning the red man" and through luring and deceptive promises, imported a band from the White Earth Reservation.

About 140 soldiers arrived at once, supposedly to protect railroad property, but immediately began the patrolling of the river, and guarding scabs.

The good behavior of the strikers was a surprise and disappointment to the Masters

and in a frenzied effort to disorganize them, they resorted to "trumped up" charges of vagrancy against Organizer J. I. Turner, Delegate Louis Miller and three of the strike and press committee.

After a two day's jury trial they were released. Fred Hegge was arrested at Fortine by the Federal authorities and kept under guard for fifty-eight days at Whitefish. The Whitefish hall was raided and closed, and Fellow Worker Wm. Collins and others arrested.

The Great Northern R. R. was in the midst of extensive construction work there, and the I. W. W.'s in their effort to organize for a betterment of their conditions, were looked upon as being a "menace" to big business.

The press reports the hall at North Yakima raided, and boasts of 30 members arrested. In acting as a rebel once did at a place called Nazareth two Greek Fellow Workers were arrested and deported from Boville to Moscow, Ida., with the horrible charge of "agitation" being preferred against them. From all over the country flashes the news of the pillaging of halls, the destruction of literature, and the wanton mistreatment and imprisonment of active members. Yet thru it all we rejoice, for we realize such actions are digging the grave of capitalism.

The active tyranny being inflicted upon the I. W. W. organization by our foes, proves its worth to the working class. We are sincerely proud of our enemies. News of the most encouraging importance is constantly pouring in from all quarters, and the strike zone is spreading like a consuming fire. Hurry up calls for supplies and membership cards is threatening to submerge the General Headquarters like an avalanche.

The results are a pleasant surprise to even the most zealous and optimistic. In full realization that *Organization and Not Whisky* lands the "solar plexus punch" and in strict avoidance of all actions that tends to breed violence, the One Big Union is destined to sweep forward with its organized economic power.

Look At It!

By JACK PHILLIPS

PRESIDENT WILSON telegraphs Arizona business men that they are breaking the law, overriding constitutional rights of American workingmen, and the chief executive of the nation has "grave apprehensions" as to what will happen in the future if the Arizona anarchist business men continue taking the law in their own hands.

Here was a good chance for the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, the *Los Angeles Times* to print editorials about western business men who spit on the flag and sneer at the national bill of human rights when the nation is in a war.

Not a word came from the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, and the *Los Angeles Times* and the rest of the mouth-pieces of reaction, grab and profiteering. Instead they screamed for more and more I. W. W. heads to be tumbled into a bloody basket.

The red thirst of Herod smiling on Salome bringing the dripping head of John the Baptist on a platter, was a mild and easy thirst compared with the murderous appetite of western capitalists—and their helper, The Associated Press—in the Bisbee affair, and in the incident of the hanging of Frank Little.

The electric response of American Federation of Labor bodies to the lynching of Frank Little is significant. The Chicago Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated Association of the Street and Electric Railway Employees, and other A. F. of L. organizations sprang instantly to recognition of the danger to fundamental human rights.

If the blood-mad copper barons of Montana can get away with the Little affair, then anything goes. This is what the old line craft unions see. Their own rights, and those of every workingman in America, are threatened.

When Senator Pomerene, of Ohio, publicly points to iron, steel and coal operators as "burglarizing," stealing extra profits off the American nation dur-

ing war-time, the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers, the *Los Angeles Times*—and The Associated Press—don't make much of it.

The iron, steel and coal profiteers are helping the Hohenzollern Kaiser to win the war.

The thieving copper barons of Arizona and Montana—reaping reckless and unprecedented profits off the allied nations—are helping the Hohenzollern Kaiser win the war.

The Omaha contractors who pick the present time for battling the building trades unions and the teamsters with the aim of making Omaha a non-union town—these Nebraska business men are doing their bit to help the Kaiser win the war.

The lumber kings of the northwest, earning war profits that surpass all previous records, they, too, are helping the Potsdam mastoid family prolong the world's saddest conflict.

Look at it!

Why are the *Chicago Tribune*, the Hearst papers and the *Los Angeles Times*—and The Associated Press—gagged, blind and helpless when it comes to telling the news, the facts and the truth about these friends of the Kaiser?

Whatever the I. W. W. may have done to delay the successful prosecution of the war does not compare for a moment with the tactics of the profit-hogs in those industries where the I. W. W. has been active.

One Boston paper sent a reporter to I. W. W. headquarters in Chicago and found out that the I. W. W. men would, most any of 'em, be "glad to take a shot at the Kaiser." The Associated Press, the Hearst papers or the *Chicago Tribune* could have learned the same thing by sending a reporter to ask questions.

Why is the charge of being pro-German leveled only at the I. W. W.? Why not at Frank Peabody, the Illinois coal profiteer? Why not at Charlie Schwab, the munitions profiteer? Why not at J. P.

Morgan and Elbert Gary, and the rest of the steel junkers, who are going right along with every fresh dividend surpassing its predecessor?

Look at it!

Shall the thieving, conniving profiteers be allowed to pose as patriots when the fact is that long hours and low wages, with rising living cost and rising death rates among workingmen and their children, is demonstrably of aid and comfort to the Kaiser?

Look at United Charities superintendent of Chicago announcing that contagious disease in some working class quarters of Chicago has increased 67 per cent, and the death rate 27 per cent, over the corresponding period last year.

In such a situation is it not the American employers and profiteers, paying less than subsistence wage, who are responsible for a human deterioration that is a distinct advantage to the Kaiser or any other enemy of the United States?

Look at it!

Who is helping Germany win the war? The human factor, the personal equation, human stamina and initiative, are more important than anything else in the winning of a war. These are the very factors that would be assisted through the granting of the wages, working hours and working conditions asked for by the I. W. W. The argument is unanswerable that the American business men, grabbers, bloodsuckers and profiteers, who are refusing decent wages, decent hours and decent conditions, are in this situation the best friends of the Kaiser and it is they who are helping Germany in her efforts to defeat the allies.

Look at it!

WELL—Harrison Gray Otis is dead. An aristocrat gathered to the dust by the supreme democrat, Death.

A patrician crushed into a coffin and hauled to the graveyard at the command of the universal plebeian, Death.

He bought newspapers and politicians—

Harrison Gray Otis did—but he couldn't buy off Death.

He badgered, bulldozed and threw nameless shudders of fear into the business men of Los Angeles and Southern California, but when Death came he had no gesture or threat that was effective.

Death came and seized Harrison Gray Otis—slave-driver and advocate of slavery—dictatorial and foul-mouthed champion of industrial kaiserism and czarism—Death came at last and took Harrison Gray Otis with the same peculiar silent certainty that it takes a wop or a hunky or a rag-head.

FOOD control! Control by the nation of the means of life—control by the state of the bread and meat whereby men, women and children live and are nourished—control!

Let's see where it will bring us. We have gone so long with no food control at all except by the Armours, Swifts, profiteers, speculators, grabbers and blood-suckers, that it will be interesting to see where Hoover and the hooverers will end up.

"Let me control and I don't care who owns," was the essence of old J. Pierp. Morgan's philosophy.

"Billions of extra money will be poured into our factories for war materials—and because work will be plentiful money will be plentiful," writes L. Wineman, president People's Outfitting Co., Detroit, in the *Manufacturers' News*.

Billions—a B instead of an M, and, therefore, Billions and not Millions. Billions of dollars for billions of bushels of wheat, billions of biscuits, billions of coats, billions of pairs of shoes and socks.

The billions of the Allies pitted against the billions of Germany.

And manufacturers and manipulators in the allied nations and manufacturers and manipulators in Germany trying to pick, pluck, squeeze and sneak out billions of profits from the war of the billions.

In Germany, the Krupps. In the United States, the United States Steel Corporation, and the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Copper Trust, the Lumber Trust.



THE ONLY SHELL THAT WILL KILL MILITARISM.

KING COAL

By HUGH REID

THE most important labor product in the world is coal. It is more important even than food. To be accurate, it is an ingredient of food. Cooking, canning and preserving require coal. The tin plate and heat that enter into a can of beans are just as important as the beans themselves.

Coal runs the railroads. It is the raw material out of which steam and electricity are made. It furnishes light, heat, power, and food for the nation. If our coal supply failed, the railroads would stop running; and the corn of Kansas, the wheat of the Dakotas and the fruits of Florida would rot while famine clutched New York and Chicago.

Grasp the big fact. Civilization is built upon coal. If a few men should control coal absolutely, they would actually have power of life and death over every man, woman and child in the nation.

Thirty-five per cent of all the freight carried in the country is coal. Ordinarily, bituminous or soft coal costs about 90 cents or \$1.00 at the mines. The United States Geological Survey has a record of average prices for twenty-five years. During that time it has been as low as 80 cents and as high as \$1.25. The high mark was reached during the big strike fourteen years ago.

It costs something to take the ton of coal from the mine to your basement. Railroads, middlemen, teamsters and others each add their share. But, ordinarily, it costs you about \$3.75 per ton in a city like Chicago—or maybe \$4.00. Today it costs you not less than \$6.50. If you are poor and can't afford to buy a large quantity at a time, it may cost you \$8.00 or \$10.00. These are not figures furnished by Socialists or agitators. The Federal Trade Commission (appointed by President Wilson) and the Indiana Public Service Commission both report the same figures, 100 to 400 per cent increase. An electrical company advertising in the *Indiana Forum* of July 21 pleads for a rate increase because coal has advanced 194 per cent.

What is the cause? Shortage of coal? Not exactly. Two-thirds of Illinois is un-

derlaid with coal four to seven feet thick. One big company alone owns land containing over a billion tons. The coal resources of America are almost untapped. Illinois is producing about one-seventh as much as England. And there it is produced under greater difficulties. We dig it at less than 350 feet in the middle west; in England they average 2,000 feet. Coal short? We haven't begun to dig it yet. Less than one per cent of our deposits are in use. All told we have 320,000,000 acres of coal lands five to seven feet thick. The official reports say we have three and one-half trillion tons available. At the present rate, that is 7,000 years' supply.

Maybe there is a shortage of labor. Guess again. The average mine is only running half time now and the men are idle three days a week. I am taking these statements from official reports. Over and over again this sentence crops out: "There is no shortage of coal in the ground or of men to mine it." There has been a small increase in wages, however. In the government suits in West Virginia wages were found to have advanced thirteen cents per ton. The market price of this same coal had advanced \$2.25 per ton. In Illinois and Indiana the wage increase is ten cents per ton and the market price has increased at least \$1.75 per ton. You can get that more easily when you look at it this way: Wages have increased fifteen per cent, profits have increased 1,700 to 2,200 per cent! No, you will have to look somewhere else besides wages for the cause of the increase.

Possibly there is an unusual demand for coal. There is. But the demand is not equal to one-third of the possible supply. That means we shall have to look somewhere else to find the cause.

The investigating bodies which have looked into this question so far report the same facts. They say that plenty of coal can be mined, but that the railroads will not deliver cars to ship it. When cars are delivered, they are being routed to the great cities in a roundabout manner and delayed in every way possible.

This is partly due to inefficiency. Private

ownership of railroads has broken down in America as it has in Europe. The old machine which worked fairly well—never any too well, however—in peace times has gone wrong the first time it hit rough roads.

There is more than inefficiency, however. Part of the trouble is plain graft. The big mines are owned by the railroads and a lot more are controlled by them. There is one inside ring in the middle west that controls half a dozen railroads, mines 18,000,000 tons of coal per year and operates 1,300 public utility companies. The big coal man of this ring is Francis S. Peabody. This is the man chosen to see that no one is robbed by the coal barons. Officially he is known as the Chairman of the Coal Production Committee of the Council of National Defense. Sounds imposing, doesn't it?

Shortly after this committee went into office we heard a great deal of loud talk about a reduction in coal prices. Then after a few weeks we saw great headlines in the newspapers and the public heaved a great sigh of relief. At last! Coal prices have been reduced. Every newspaper heralded the new prices as revolutionary. There were editorials galore congratulating the coal barons on their voluntary reductions. For a day or two it looked like the millennium.

Then after the chief din had died away the still small voices began to be heard. Here and there were sceptics who had compared figures. Some of them couldn't find the "reductions." Neither could anyone else. Nor can they today. At the time this article is written the prices published by the Peabody Committee are still fifty cents to a dollar per ton higher than the market prices in the Illinois-Indiana districts. The city of Springfield reported that "screenings" bought in June for 90 cents under contract had risen to \$2.25. The Peabody Committee "reduced" the price to \$2.75 in the same district.

Meanwhile, railroads come before the Interstate Commerce Commission and ask for a 15 per cent increase in rates. The principal excuse given is the increased price of coal. Get the facts there. The railroads own or control most of the mines. First they charge themselves more for coal and then they raise the rates to cover the overcharge. This is called "passing the buck" in financial circles.

This coal industry is no small one. The United States used last year 590,000,000 tons. A graft of only a dime a ton would be worth fighting for. At present it means \$1.75 to \$2.25 per ton. During the coming year the United States will produce 750,000,000 tons. This makes the probable excess war profits between \$1,300,000,000 and \$1,700,000,000. This is worth a real scrap. My estimates are, by the way, very conservative. A writer in the *July Commoner*, who has been in the habit of purchasing a million tons per year, estimates the graft at \$2,400,000,000. The same writer estimates that labor gets one-twentieth of the increase!

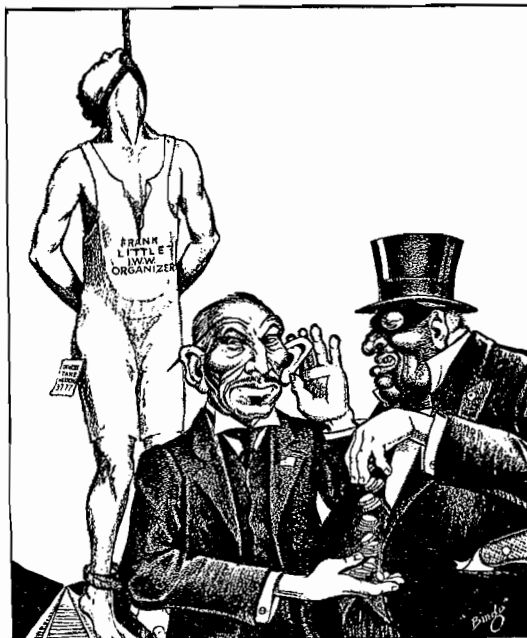
Now, what is the remedy? In the first place, cleanse the temple. This is no time for profit hunting. The nation is at war. The big coal barons like Peabody should be removed at once. If any advice is needed it should be supplied by trained investigators with no personal stake in the advice. The real remedies have been pointed out by the Federal Trade Commission. Here they are:

1. Take over the mines.
2. Take over the railroads.

This would not be government ownership as the proposal is merely to seize them for the period of the war. Maybe they would be handed back—and maybe not. Monopolists have succeeded in acquiring title to our great ore deposits and it has been possible for them to deny us access except upon their own terms. The result is that men and women work for a pittance within sight of riches. Do you think that if they once laid their hands upon their own resources, they would ever let go? Let the people once have control of their great basic industries and the social revolution is under way. No mere paper titles ever again would be strong enough to exclude them from their own.

The great upheaval taking place in society is working tremendous changes everywhere. The writer is of the opinion that America will benefit as well as Russia. Russia, France, Great Britain and Germany have been forced by necessity to abandon private railroads. America must come to it soon. Why not immediately?

This is probably the most revolutionary proposal ever made by an American governmental body. Why not get behind it and start something?



Bingo

COPPER TRUST TO THE PRESS:

"It's all right, pal; just tell them he was a traitor."

A Month of Lawlessness

By MARY MARCY

NO matter what newspapers you may have read during the past month, it must have been borne in upon your mind that the capitalist class of these United States has entered upon a reign of terror and lawlessness the like of which we have not seen since the days of the Haywood-Pettibone kidnapping.

As the REVIEW went to press last month word came that over 2,000 members of the I. W. W. Metal Workers' Industrial Union and sympathizers had been illegally rounded up by the hired gunmen of the Bisbee copper kings, loaded into freight cars so closely that they were unable to sit down and rushed south across the desert without food or water for thirty-six hours, where they have since been detained at Columbus, New Mexico, and fed by the U. S. Army. An utterly arbitrary and illegal censorship was laid upon the telegraph office by the mine owners and only such news of this lawless de-

portation permitted to reach the outside world as had been approved by the copper-grabbing mine owners.

Since that time the Metal Workers and their friends, nearly all whom had some kind of a "home" and some few belongings in Bisbee, have been forcibly detained under the "protection" of the army, while their wives and families have been left to get along at home as best they may. At this writing we want you to know that nothing has been done to send these miners back to their homes or to permit them to return to their families in spite of the fact that President Wilson so far disapproved of the lawless methods of the mine owners that he telegraphed his apprehension of their acts.

Now comes word from San Francisco that Prosecuting Attorney Cunha, of that ill-famed city, has declared that even should it be proved that every one of his witnesses against Tom and Rena Mooney and the boys charged with conspiracy in

the bomb-explosion case, had committed perjury, he would not lift a finger to save the defendants, but would hang them if he could. Of this case, which has become notorious over the hemisphere, the *New York Globe* says editorially:

"The acquittal of Mrs. Rena Mooney, on trial on a charge of murder for alleged participation in the San Francisco explosion of last year, is a result most gratifying to every intelligent friend of law and order in this country and is a crushing defeat to elements, now active in one community and now in another, that have been undermining in a most anarchistic way the foundations of organized justice.

"All doubt is removed that the prosecuting authorities of San Francisco, responsive to Chamber of Commerce influences that are mad, have been engaged in a deliberate attempt to convict of the greatest crimes innocent persons. The whole case against Mrs. Mooney and her convicted husband, and presumptively against Billings, the defendant first convicted, is a frame-up." It was proved beyond peradventure, by photographs accidentally taken at the very time Mrs. Mooney was alleged to have been carrying to the place of the crime a suit case containing explosives, that she was more than a mile away peacefully watching the parade with her husband and a group of friends. In the first two trials the witnesses of the prosecution, persons of the lowest character, committed themselves definitely as to when they had observed Mrs. Mooney. On her trial, to meet the unchallengeable evidence of the photographs, they advanced the time so as to permit her to have returned home.

"Moreover, letters written by a witness named Oxman, who testified to seeing the defendants near the scene of the crime, showed he asked another witness to come to San Francisco to corroborate him, making the promise that his testimony would be paid for. The prosecuting attorney of San Francisco seems to have had a guilty knowledge of these infamous transactions. Throughout, in countless ways, the case reeks with perjury procured by detective agencies hired by organizations of employers. No reasonable person can entertain doubt that a conspiracy to convict innocent men existed, that it was countenanced and aided by

agents of the courts, and that it was so successful as to secure the conviction of one man and his sentencing to life imprisonment, and the conviction of another and his sentencing to death.

"In Paterson, in Colorado, in San Francisco, in various places, the idea prevails that it is permissible for public officials to become lawless and to stop at nothing in winning industrial disputes. The poisonous doctrine must be suppressed. It is born to the pit. It gives substance to the claim that the courts in this country are not just, are not the agents of all of us to punish evildoers equally, but the instruments of a selfish class. Every lover of law and order must see to it that the courts are free of this most dangerous anarchistic corruption. As bad as the I. W. W. are said to be are those business men and others who adopt their principles and imitate their practices."

"A way should be found to put in stripes public officers who do not play fair in class collisions. Things in this country will not be clean and wholesome until some prosecuting attorney who suborns perjury is in the penitentiary and a record made that will lead other prosecuting attorneys to respect the law."

At the same time a crisis has been reached among the coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America who are burning with indignation at the deportation of eighty members from Madrid to Gallup, New Mexico, because they were strong union men and warm advocates of unionism. Secretary William Green of the U. M. W. declares that a general strike of the coal miners will be called if the Government fails to protect the return of the eighty members.

Frank Farrington, member of the Coal Production Committee, insists that Mr. Green expresses the view of the whole membership.

"We cannot allow any set of men to take the law into their hands, forcibly remove our men from where they are living and shuttle them back and forth across the country as these *lawbreakers* may see fit.

"When union men, law-abiding in every respect, are driven out of a town where they reside, on no pretext whatever except that some corporation wants to get rid of union men, then we are going to

see that the law is obeyed by all parties if we can accomplish it."

James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., after receiving full information of the Bisbee lawlessness, said:

"This raid was simply a general attack by the Phelps-Dodge copper interests, acting largely through small business men and others whom they had whipped into line, against the entire labor movement. It is the first step in a big struggle for the right to organize the copper camps.

"The fight would not be so hard if the union men of Arizona would get together on one program. If the idea of solidarity could once take hold of them, no matter what the name of the union in which they all held membership, it would win a sweeping and permanent triumph. There is just one way to beat the bosses in the mining country and that is by solidarity of unionism."

And now comes the crowning horror of this reign of terror, when thru the copper thieves' greed for more millions, in their fight against the demands of the Butte copper miners for better living conditions, a gang of masked men awoke Frank Little, General Organizer of the I. W. W., from his sleep at 3 o'clock in the morning, dragged him, with his broken ankle still in a plaster cast, to a bridge outside of town, where they left his poor bruised body, mangled by the thugs of the capitalist class through long years of labor struggles, hanging at the end of a rope—*done to death*—because he taught the organization of the working class—*his class*—for the things they produce.

And the "world's greatest newspaper," the infamous *Chicago Tribune*, gloats thus editorially at this latest exhibition of lawless profit-grabbing run mad:

"The howls of Industrial Workers of the World over the lynching of Little will find, we believe, no echo in any reasonable American's heart. The wonder is that more of these agitators in the west have not been treated in the same way by outraged communities which have listened to their vicious threats.

"When men of this variety, who take cover behind a law and a respect for the law which they are trying to destroy, are handled illegally, they can hardly expect

sympathy. The northwest and west must be heartily sick of them and certainly the time for their punishment is long overdue. It is a pity that punishment in the case of Little was administered by lynchers. It should have been given formally by constituted authority.

"And this brings us to the lesson of this episode. If the authorities will not act when the safety of society is concerned citizens will take it upon themselves. That is the paramount law of self-preservation and the best ordered community in the world will and must enforce that law. Of course, in the case of Little his associates say he is a martyr to capitalism. He is nothing but a victim of his own game, which was to counsel violence against the order which plain citizens respect. If mine owners hired his lynchers they only anticipated what the community would eventually be compelled to do if the law did not act. And the law must act with more power and promptness against such men. We have had too much of vague sentimentality and fuddled reasoning. The right of free speech does not cover licenses."

We could mention a score of other debauches of lawlessness on the part of the robber class that have occurred in the United States of America during the past few weeks, but these are sufficient.

The laws of this country, and of every capitalist country existing today were made *by and for the benefit of*—the owners of the factories, shops, mills, the mines and the forests. But these owners of the means of production and distribution have made these laws to keep you from enjoying the products of your labor and to protect themselves in the enjoyment of the things the working class has made. They do not themselves obey these laws. Whenever their stolen profits are menaced they stoop to deportations, frame-ups, hangings, lynchings, dynamitings, the murder of non-combatant women and children—to the lowest depths of human degradation—to prevent the workers, who produce all their wealth, from gaining higher wages and cutting down their enormous dividends.

Organization is within the law; free speech and a free press are guaranteed by the Constitution. But the working class has no rights, no privileges, no law.

The working class has only the strength, the power of its two strong hands, of its sober mind, of its class solidarity.

Labor feeds the world; it fetches and carries the food, the coal, the clothing. It turns all the wheels of industry. From its hand comes the food of the gunman, the clothes he wears, the roof that shelters him, the train that hauls him to the spot where he may lynch or shoot striking workers.

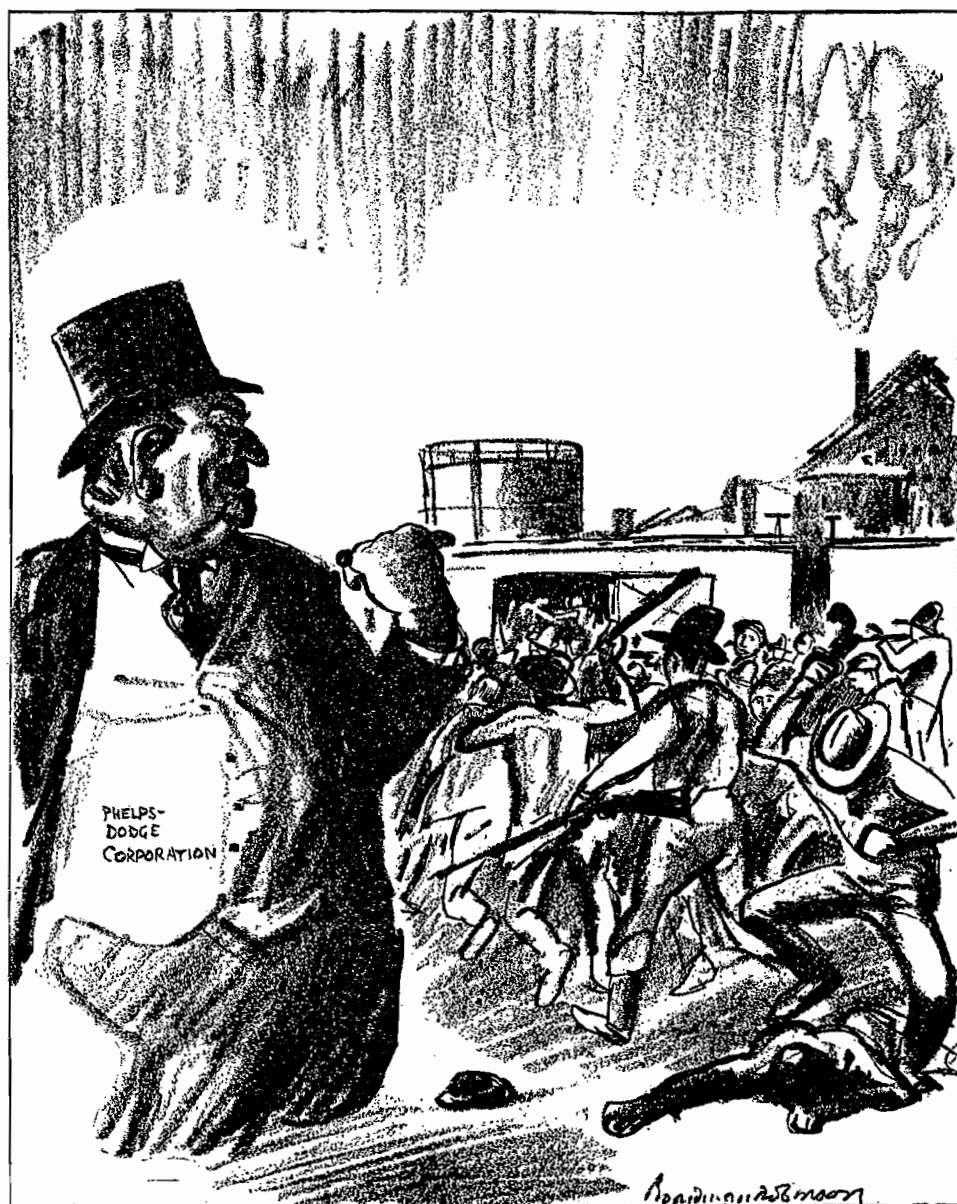
The *Law* will not help us in a reign of *lawlessness*. Street barricades will avail us nothing today. But organization and education in the basic industries, in *all* industries—class solidarity—these will help us to understand that *TODAY all power lies in the very hollow of our hands, because our hands control the economic destinies of every nation.*

All power is based upon the use of

economic power. Governments represent the class that is most strong economically. The German soldier is composed of one thousand meals a year; the most eminent Divine finds his most exalted inspiration in roast beef or a lamb chop purchased with Standard church donations—and chooses for his text something like "Blessed are the Meek," or "Render Unto Caesar that Which is Caesar's." All social institutions existing today represent the interest of the owners of the economic forces of society.

The foundations of society were economic. And it is our hands that turn these economic wheels. Class solidarity, class organization on the economic field will enable us at last to abolish a system that rests upon robbery, and sloth, poverty and industry, murder and oppression!

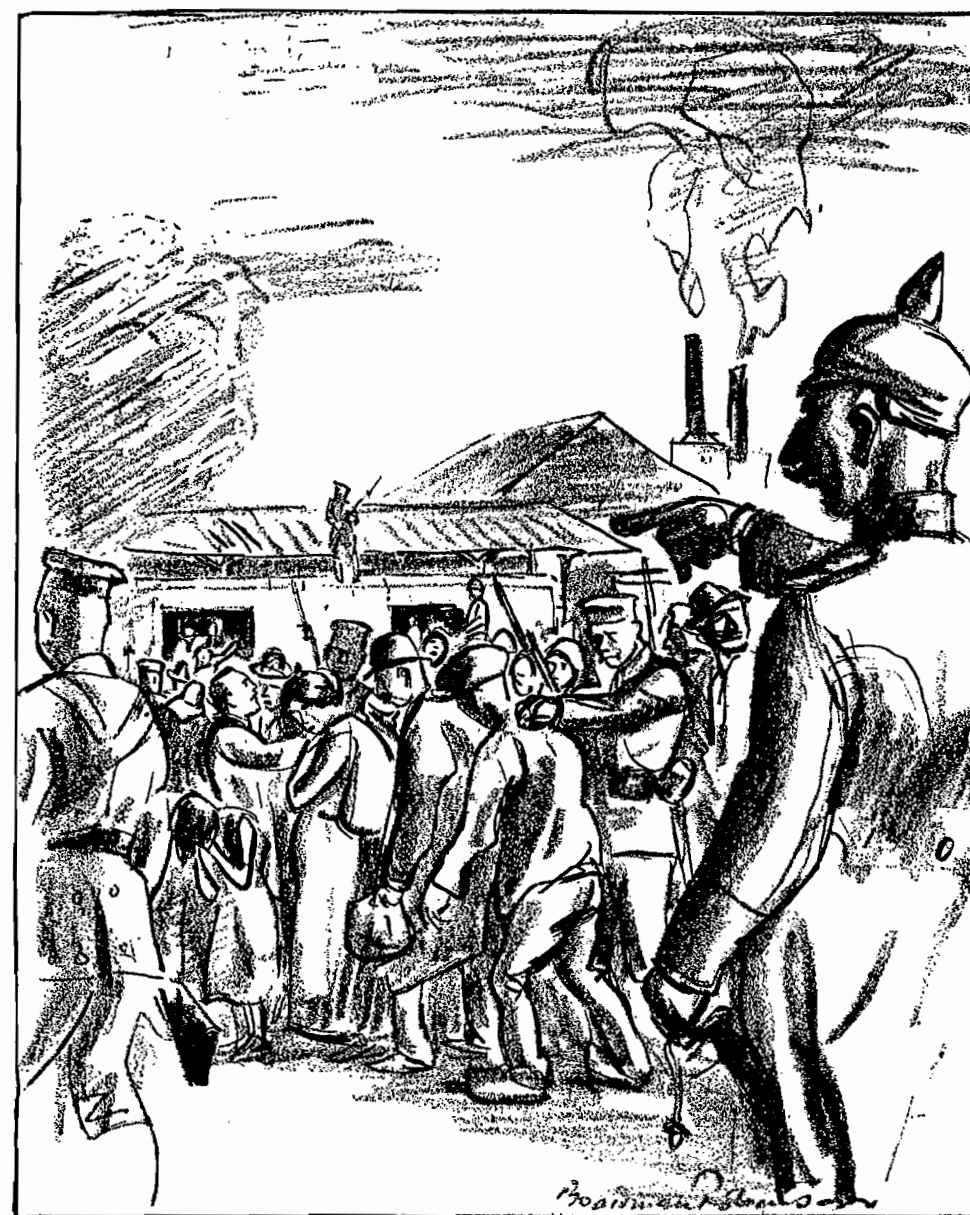




From The Masses

AMERICA

Two Deportations—



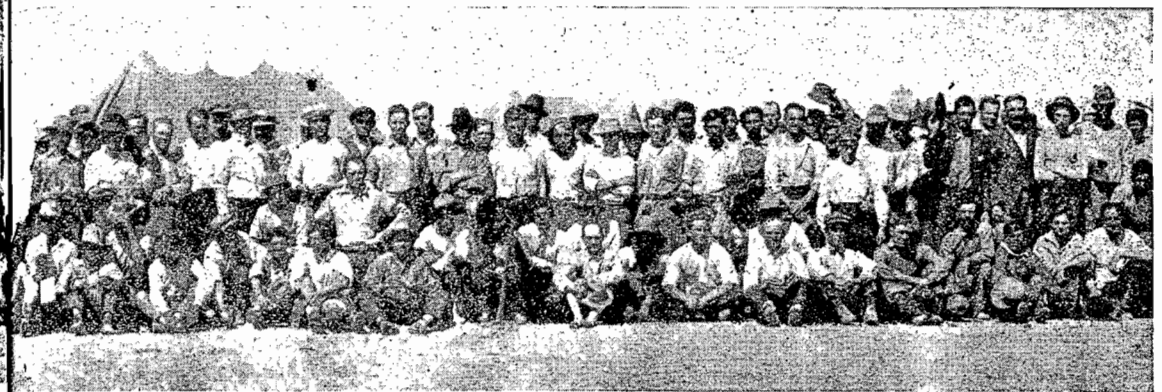
Boardman Robinson

BELGIUM

Take Your Choice



I. W. W. CAMP SCENE AT COLUMBUS, NEW MEXICO.



THE NEW HOME OF THE DEPORTED COPPER MINERS.

The Eleven Hundred Exiled Copper Miners

By Leslie Marcy

TWO million men carrying union cards, along with one million Socialists and sympathizers, are wondering how much longer the Phelps Dodge Company of Arizona will continue to defy the President of the United States.

On July 12th, 1,164 Arizona copper miners and sympathizers were exiled from their homes in Bisbee, Arizona, to Columbus, New Mexico. Fully two thousand more were deported out of the Warren District.

REVIEW readers will recall that President Wilson protested against mob action instigated by the Phelps Dodge Company in the guise of the Citizens' Alliance. Six weeks have elapsed and these 1,164 men are also wondering why the government does not act in protecting them in their rights as citizens of the United States.

The so-called Citizens' Alliance is composed of bankers, lawyers, preachers, doctors, insurance agents and other parasites of the same ilk, who are all company-owned.

Their boast is to make Bisbee an open town, no unions to be tolerated. The leader of this mob is one Brophy, who is down on the payroll of the Phelps Dodge Company as head of their mercantile department. Only a few months ago it was openly charged that he was supplying arms and ammunition to the Mexican insurgents. His favorite pose is that of a patriot.

Another one of this gang goes by the name of Ed Tovreau. He holds a government contract to supply meat to army encampments in that part of the country.

The mayor, who was elected on the company's ticket, is a leading member in the Alliance. He is a pumpman and a scab.

It is openly charged that Sheriff Wheeler took advantage of President Wilson's statement to the effect that now is the time to arrest all slackers by swearing in several hundred deputies by 'phone, the majority of whom supposed they were going to carry out a government order.

On the morning of the round-up, hundreds of pickets were arrested as fast as they appeared for duty. Meanwhile gunmen attacked the boarding houses and by 9:30 in the morning four thousand miners were rounded up in the ball park at the point of high-powered rifles.

When Sheriff Wheeler was asked by a miner as to what was the charge, his reply was, "None of your damn business." The miners were unarmed, altho a company gunman was filled with lead and a miner was killed.

At least three hundred of these miners owned their homes. Many of them had lived in the district for years and they had many friends among the town people. The gunmen visited the stores of tradespeople who were known to be sympathizers

the strikers, and told them to "sell out or get out." Several were deported with the miners.

Twenty-eight cattle and box cars were thoughtfully furnished by the El Paso and Southwestern Railways and it was a thrilling moment when the show-down came and the one thousand men displayed their solidarity by sticking together.

An elderly lady, Mrs. Payne, whose husband was acting as a gunman, cried out to her two sons to stay in line and "be men with the men."

As they were going down the road, one of the miners, Forbes by name, one of the old members of the Western Federation of Miners, saluted an army officer by saying, "What's the matter with the army?" His skull was fractured by a gunman.

A miner's wife was knocked down in her own cabin when protesting against the seizure of her husband. Two hours afterwards she gave birth to a dead baby.

Mr. William Cleary, better known as Bill Cleary, is a prominent local lawyer and was deported with the miners. He is an active socialist and campaigned with James Connolly on his last trip to this country. Mr. Cleary tried to send a telegram to Governor Hunt but the telegraph operators were intimidated by gunmen and his telegram was filed.

Mrs. Rosa McKay, elected representa-

tive to the State Legislature on the Socialist ticket at the last election, was knocked down in the Western Union Telegraph office in Bisbee by gunmen when she tried to send a telegram to President Wilson. Two days later gunmen drove her husband out of the state from his mining claim in another district.

The men are now guests of the government and there is a food allowance of 23 cents a day for them.

July 21st, military authorities received orders to give the miners their "liberty." To the credit of the miners, they immediately held a mass meeting and voted unanimously to stick together and are now waiting to be sent back to their homes and families in Bisbee. They passed the buck squarely up to the government. For six weeks they have stood solidly together, demanding their rights, but the wives and kiddies back home are watching the trains and wondering when papa will come back. The women are writing their husbands to "all come back in a body as you left."

Meanwhile the companies are becoming desperate and are offering any price to the wives of miners who own property to get them to sell. They are also offering to give free railroad tickets to any part of the country to the women and children.

Every big business house for miles around is running short-handed in order to supply

scabs but the best they can do is 22 cars of "gob" or waste per day. The normal output is around 230 cars of ore daily.

The "poison sheets" as the miners dub the newspapers, are spreading the usual company dope about the terrible wobbles, and German money but even the Mexican workers are too white to scab. Their slogan is "\$5.50—no work."

On Monday, September 3rd, let the mil-

lion throated demand of American Labor be heard! A demand that your brothers of labor be returned to their homes. One thousand and sixty-four exiles on the desert sands are waiting your answer. And don't forget to dig down for the brave women and kids of Bisbee. Make your checks payable to Grover H. Perry, 506 Boyd Park building, Salt Lake City, Utah.



From Solidarity

I WILL WIN



TAPPING A RUBBER TREE.

The Rubber Industry in Malaya

By R. R. HORNBECK

RUBBER is one of the few natural products which is used by everybody. Long before Columbus discovered America, the enslaved Indians of South America were required by the powerful Aztecs to go into the jungle and collect huge quantities of wild rubber as tribute. The uses of this product in those days were limited to tubs, syringes, bottles, balls, and such like, but in the present era of inventive genius no man can number the multiplicity of ways in which rubber is utilized.

The development of the plantation rubber industry forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of agriculture. Until the year 1898, practically all the rubber in use was collected from wild trees and vines in the tropical forests of the immense Amazon basin. The natives collected this so carelessly that the trees or vines were usually destroyed, and every year the rubber agents were obliged to penetrate farther and farther

into the treacherous jungle, until transportation to the nearest seaport became impracticable. But the consuming public had to be supplied, and when a new automobile industry in 1895 caused the price of rubber to soar skyward, planters began to think seriously of cultivating it for profit.

As far back as 1888 experimental tapping had been begun in the new botanic gardens at Singapore, but it was nearly eight years before the Malayan planters could be induced to plant rubber trees instead of coffee. When the boom in prices followed in 1895 the coffee plantations began to disappear, and the Singapore authorities, who had before then experienced great difficulty in getting the plants distributed, now received thousands of applications from planters in all parts of the agricultural world. Within a brief period nine millions of seeds and plants were sent from Singapore to Liberia, Uganda, India, Sumatra, Java,

Borneo, Australia, China, Japan, the West Indies, and many other countries. The whole world seemed to be going wild about this newly cultivated product.

In Malaya the planters had many difficulties at first. Their plantations were overrun with wild hogs, deer, and monkeys, and the plants which survived these pests would not be mature enough to tap for four years. In the year 1900 the world's production of rubber was 53,890 tons, and of this total the plantations everywhere supplied only four tons. But the years of discouragement and huge losses were finally outlived, and a steadily increasing demand from manufacturers for the cultivated product has resulted in an enormous output from that source.

At present Malaya produces more cultivated rubber than all other countries combined, and on the Malay Peninsula rubber is the chief agricultural product. The advantages here lie in the fine alluvial soil, and in the equable climate. The rubber tree thrives in its native habitat in the Amazon region because of the heavy rainfall and absence of a cold season. These favorable conditions likewise prevail in Malaya, and here the latex flows every month in the year.

The luxuriance and size of the trees in Malaya are most wonderful. There is a tree in the botanic gardens at Singapore which in 15 years grew 100 feet high, and had a girth of 72 inches 3 feet from the ground. Another has a height of 84 feet, measures 124 inches 3 feet from the ground, and adds an inch and a half to its girth every year. This tree is said to be the biggest on record.

In 1906 Malayan exports of rubber were 430 tons, the average price per pound being \$1.25; in 1911 the exports were 11,500 tons, at an average price of \$1.00, and in 1916 the exports were 92,180 tons, at an average price of 63 cents. The total value of production increased from about \$1,204,000 in 1906 to about \$129,687,500 in 1916.

In the tropics the Para rubber tree (*Hevea brasiliensis*) is the variety which is most profitably cultivated. However, Ceara rubber grows successfully in Java, Castilloa finds favor in Mexico, and planters in Sumatra have tried the Rambong, Funtumias, Landolphias and Manicoba varieties.

The development of a Malayan rubber plantation is a tedious and irksome business. The first thing to be done after buying suitable land is to fell and burn the jungle, then all weeds must be cleared away. The weeds grow so quickly in the tropics that it is absolutely necessary to keep the estates clean-weeded. The trees are planted 60 to 100 to the acre, and as the Para seeds remain good only about a week after falling and never germinate if they are as much as ten days old, great care is taken to select fresh seeds.

The tapping process begins when the trees are in their fourth year. Incisions in the form of a V are made on the bark of the tree from a point on the trunk as high as the tapper can reach. A sharp knife with a curved point is used, and the cut should not go deeper than the living layer of bark. There are from two to six V's cut into each tree, and these cuts are reopened about every six years, after the daily paring causes the V's to merge. A cup is placed at the base of each tree, and early every morning the tapper pares a fine slice off the upper side of each side-cut of the V, to promote the flow of juice. This liquid is called "latex," and is like milk in appearance. It flows slowly from the cuts into the cup, the flow continuing for about two hours. A good coolie can tap from 300 to 400 trees each morning, and clean his cups and latex buckets. The average production to the acre is about 300 pounds of dry rubber annually, and tapping can be continued for 40 years if the tree is carefully treated. There are producing trees of double this age in Brazil, but Malaya's oldest trees are only about 30 years.

The latex is taken to a factory and strained into huge vats to settle. After 12 to 24 hours it becomes sufficiently firm to undergo the rolling process, which converts it into crepe or sheet rubber. Before it is ready for market it must be smoked, for this develops strength and tensility. The smoking is usually done by modern machinery, as this method has proved to be more economical than smoking it the old way.

No rubber is wasted on first class estates. Women and children gather the latex which hardens in the cuts after the tapping process. This is called "scrap,"



DRYING RUBBER.

but makes excellent rubber and brings a good price on the market. Of less value are the bark shavings, to which small particles of latex adhere. These shavings are crushed by machinery, so as to separate the bark, and the residue rubber is sold.

In Malaya the rubber tree thrives in both swamps and foothills, and on any soil from rich alluvium to abandoned heaps of mine slag. The girth of the average tree at three feet from the base is 24 inches at 5 years, 54 inches at 10 years, 80 inches at 15 years, and 90 inches at 20 years.

Most of the laborers on Malayan plantations are Tamils. These are recruited from South India and Ceylon under the supervision of official agents, and taken to the nearest government depots. Thence they are sent in large numbers to Malaya, the cost of their passage being defrayed by assessing all plantations employing Tamil labor. These coolies can leave any plantation on a month's notice, provided they are not in debt to their employer for food or clothing. The estate boss may be trusted to take care of this small detail. The Tamils are cheaper and much easier to manage than the Chinese and Malay coolies, hence they com-

prise considerably more than half of the estate labor.

Plantation coolies in Ceylon receive 10 to 16 cents per day, but the wage in Malaya is higher. Here the Tamil gets 15 to 26 cents per day, and the Chinese, who can live in districts which are badly infested by malaria and is a much better worker, gets 28 to 85 cents. The Tamil coolies who were brought to these death traps in the early days died like flies.

In the year 1916 there were 202,000 tons of rubber produced in the world. One hundred and fifty thousand tons of this came from the Far East, and most of the balance from the wild plants in Brazil and Africa. The increased consumption in the United States from 1914 to 1916 was 56,000 tons, and in the latter year the states used 61 per cent of the world's supply.

During the past century the number of manufactured rubber products has increased enormously. The first "macintosh" was produced in 1823 by Chas. Macintosh, of Glasgow, and in 1842 Thos. Hancock's discovery of the process of "vulcanization" made rubber of practical value in immense new fields of utilization. This process is a treatment of rubber with sulphur, and two of the simpler

forms in which it may be seen are fountain penholders and hair combs. The Para variety is made into waterproof shoes and clothing, elastic bands and erasers, rubber hose and tires, electric insulation, etc. Rubber seeds contain oil similar to linseed oil, and are used in making paints and varnishes. Seed cake is an excellent fattening food for cattle, but sheep will not eat it.

There has been much speculation in rubber shares, and legions have fallen victim to the temptation to become rich over night. During the past ten years there have been great fluctuations in price. In 1910 the high water mark of \$2.75 per pound was reached, and almost everybody in Malaya who had the price of a share plunged into the gambling arena. The following year there came a sickening drop to \$1.00, and while the bubbles of the small investor were bursting and hundreds of homes were being wrecked, the few "sharks" who had made fortunes in a few months by launching dishonest ventures and manipulating the market, moved away to live in ease. Prices have continued low since 1911, but handsome profits are being made even at the present rates.

A few months ago, before America entered the war, there was much grave discussion in Malaya about the so-called "American invasion." Plantation owners met in solemn conclave and passed resolutions condemning the efforts of American capitalists to acquire rubber plantations on the Malay Peninsula. Legislative bodies deliberated on measures to prohibit foreigners from encroaching on the sacred domains of British capital, and

American "methods" were strongly condemned. Because of this agitation no American company owns a controlling interest in any rubber plantation on the Malay Peninsula, so far as the writer has been able to learn.

But why all this hullabaloo? There's a reason. The Dutch island of Sumatra is separated from the Malay Peninsula by the narrow Straits of Malacca. On this island the General Rubber Company owns the largest rubber plantation in the world—in fact, it is three times as large as its nearest competitor, and includes 41,600 acres, a matter of some 65 square miles of rubber. The United States Rubber Company, with headquarters in New York City, is said to be the largest manufacturer of rubber products in the world. This company holds the majority of stock in the General Rubber Company, and in its 1916 report of the immense Sumatra plantation, says: "Our most sanguine expectations from these estates are being realized."

The General Rubber Company is probably the world's largest buyer. It has no factories of its own, but supplies crude rubber to American manufacturers. The office staff in Singapore is composed of wide-awake, hustling young fellows who get business from under the very noses of the British buyers, and rumor says that the profits of the Singapore office since the war began run to ten figures.

Malaya is destined to take the leading rôle in the future development of the great rubber industry, and American rubber interests will always be well represented here unless the Yankee loses his perseverance and business acumen.



MALAYA RUBBER WORKERS.



WHICH WILL SURVIVE?

Why Organic Beings Evolve

By JACK MORTON

IN lime stone beds, in clay pits, beneath the layers of volcanic eruptions, in the fossil-bearing rocks, man has found incontrovertible evidence of the long struggle and growth, the rise and fall, of organic beings. On the earth's surface, at varying depths have been found the skeleton remains of animals in their changing shapes that make one vast chain of evidence of the evolving forms and species of the living organisms as we know them today, or that have arisen and failed in the struggle for existence and yielded place to forms better fitted to survive.

For long years scientific men sought among these graveyards of the past for a clew that would yield us the secret of the cause of these changes, the secret that would tell us *why* organic beings have evolved from lower to higher forms. And this is one of the most interesting and important questions that has ever been asked, or answered by the world of modern science.

The REVIEW recently published an article on the Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics, the insistence upon which, i. e. that organic beings inherit all the acquired traits or characters of their parents, for a long time clouded the question at issue. For it seems to me that the unsoundness of a theory that had for its base a premise most obviously disproved in every day life experience of human beings, could add very little scientific data to an understanding of the causes of evolution.

The Theory of the Inheritance of Acquired Characters means that every child born into this world would possess all of the accumulated "good" habits, or "bad" habits, the knowledge, the strength or weakness, the disease, or the virility acquired by his parents. According to this theory the drunkard would beget drunkards and the christian beget christians; the son of the lawyer would be born a lawyer and the children of the foot-bound Chinese woman would be

born with crushed feet. The swimmer would bear mermaids, etc., etc.

According to the Theory of Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics the son of educated, healthy, powerful parents would possess, at birth, all the acquired characteristics of his progenitors and would enter the struggle for existence so much better endowed than his less fortunate brothers that they might never hope to reach his mental or his physical stature. The children born to uneducated, overworked, weak parents would inherit all these disabilities and could never hope to rise out of the exploited class the misery of whose condition breeds weakness, ignorance and despair.

Then along came the sponsors for the Theory of Use and Disuse, who claimed that if blind cave-dwelling fishes were placed in sunny waters, they would gradually grow eyes and would produce offspring with more highly developed optic nerves; that if the eagle was forced to tread the earth's surface, long enough, he would evolve an extra pair of legs out of his wings and that, after a few generations, his offspring would be born wingless and with four legs. They declared that if an animal stopped using his tail it would gradually dry up and become negligible, and his descendants would be born with shorter and shorter tails.

In other words the scientists who claimed that Use and Disuse caused the changes in or evolution of, organic beings declared that to use an organ in a new way, or for a new purpose was to change it and that its continued use or disuse in this new environ through successive generations changed or eliminated it as it had existed in the original form.

And this second theory sounds so plausible that if Charles Darwin had not come along with his own observations and shed new light on a very old subject, we might all be teaching it today.

"Darwin studied domestic animals. He observed how many, and how widely different races there are of horses, dogs, swine, poultry in general and pigeons in particular. In each instance the many varieties are derived from an original common stock, as domestic fowls from

the Indian jungle fowl, and pigeons from the 'old-world rock-dove.

"Derived,' but how—by what process? In the case of domestic creatures this was not difficult to answer. It is accomplished by breeders 'selecting' the individuals to be bred from. In the case of pigeons, which Darwin laid particular stress on the fancier seemed to be able to obtain almost any kind of a bird by selecting as parents those pigeons which had the desired characteristics developed to the most pronounced degree, and then again selecting in the same way from their progeny. In this way were produced birds so different from each other and their ancestors as the tumbler, the fantail, the pouter, and about a hundred and fifty other varieties. The same with horses. If the breeder desired draught horses, he selected for parents those animals with massive shoulders and sturdy limbs. When a racer wins a "classic" race, it is at once sent to the stud-farm. Although in the zenith of its powers it races no more; it is 'selected' for another and more important role—the reproduction and, it is hoped, the accentuation of the characteristics which enable it to outrun its competitors.

"All this impressed on Darwin's mind the importance of the word 'selection' which appears in the title of his theory and the sub-title of his epoch-making book. Could it be possible that nature contained some principle or combination of principles, which performed among wild animals a part analogous to that of the breeder, among domestic animals? Darwin discovered that this is precisely what takes place.

"His famous theory may be formulated under the three following heads:

"(1) Heredity.

"(2) Variation.

"(3) The struggle for existence, with resultant survival of the fittest.

"Darwin requires very little of heredity, and what he does ask is beyond dispute. It is enough for his theory if like begets like and 'figs do not grow on thistles.'

"Similarly with variation, the demands of his hypothesis are very slight. If it be conceded that variation is a fact, that offspring do vary from their parents and each other, it is enough. And who will dispute this in a world where no two

creatures are exactly and in all particulars alike? The apparent contradiction that heredity demands likeness, while variation requires difference, is confined to the surface—it is not real. The likeness is general while the difference is particular. A sheep may be born with shorter or longer legs, by variation; but it will be a sheep and not a horse, by heredity.

"As an example of the working of the theory let us take Lamarck's piece de resistance, the giraffe. Lamarck says: 'We know that this animal, the tallest of mammals, inhabits the interior of Africa, and that it lives in localities where the earth, almost always arid and destitute of herbage, obliges it to browse on the foliage of trees and to make continual efforts to reach it. It has resulted from this habit, maintained for a long period in all the individuals of its race, that its forelegs have become longer than the hinder ones, and that its neck is so elongated that the giraffe, without standing on its hind legs, raises its head and reaches six meters in height (almost twenty feet).'

"Lamarck thought this length of neck was acquired by 'continual efforts to reach,' or, as Alfred Russel Wallace puts it in his criticism of Lamarck—'stretching.' Many critics ventilated their wit on this theory of Lamarck's, under the impression that they were lampooning Darwin's idea.

"Professor Ritchie has preserved a couple of stanza's by a witty Scotch judge who aimed his poem at Darwin, but hit Lamarck.

"A deer with a neck that was longer by half

Than the rest of his family, try not to laugh,

By stretching and stretching became a giraffe

Which nobody can deny.

"That four-footed beast which we now call a whale,

Held his hind-legs so close that they grew to a tail,

Which he uses for threshing the sea, like a flail,

Which nobody can deny.'

"But Darwin's theory is altogether independent of the 'stretching idea.' The causes and origin of heredity and varia-

tion are up to this moment, alike wrapped in mystery. But when science succeeds in penetrating those secrets, it is extremely unlikely that Darwin's theory will be seriously weakened, no matter what the causes may prove to be.

"Now about the giraffe. We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, two giraffes, a male and a female, whose necks are precisely five feet long. We will confine our illustration to the question of the neck alone. We will suppose this particular pair give birth to a family of three. First comes heredity. All we ask of heredity is that the young shall be giraffes, not camels or any other species; and this heredity guarantees. Now comes variation. As this is an ideal case for the purpose of illustrating the theory, we will have one of the three shorter-necked than the parents, another the same length, while the third has a longer neck—over five feet.

"Now comes the struggle for existence. When this family of giraffes is fairly grown and the new-comers are approaching breeding age—mark the importance of this matter of 'breeding age,' for the problem is to find out how nature determines which shall be bred from—they are obliged to forage for themselves. There is no pasture to graze; they live in what is almost a desert. There are few shrubs; scarcely anything but fairly high trees—from ten to twenty feet. If a giraffe breeder had this matter in hand and he wished to increase the length of the giraffe's neck, the problem would be simple. He would select number three with the longest neck, pair it with the longest necked member of the opposite sex in some other family and the trick would be done. But this is in Central Africa, where there is no breeder to interfere, and the question is: can nature accomplish the same result without his help?

"This is what happens. First the leaves are eaten from all the lower branches as they are reached with the least effort. Then they go higher and still higher until the point is reached where number one with the shortest neck cannot reach any further and the terrible struggle for existence begins. Number two sees no danger as yet and number three has things all his own way. But with short-necked number one, a tragedy has begun.

"Every day now sees the food further out of his reach and even number two is obliged to reach out for his supply. The breeding time is approaching but the longer necked and therefore well-fed and vigorous females will have nothing to do with this wobbly, starving creature, and the longer necked, well-fed males shun the short necked starving females. If the starving ones mate, the mother dies before giving birth to offspring, or she cannot get nourishment enough to rear her progeny; in either case there is no effective succession. So the longer-necked are the fittest and they survive. Thus does nature 'select' one by the negative process of destroying the rest, in about the same way as a man 'selects' one puppy in a litter by drowning the rest.

"In the case of the puppies we may say 'artificial selection'; in the case of the giraffe it is 'natural selection.' And this theory, simple as it may seem here, revolutionized Biology.

"It is worthy of note that 'natural' selections has many advantages over 'artificial' selection. The breeder may be mistaken; he may select the wrong puppy and drown its superior. The horse that won the great race may have had a fleeter-footed companion in the same stable had the trainer known how to develop his possibilities. The gardener may have passed the best root or stem through carelessness. But nature makes no such mistakes, or if she does she eventually redeems them. Her method, while it is wholly fortuitous and unintelligent is practically infallible. The condition of the survival is, adaptation to environment. The very process of selection is, in itself, a sure test of fitness. True, moral considerations are eliminated—at least in the non-social world—yet nature offers something like a fair field and no favors. When we speak of nature's favorites, we simply mean those who are best fitted to meet her hard conditions.

"Take a row of celery plants, from which future seedlings are to be 'selected.'

"In this instance, let us suppose the quality desired is ability to resist frost. How is the gardener to know which of fifty plants are the 'best' in this respect? He has no method of finding out with any degree of certainty. But nature comes

along some night with a sharp frost and 'selects ten by killing forty. And the very act of this 'natural' selection proves that these ten are better able to withstand the frost than their fellows.

"Breeders of white sheep who supply the white wool market have a very tangible guide—they kill every lamb that shows the least tinge of black. But even here, nature is not to be out-done. In Virginia there is—or at least was in Darwin's day—a wild hog of pure black. One of its staple foods was known as the 'paint-root.' Any hog with the least speck of white on its body was poisoned by this root while its all-black brothers found it a health-sustaining and succulent food.

"In an environment which remained constant and where a species of animals had reached a population which strained the limits of subsistence—food supply—those offspring which most closely resemble their parents, who had won out in that environment, would again succeed and be selected. While if the environment changed—became warmer or colder for example—those descendants which happened to vary in a direction making them better able to cope with the new conditions would be selected for survival as against those who resembled their parents, which parents had survived in their day because they were adapted to the prior environment.

"For example, a country is well supplied with water and it is as a consequence fertile and 'green.' In such a country green insects and green reptiles will be selected, because a green background will render them almost invisible to their enemies. Individuals of other colors will make their appearance by variation, but they will be such plain targets to their enemies, they will be devoured before they reach breeding age and have a chance to reproduce the variation.

"But suppose desiccation (drying up) sets in. The country loses its water supply, as Krapotkin has shown to have been the case in North West Mongolia and East Turkestan, leading to the enforced exodus of the barbarians. Now green will disappear and brown or yellow—say brown—takes its place. While this change will not, so far as we know, cause insects and lizards to breed brown instead

of green, it will ensure the survival or 'selection' of such as are born brown and the destruction of those who breed true to their green ancestors. Now every atavistic return to green will be mercilessly weeded out, just as, when the country was well-watered and green, every sporadic production of brown was done to death."

The foregoing pages are quoted from *Evolution Social and Organic*, by Arthur M. Lewis, and is, we believe, one of the clearest expositions of the Darwinian

theory of Evolution we have ever read.

To sum up: In any environment even the offspring of the same parents always vary. Those best fitted for the struggle for existence in that environment will survive and will transmit their more favorable characters to their children. Nature's natural selection of the living organisms best fitted to survive in a given environment, repeated year after year, generation after generation, century after century, is, according to Darwin, the basis of all organic evolution.

The Course of Revolution

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

THE bourgeois revolution of England culminated in 1689. That of France came just a century later. What we call the American revolution, the breaking away from England, may be regarded in the main as a belated incident of the more important development in the mother country. In 1848 came the attempted revolution in Germany, and now, in 1917, comes the great overturn in Russia. Broadly speaking, the wave of revolution started in England and rolled eastward over Europe. On account of a variety of historical and geographical reasons it almost skipped Germany in its progress.

With the exception of Germany the spirit of revolution has gone deeper in each country in turn. To a limited extent it is possible to agree with a brilliant young friend who has put it all into a formula: "In England they achieved liberty; in France, equality; in Russia, fraternity," and one cannot help wondering what bearing all this will have on the proletarian revolution to which this is nothing but a prelude.

There is one less important matter which demands more immediate attention at present. In 1848 the Germans went through the form of a revolution without even getting the substance. Not to mention equalization of property holdings and legal privileges such as were achieved to a degree in France, they did not even secure parliamentary government, which was the symbol of bourgeois control in England. Now the

Russians have gone much farther than any of their predecessors. What of the Germans? Will there be a flare-back?

The always interesting Anton Pannekoek has recently taken up this problem. His article, *Russia, Germany, America*, appears in *The International* for July 21. He points out that the first revolution resulting from the present war came naturally in Russia. It came there because the Russian government was the weakest. The Czar and his ministers did not measure up to capitalist requirements; therefore when the workers and soldiers started a rebellion the bourgeois class turned in and helped them.

Turning to Germany Comrade Pannekoek is far from optimistic. The Russian revolution, he says, was bourgeois; the German revolution would necessarily be proletarian. That is, the German government does measure up to capitalist requirements and a united bourgeois class may be depended upon to support it.

This last statement, which Comrade Pannekoek takes for granted, is so important that we should give it serious consideration. Does the Imperial German government come up to the mark set by the modern world? In certain respects it is the best of all existing governments. It has done most to foster industry. It has aided in creating the most productive working class. It has placed at the disposal of business the greatest of all military establishments and one of the best diplomatic and consular

systems. In general its efficiency is above the average and its devotion to industrial imperialism well proved.

Yet the efficient and devoted system has succeeded in placing industrial Germany in the most difficult position ever occupied by a great modern nation. The state of France in 1871 was heavenly by comparison. Germany's geographical position and the nature of her resources are such that she depends upon foreign trade for prosperity. Foreign trade is dependent, in fact, on international organization and good-will. It depends, also, on the relative productivity of the population in question.

At the time the war was begun German trade was growing everywhere. The war shut it within a comparatively negligible area. For more than three years the Central Powers have been cut off from the main body of the world's commerce. If the war was ended now it would take at least a year before trade would even begin to seek out its old routes. I am well aware that in the long run it will take its course according to certain natural laws. But when there is sharp competition an advantage during four or five years may turn the tide for a considerable period. Moreover, Germans, whether they deserve it or not, are under suspicion over a large part of the world. They will emerge from the war with a population impoverished and partly debilitated. Physically there will be a tremendous amount of work necessary at home to bring the nation up to anything like its previous

condition. The same is true of England and France. But it is not true of Japan and the United States. In competition with these countries Germany has been placed at a great disadvantage.

From a capitalist point of view there is but one way out of this difficulty—when a business concern gets a bad reputation it changes its officers, perhaps even its name, and starts out with a flourish to pretend that it is something new and different. Nations have often done the same. This is what Germany must do now. The sign of the Hohenzollern must be taken from over the door. Let the Germans make even a fair pretence at parliamentary government and disarmament and the Anglo-Saxon lords of the world will receive them with hearty salvos. This is what the more intelligent section of the German bourgeois demands and it is what will come in the end.

The German government fails to come up to the bourgeois standard because it has failed to take account of what Germans discuss so much—that is, human psychology. The greater part of the civilized world holds certain vague notions of life which originated west of the Rhine. Germany has disregarded these notions. Moreover the military regime belongs to yesterday rather than tomorrow. It is wasteful and therefore inefficient. The capitalists who will lead the world to its next stage must be able to get on without useless murder. It is quite antiquated to blow a man up instead of making a profit out of his labor.

World Policies

By S. J. RUTGERS

IN commenting upon a book on American World policies, written by a bourgeois author, the editor of our INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW adds a few remarks, which should not pass uncriticized.

World policy under Imperialism is the most important face of Capitalism, to which internal problems become more and more subordinated. It dominates all social relations; in fact, it constitutes the

class struggle in its most general form as waged by the dominating Big Interests. The counterpart of it is the International organization of the workers, the breakdown of which meant our defeat, the rebuilding of which on new lines constitutes our new hope. To understand the underlying forces in world policies therefore, is most important; it means to understand the position, development and methods of our enemy class as seen from

the broadest, most general standpoint, as a world vision.

This puts certain obligations on our part in commenting on or discussing world policies.

If a worker sticks to his class struggle on the job, his life is worth while and he contributes to the victory of his class. Smaller mistakes, if not interfering with his class consciousness are easily corrected by the logic of actual facts.

But looking at the class fight from a more general standpoint and especially from a world standpoint, requires certain methods of systematical research and analysis, requires the Marxian view. This method is within the grasp of the workers and is barred to bourgeois scientists and philosophers, but it cannot be acquired without effort, without mental exercise. And failures in the use of these methods or studies in world policies without even using these methods are not only worthless, but they are boundless in their errors.

What I object to in the editorial of July are not in the first place the conclusions which I consider altogether wrong, but more so the absolute lack of method in dealing with such all important problems.

After giving typical bourgeois conclusions, vague and conflicting, such as:

Mr. Weyl "proposes" great international corporations, each owned by the capitalists, not of one but of several nations, to exploit backward countries and to prevent war. At the same time he "proposes" free trade with these countries, no protective tariff and equal opportunity.

That a bourgeois writer "proposes" these things as a kind of a remedy against war is only in line with the usual lack of historic sense, but it is almost criminal neglect if a socialist editorial ventures to remark: "These suggestions are of immense importance, because for one thing, they are directly in line with the theories advocated by Woodrow Wilson, who is likely to be in a position to use the resources of the United States in a way to launch some such 'experiments' as Mr. Weyl has outlined."

In a time of world war, in a time in which enormous economic interests and social forces crash upon each other, so as to threaten to swallow humanity, Woodrow Wilson, the Don Quixote of American Imperialism, will launch an experiment to end the war by promoting great private corporations owned by capitalists of "several" nations, with the express purpose to exploit backward nations.

Now we may discuss the problem in how far tendencies in Capitalism lead towards an international organization of capitalism and whether in a more or less distant future this may lead to a general understanding of International Capital about the exploitation of the world proletariat. In my opinion, facts do not point in this direction for any visible future, but by all means let us stop scheming and suggesting and expecting from Wilson or Rockefeller or any other superman to "arrange" an international tribunal or trust for world peace and world plunder. We certainly are beyond that stage of looking at world policies.

(Note by the Editor. I am glad to make room for Comrade Rutgers's criticism, but I do not think he succeeds in making his point. Mr. Weyl's book did not consist of Utopian schemes for a better world, unrelated to the facts of this one. It is a remarkably clear analysis of current facts. Moreover, his proposal for an international exploitation of backward countries is directly in line with the material interests of the capitalist class of the United States. That is my main reason for thinking President Wilson will favor the plan, and I ought to have made the point in my July editorial, but omitted to do so. Comrade Rutgers should remember that he instinctively thinks as a European, and that international agreements are far more nearly in line with American traditions than is militarism. Moreover, I suspect that the economic exhaustion of the European countries will soon make such a plan look more feasible than preparations for more wars.—C. H. K.)

The Labor Movement in Japan

Socialism a Popular Topic

By S. KATAYAMA

THE years 1902 and 1903 were the most prosperous period for the combined activities of the labor and socialist movement in Japan. Socialism was then a very popular topic of study and discussion in public. Industrial depressions that followed for many years, after the wild boom that ruled the industrial and commercial world during the sudden influx of a vast amount of war indemnity taken from China, were almost overcome. The long expected prosperity had not yet returned because for some time threatening clouds were hanging over the Hermit Kingdom (Corea), the domination of which had been a constant issue between Russia and Japan for many years since China had been defeated by Japan.

But financial conditions were better than for many years and the industrial situation was on a firm basis. These and other circumstances favored our labor and socialist agitation among the workers; and the general public was then very eager to listen to and discuss socialism.

During those two years of activity we had made several extensive propaganda tours all over the country. We made trips to the country in groups of two to five comrades and I always was one of them. Expenses were met by admissions and selling of the *Labor World* and socialist books.

After the failure of the socialist daily, the *Labor World* was again published, starting April 3, 1902, in a much improved magazine form and came out fortnightly. Our socialist movement naturally centered around the *Labor World* in the editorial work of which I was assisted by two or three comrades, including Comrade Nishikawa. Besides, Comrades Abe, Kotoku, Kinoshita, Sakai and others contributed articles to the paper on socialism and social questions. Not only that, Comrade Kotoku also wrote a life history of Ferdinand Lassalle for the *Labor World*; Comrade Sakai translated the main part of "Labor"

by Emil Zola; Comrade Kotsuka translated "Merry England," all of which appeared in the *Labor World* in the course of two years. Moreover, we published a complete review of a book on Millerand's work and Emil Vanderveld's Industrial Revolution.

Socialism and the labor movement became popular. This is shown by the very fact that the editors of the *Labor World* interviewed many prominent persons, statesmen, scholars and business men on the labor questions and on socialism. It is now amusing to look into the columns of the old *Labor World* and to notice how those men, who today are the deadly opponents of socialism, who are condemning socialist activities, at that time approved socialism and gave their own reasons for it. Some even expressed themselves as being already socialists. We will quote here a few of the interviews that appeared in the *Labor World* in 1902 and 1903.

When I called on him for his opinion on socialism, Marquis Okuma, late Premier, told me that "from olden times the ideals of our statesmen appear to have been a national socialism," and the old Marquis went on to give historical facts. During the Tokugawa rule Japan's own socialism was realized, when Iyeyasu, the first ruler of the Tokugawa Dynasty, prohibited the capitalization of land, fixed the wages of labor by law. Some of the feudal lords, in particular those of Kaga, ordered the landlords within his own province to release land rents for three consecutive periods of ten years each, and finally the tenants acquired their own land when the revolution of 1868 was successful.

At one time the feudal government abolished the creditors' lawsuits against debtors. We know that occasionally the government ordered the people to cancel all the debts contracted.

Mr. Genichiro Fukuchi, a noted historian and savant, said to the editor of the *Labor World*, "Japan's Kokutai (Na-

tional Constitution) is really socialism. A person who lives from another's labor is looked upon as a criminal, according to the fundamental national ideas. One who lives from the labor of others is condemned and punished just like a gambler and thief. Labor is the ideal of Japan. Isn't this socialism?"

Prof. Kenzo Wadagaki of the Imperial University said "Japan as a nation is socialistic. The Japanese are of socialistic character." Mr. Rokwa Tokutomi, one of the greatest novelists of modern Japan, wrote a socialistic political novel, *Kuroshio* (Monsoon) that shocked the very foundation of the bureaucratic regime. The book appeared in 1899 and the writer says to the editor of *Labor World*: "I believe in socialism and preach it. Today one who says that he does not believe in socialism or is afraid of preaching it is one who cares for his position, seeks his own property, and longs after his own promotion. One who says he can't understand socialism or can't believe it is not a man but is either a fool or insane."

Prof. Inazo Nitobe of the Imperial University, when he was interviewed by the writer in the summer of 1902, said that he was a good socialist and proceeded to declare that after the trusts, the so-called social democracy of Marx will be established in the sphere of economy. "Socialists shall then rule the world so that the greatest number of human beings will enjoy a happy life. I became a socialist while I was in America three years and ever since my belief in socialism has been growing stronger. The ideal of humanity is in socialism."

This firm believer in socialism and a socialist future in 1902 was Prof. Inazo Nitobe, the noted author of "Bushido." The same professor lately has been faithfully serving the bureaucracy and is attacking socialism and socialists as being detrimental to the interests of the country. Some of his old pupils were influenced by Prof. Nitobe to give up socialism. One of these is Mr. K. Nishikawa, who was one of the founders of the social democratic party. It might look as if these men had expressed mere phrases to the editors of the *Labor World*, but the printed pages of the *Labor World* will attest the fact that socialists were not outcast then and socialism was not

prohibited in Japan at that period as it is now.

For the time the progress of the socialist movement went on very smoothly and we had not only the sympathy of prominent persons, who approved socialism and its movement, but also we gained a very strong and prominent socialist in Mr. Fumio Yano. In the summer of 1902 Mr. Fumio Yano declared himself a socialist and gave us many lectures on socialism. He went with us several times during this period for socialist propaganda. Mr. Yano was an old liberal statesman and an influential agitator for the constitutional government in the eighties. But he left the liberal party because the party became too corrupt.

In 1882 Mr. Yano wrote a book about a group of youths who brought about the Theban Hegemony. This book served the cause of the liberal movement in Japan. Half a million copies were sold and he became a well known writer and thinker. Now this author came out as a socialist and went with us in the common cause for socialism. Mr. Yano was not only in the active propaganda work, but he wrote a book called "New Society." It is largely original and is well written, working out the problems of modern socialism thoroughly. He took the best there was of Utopian socialism and elaborated on the way to convert Japan into a socialist state. He showed the most skill in picturing the transition stage from the present capitalist state to a socialist state, adjusted admirably every phase of society and international relations under socialism. These two problems the author considered his own contribution to the literature of Utopian socialism as represented by More and Bellamy.

The New Society at once became very popular in the country. Several hundred thousands of copies were sold in a few months.

The *Labor World* records our socialist activities in 1902, beginning with April 3rd. We held sixty-seven public meetings in 1903, one hundred and eighty-two altogether, in nineteen months—182 meetings. Besides those meetings there must have been many meetings held by other comrades in the country.

During this period we made several

propaganda tours into the country. In the summer of 1902 three of us went to the northeast along the Nippon railroad for fifteen days to hold thirteen meetings in twelve cities scattered in over a distance of 500 miles. In January, 1903, two of us made a trip to western cities, traveling over 400 miles and held meetings at Kiyoto, Osaka, Kobe, Hiroshima and Kure. In the summer of the same year from July 4th to September 5th, three and part of the time four of us made an extensive trip to Shikoku, Kushi Islands, covering eleven provinces and twenty-one cities in which we held twenty-six meetings. Many short trips were made from time to time. The propaganda was self-supporting and the *Labor World* got a very good advertisement from them.

As to the organized work of our socialist movement, we were prohibited from organizing politically, so the socialist association was our only organization. It had a few branches in the principal cities. Our work, therefore, was necessarily limited to education and propaganda. But in the sphere of the working classes we had a very strong influence, especially among colliery workers. In Ubari, Hokkaido, we had a very good organization. There were, however, only a few socialists who were the moving spirits of the organization.

Miners of Japan have been historically considered the toughest kind of workers, so they really could defy the public peace police law. Our agitators could more readily gain access to them than to other factory, railway or iron workers. This is a reason why we were able to organize the miners in Asio copper mines during the late Russo-Japan war. Our miners live in congested barracks like rows of sheds, which are built by the mining company. They make a little community of their own, know each other and when working underground they can talk to each other freely on whatever subject they choose. So two socialist comrades, Minami and Tsuruoka, were able to organize the miners at Asio copper mines as late as 1904-7, which organization however was crushed out of existence with the great riots in February, 1907.

Although we had no political organization, being deprived of that right two years before, yet we could manage to

organize the socialists of the country in socialist association and we held the first national socialist conference at Osaka on the 5th and 6th of April, 1903. Besides the sittings of the conference at Osaka Y. M. C. A. hall, we had two big public meetings in the Municipal Assembly hall, the largest hall in the whole city. Both meetings were well attended and made a very good impression on the audience about the aims of socialism. The conference passed by unanimous votes the following resolutions:

1. We, the socialists of Japan, shall exert ourselves in the effort to reconstruct human society on the basis of socialism.

2. We must endeavor to realize socialism in Japan.

3. To reach the ultimate goal of socialism it is necessary to have a united action of socialists of all the countries.

Ten thousand leaflets of a brief socialist manifesto were distributed during the conference at the gates of the national exposition then held in the city.

During the year 1903, two or three events marked the course of the socialist movement in Japan for coming years. One was the attitude of Japanese socialists toward war, which was then threatening in the far east between Russia and Japan over the domination of Korea. We took a firm stand against war and especially against the war with Russia. The first great socialist anti-war meeting was held at Y. M. C. A. hall, Tokyo, on the 8th of October, 1903. In spite of a strong opposition from jingo parties, the meeting was a great success. This meeting proved to be the very first declaration of Japanese socialists against the coming war and its spirit and tone of the speeches were prophetic of the great strength of the socialist struggle and fight against the war also during the war.

The next event is the entering into active socialist propaganda work by two comrades—Kotoku and Sakai, who gave up their editorial positions in the *Yorozu*, and devoted their entire time to the cause of socialism. This decisive moment came to them through two causes, first, the popular daily, *Yorozu*, in the columns of which they had taught socialism for several years with the full approval and sympathy of the proprietor Kuroiwa, became

ultra-jingoistic and a conflict resulted between the proprietor and the two comrades. Of course the latter had to leave the daily. The entering of these two comrades into the active socialist work was destined to shape largely the course of the Japanese socialist movement in the future.

In November, I made a short trip to Hokkaido, passing through the northeast province and visited Yubari colliery where we had a miners' union under socialist leaders. This was my last labor propaganda work in that year, for I left in December for the United States on my way to attend the coming International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, Holland, the following August, 1904.

Our socialist movement so far preached socialism more exclusively among the working class and our meetings were largely attended by workers and sup-

ported by them. I have been always in touch with the workers of the country, because I served, myself, as a secretary to the iron workers' union since its organization in 1897, up to that time, 1903, and had been making an occasional trip to the different branches. My personal acquaintance with many workers and their families brought me many pleasant experiences and also support for the socialist movement long after the union died and they were no longer members of it. This being the case, our socialist movement never lost sight of the labor cause and of the interest of the working classes, who are naturally inclined to work out problems in practice, which as a rule is a rather slow process. Consequently, I never went to extremes in views or in tactics, but our movement was not dominated by intellectualism.

(To be continued)

Rena Mooney Acquitted

Fickert Says He Will Hang Her Anyway!

Before you read this interesting story of a plot to hang or imprison for life, four militant union men and one woman, we want to remind you that: "The State is the Executive Committee of the *Owning Class*" and that the statutes are merely the rules they have made for the successful expropriation of the productive workers. Government, laws and all social institutions have all been organized in the interest of the *idle owning class*. And yet, this class, which has bound the working class with its own institutions, its own laws and customs, this class which is always howling for "law and order" on the part of the working class, admits publicly in a court of law that it will hang an *acquitted* woman and innocent men even, as Attorney Cunha declared, "if I knew that every one of my witnesses had committed perjury."

So much for the Law. It is made for you, Fellow Workers; not for the owning class which robs you of your products. The law says that when a man or a woman is once acquitted of a crime he may never again be tried on the same charge. But what's a little thing like Law among the capitalists and their henchmen in San Francisco?

RENA MOONEY has been acquitted, but she is still in prison awaiting the pleasure of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

The jury has declared that she is innocent. They heard not only the relevant evidence in the case, but also the "conspiracy evidence" relating to strikes and other things not even remotely connected with the crime which was allowed by Judge Seawell and which was designed to hang Mrs. Mooney.

Twelve men, whose every prejudice, racial, social, and religious, was appealed to by the snarling beast Fickert, and his "human stiletto," Ferrari (who had the audacity to admit in his closing address to the jury that his star witness, Samuels, had perjured himself), rose above the poisoned atmosphere and did simple justice.

The scene in the courtroom baffles description. The friends of the defense were alarmed, when on the previous day the jury came into court and asked about the law

on second degree murder, also a letter which contained a slight reference to the defendant. The jury was then said to be split, eight favoring acquittal and four conviction. Their asking for the law bearing on second degree murder was thought to indicate that they were considering that most infamous of all verdicts, a compromise one.

But as they filed into court at 3:40 on Wednesday evening, after fifty-one hours deliberation, the venerable juror, August Erz, smiled a kindly benediction at Mrs. Belle Hammerberg, the splendidly devoted sister of Rena Mooney. A momentary glance disclosed the fact that instead of the strained features we saw when they came into court the previous day, most of the jurymen looked immensely relieved and many of them smiled openly.

Judge Seawell, who has consistently ruled against the defense, glanced at the verdict sheet and with a sour look he handed it to the clerk of the court.

There was a breathless silence. It seemed an age before we caught the words, "NOT GUILTY." Then like the roar of ocean breakers came the applause of the workmen and women who packed the courtroom, corridors and street. The court attaches, who have seen two men convicted on absolute perjury, didn't try very hard to suppress the enthusiasm. It ran riot. Rena Mooney tearfully kissed the jurors, whilst Fickert jumped into his high-powered auto and sped to his favorite saloon to seek solace in his cups. The big corporate tool wasn't in court. He got wind of the verdict and ran. Ferrari wasn't there. He was unavoidably absent in the country. Plug-Ugly Jim Brennan, Aylett Cotton, who barefacedly told Chief Justice Angellotti that though he was prosecuting Oxman, yet he endorsed the view of Oxman's lawyer, Shortridge, that the perjury buyer be turned loose; Fred Berry, whose personal friend, Malpiede, was caught "planting" a "friend" on the jury—all those "law and order" lights were nowhere to be seen. Of all the gang, Fickert's detective, "Collector" Williams, was the only specimen in sight. He looked ill. The night a corrupt jury declared that Tom Mooney should be murdered, Williams belligerently jostled the defense attorneys and friends in the hope of starting a riot and getting an excuse to make a shambles of the courtroom. Williams looked pretty sick Wednesday. During the trial he

has been badgering witnesses for registration cards and threatening then with his hand on his gun. Rena Mooney's acquittal may mean the dismissal of thugs of this type.

The newspaper extras sold like hot cakes. The workers stared at the caption, "RENA MOONEY ACQUITTED," till their eyes bulged. Rena Mooney acquitted! Rena Mooney back in her music studio with her devoted little pupils. Rena Mooney walking the streets of San Francisco despite the perjury gang, the Oxmans, the Kosters, and all their gunmen.

Oh, what a glorious victory! But——?
"I'll Hang Her Yet"—Fickert

The acquittal of Rena Mooney wasn't an acquittal after all. She was hurried back to her cell and as soon as Fickert recovered his breath, he called the reporters together and told them that the acquittal meant nothing to him. "I'll hang her yet," he told them. "There are seven more indictments and I can try her again and again."

Is there anything more illustrative of the FRAME-UP? "They should be strung up without ceremony," the enraged Cunha shouted a few weeks ago. "I wouldn't lift a finger to save Mooney, even if I knew that every one of my witnesses committed perjury."

The Chamber of Perjury held a mass meeting a few days after the boys and Rena Mooney were arrested and sought to fan the indignation of the people into a lynching. The bought press roared their approval and spurred on the mob spirit, but the quiet determination of the fearless unionists of San Francisco defeated the scheme and gradually the people decided that the mere arresting of the unionists did not indicate their guilt.

But again and again the mob spirit has raised its head, not among the mass of the people, but in the office of Charles Marion Fickert, the abject tool of the corporation beasts of California.

A Jury of Harpies!

Fickert now announces that he'll get a jury of women to try Rena Mooney the next time. They'll not be so squeamish about hanging her, he thinks.

Perhaps that's why Fickert's wife, mother and their bunch of cronies made a vaudeville show out of the trial last week.

The prosecutor's mother and wife sat immediately behind Rena Mooney, laughing at the plight of Rena Mooney's sister and

the aged mother of Tom Mooney. Their giggling glances met the eyes of Mrs. Hammerberg every time she looked down the courtroom. The suffering of Rena Mooney was a matinee for them.

Such a jury would indeed hang Rena Mooney. Not alone would they return a hanging verdict, but they would be perfectly willing to carry out the sentence with dagger, gun or rope.

It must have been women such as these that Fickert had in mind when he told the newspapers that he'd hang Rena Mooney the next time with a jury of women.

"The Simple Truth Triumphed,"
Said Ed. McKenzie

The notable feature of the trial was the cross-examining of the different members of the perjury ring by Attorney Ed McKenzie, a member of Local No. 6 of the Electrical Workers' Union.

His aggressiveness and determination to get at the truth angered the prosecution so much that Judge Seawell repeatedly fined him. When Sadie Edeau was breaking down on the witness stand under McKenzie's fiery cross-examination, Seawell saved the situation by declaring a recess of court. A few days later McKenzie told Seawell in open court that he wasn't giving Rena Mooney a fair trial. The remark cost McKenzie \$50.

After the victory, McKenzie gave the following interview to "Organized Labor":

The simple truth triumphed over perjury, corruption, bias and intolerance. The acquittal of Mrs. Mooney morally is a conviction of Witness Oxman and Prosecutor Fickert. The trial of Mrs. Mooney has been the most disgraceful trial ever had in an American courtroom. There was no evidence, nothing but corruption and prejudice. Had she been convicted under such circumstances the consequences to the American people would have been far greater than the loss of a war.

San Francisco jurors can no longer be used by corporations to hang working men and working women whose legitimate efforts for betterment arouse the enmity of employers. The slimy trail of the perjurer was plainly visible thruout the entire case. When Assistant Prosecutor Cunha said to Reporter Fitch of the *Survey Magazine*, "If I knew that every single witness who testified against Tom Mooney perjured himself in his testimony, I would not lift a finger to get him a new trial," Cunha expressed better than we can the attitude of

those officials of San Francisco who owe their positions to corrupt public service corporations. No more dreadful indictment can be drawn against these officials than to quote Mr. Cunha's statement.

Oxman Still at Large; Rena Mooney Still in Jail!

Our enemies have been circulating the report that with the Oxman expose, the entire prosecution had fallen flat. Consequently our friends have slackened up. They must remember that:

1. Oxman is at liberty. He'll be tried, "some time" in Judge Frank Dunne's court and will be "prosecuted" by Assistant District Attorney Bianchi, brother-in-law to Oxman's co-conspirator, Charles Fickert. Dunne called the defense attorneys "a bunch of cowardly blackguards" a few months ago and it was he who picked Seawell, the notoriously partisan judge, who tried Rena Mooney.

2. Tom Mooney is still in the shadow of the gallows. Attorney General U. S. Webb has ignored the request of Judge Franklin A. Griffin, who demanded after the Oxman exposure, that Webb take immediate steps towards securing a new trial for Mooney. Webb refuses to take any action whatsoever and Tom Mooney will hang, unless strenuous efforts are made by organized labor.

3. Ed Nolan and Israel Weinberg will be tried in a few weeks. The only evidence against Nolan was a box of epsom salts found in the basement of his house. The prosecution dropped the theory during Rena Mooney's trial that the salts was a "high explosive." Still they declare they will hang Nolan.

The fight will have to be kept up. We'll have to fight every inch of the ground. The exposure of Oxman and the acquittal of Rena Mooney are only incidents.

Our friends must NOT lay down their arms with the expectation that the fight is won. We have captured a few trenches only. The prisoners at the rear must be rescued.

Agitate, hold meetings and raise all the funds you can! We have incurred huge expenses in this trial. The result speaks for itself!

WE MUST HAVE IMMEDIATE FUNDS TO FIGHT THE REMAINING TRIALS AND APPEALS.

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By FREDERICK HALLER

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"Why the Capitalist?" is a \$1.50 book, but we have just made a contract with the author by which we are enabled to publish it at a dollar a copy. Now ready. Use the blank.

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I enclose \$1.00, for which please mail a copy of "Why the Capitalist?"

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EDITORIAL

If This Be Treason, Make the Most of It. The successful revolutionists who framed the constitution of the United States of America had learned one important truth thru bitter experience, namely, that public officials are likely to regard as treasonable, and if possible to punish as treasonable, any act that interferes with their exercise of power. Therefore they put into the constitution this provision, which still stands: **Treason against the United States shall consist only in making war upon them, and in giving aid and comfort to their enemies in time of war.** The United States of America is at war with the imperial government of Germany; it is not officially at war with the working class of the world, much as certain people like the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* might like to see it enter on such a war. We socialists and industrial unionists do not desire the success of the imperial government of Germany in the war now raging. What we do desire and what we are struggling for is more power and a happier life for the propertyless millions who do the work of the world.

Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors. An extreme instance of stupid as well as malicious libel against the Industrial Workers of the World is found in the following special Washington dispatch taken from the *Chicago Tribune* of August 18.

[BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT.]

Washington, D. C., Aug. 17.—Special.)—Senator Ashurst of Arizona denounced the Industrial Workers of the World in the senate today. He said he had been asked by constituents and others what "I. W. W." stands for and had discovered the answer.

"I know what the meaning of the three letters is," said he. "They stand for 'Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors.'"

Mr. Ashurst also said that I. W. W.'s "stand for murder and perjury," and declared he proposed to discuss them at length later. The senator had read into the record an editorial from the *Guardian*, a newspaper published in Graham county, Ariz., which gives the follow-

ing lines as an extract from the I. W. W. songbook:

"Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite,
Let the gentle Jesus bless your dynamite;
Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize,
Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you please."

"IT'S TYPICAL OF I. W. W."

"This sort of diabolical sentiment, running with unbridled crime of every character, up to murder, seems to typify the I. W. W.," Mr. Ashurst declared.

Now it is true that the lines quoted are from the "I. W. W. Song-book," but to any one with a particle of common sense, this very song goes far to refute the senator's accusation. Members of the I. W. W. do not, let it be understood, refer to themselves as "Christian Soldiers,"—such an idea would call out hearty laughter but for the evident malice of the charge and the chance of its prejudicing many people ignorant of the facts. The "Christian Soldiers" referred to in the song are precisely the soldiers of the Kaiser, who have, it is generally believed, carried out the precepts of the song in Belgium and northern France. What the I. W. W. is doing is to stand out for higher wages in opposition to the copper magnates loved by the Senator from Arizona. There seems to be an organized attempt to hoodwink the people of the United States into the belief that the I. W. W. is in collusion with the Kaiser. If this charge is true, it is a case of actual treason, and patriots like the *Tribune* editor should come forward with the evidence. That they have not done so is very good reason for believing that no such evidence exists.

The Review and the Censorship. Our June issue was barred from the mails by the censors at Washington after nearly the entire issue had been circulated. Our July issue was completely barred from the mails, but we circulated nearly the usual number by express thru the cooperation of our friends in many cities

who ordered bundles. Our August issue was held up for examination, but we were finally allowed to mail copies after omitting three paragraphs from an article reprinted with due credit from the *Chicago Daily News*. This September issue can not be mailed until the Washington officials have passed on it. We have published and intend to publish nothing contrary to any constitutional law passed by Congress. The United States courts have already decided, in the case of "*The Masses*," that periodicals are within their rights in criticising laws and advocating their repeal, so long as they do not counsel unlawful acts, which no Socialist periodical has done in this country, so far

as we know. As we go to press, word comes that *The Masses*, having previously received an order of court compelling the postmaster to mail its August issue, has applied for a similar order on its September issue, which has likewise been held up. If the censors expect to keep people from reading Socialist literature, they will be sadly disappointed. The net result of their activity up to this time has been to unify the Socialist movement and to increase immensely the demand for its literature. The Socialist victory at Dayton, Ohio, recorded on this page, is a faint indication of what will happen all over the country in next year's elections.—C. H. K.

Dayton, Ohio, Swept by Socialists—Dayton, Ohio, Aug. 17.—(Special.)—Owing to the fact that a wave of socialism swept this city in the primary election last Tuesday, a united effort is being made by all the elements opposed to the socialistic propaganda to prevent a Socialist victory at the polls in November.

The local political situation is unique. During the summer a series of conferences, in which the leading business and professional men of the city participated, were held with a view to securing an amalgamation of the two old parties.

The Democratic and Republican leaders could not agree upon candidates who were to stand for the maintenance of the present commission manager charter and a Democratic and a Citizens' ticket were put in the field.

Socialists Pile Up Vote

The Socialists presented three candidates, with a demand for a statement of war terms, repeal of the draft law, the overthrow of the local government, and an entire new alignment as their platform. As a result, the Socialist candidates received as many votes as were obtained by the candidates of the two other divisions combined.

The commission is composed of five members, and if the Socialists succeed in electing their three candidates they will have control of the government.

Pacifists Heard From

Washington, D. C., Aug. 17.—(Special.)—The American Union Against Militarism addressed an open letter of inquiry to Senator Pomerene of Ohio regarding recent election results in Dayton today. The letter reads:

"The American Union Against Militarism would be interested to know your explanation of the primary election in Dayton, O., Aug. 14, in which it appears that the Socialists, on a platform demanding a statement of our war terms and the repeal of the draft swept the city with 11,017 votes against 7,314 polled by the 'nonpartisan' ticket, and 3,014 votes polled by your own organization. We have been informed that your recent epigram about Washington, Lincoln and the president figured somewhat disastrously in the result."

"What would you say to that?"—From Chicago Tribune.

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Mr. C. E. Brooks, Marshall, Mich.

Dear Sir:—I began using your Appliance for the cure of rupture (I had a pretty bad case) I think in May, 1905. On November 20, 1905, I quit using it. Since that time I have not needed or used it. I am well of rupture and rank myself among those cured by the Brooks Discovery, which, considering my age, 76 years, I regard as remarkable.

Very sincerely yours,
SAM A. HOOVER.
Jamestown, N. C.

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Mr. C. E. Brooks.

Dear Sir:—The baby's rupture is altogether cured, thanks to your Appliance, and we are so thankful to you. If we could only have known of it sooner our little boy would not have had to suffer near as much as he did. He wore your brace a little over four months and has not worn it now for six weeks.

Yours very truly,
ANDREW EGGENBERGER.

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Mr. C. E. Brooks.

Dear Sir:—I am glad to tell you that I am now sound and well and can plough or do any heavy work. I can say your Appliance has effected a permanent cure. Before getting your Appliance I was in a terrible condition and had given up all hope of ever being any better. If it hadn't been for your Appliance I would never have been cured. I am sixty-eight years old and served three years in Eckie's Artillery, Oglethorpe Co. I hope God will reward you for the good you are doing for suffering humanity.

Yours sincerely,
H. D. BANKS.



The above is C. E. Brooks, inventor of the Appliance, who cured himself and who is now giving others the benefit of his experience — If ruptured, write him today, at Marshall, Mich.

Pennsylvania Man Thankful

Mr. C. E. Brooks, Marshall, Mich.

Dear Sir: Perhaps it will interest you to know that I have been ruptured six years and have always had trouble with it till I got your Appliance. It is very easy to wear, fits neat and snug, and is not in the way at any time, day or night. In fact, at times I did not know I had it on; it just adapted itself to the shape of the body and seemed to be a part of the body, as it clung to the spot, no matter what position I was in.

It would be a veritable God-send to the unfortunates who suffer from rupture if all could procure the Brooks Rupture Appliance and wear it. They would certainly never regret it.

My rupture is now all healed up and nothing ever did it but your Appliance. Whenever the opportunity presents itself I will say a good word for your Appliance, and also the honorable way in which you deal with ruptured people. It is a pleasure to recommend a good thing among your friends or strangers.

I am, Yours very sincerely,
JAMES A. BRITTON.
80 Spring St., Bethlehem, Pa.

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10. My reputation for honesty and fair dealing is so thoroughly established by an experience of over thirty years of dealing with the public, and my prices are so reasonable, my terms so fair, that there certainly should be no hesitancy in sending free coupon today.

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I send my Appliance on trial to prove what I say is true. You are to be the judge. Fill out free coupon below and mail today.

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C. E. Brooks,
122 State St., Marshall, Mich.

Please send me by mail in plain wrapper your illustrated book and full information about your Appliance for the cure of rupture.

Name

City

R. F. D. State

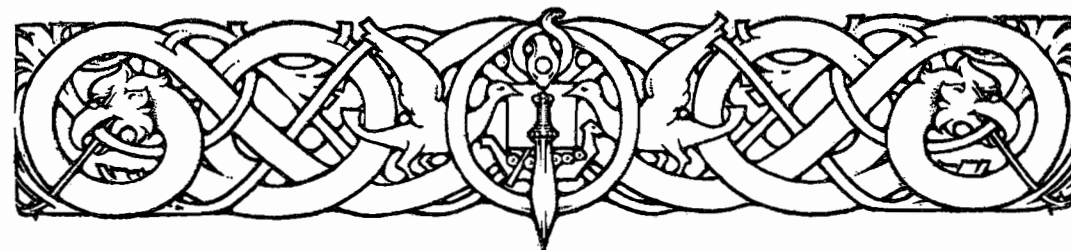
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

British Labor and Peace

Socialist Russia is having an excellent influence on English workers. Some time ago Ramsay MacDonald was not allowed to go to Russia, because he favored participation in the new Copenhagen conference. Then Arthur Henderson was sent, because he was opposed to it. When he came back he had changed his mind. Readers of last month's REVIEW will remember that two French Socialists underwent a similar change while in Russia.

Arthur Henderson has been, since the reconstruction of the British cabinet, a member of the War Council. This is a group of five men who really rule England. He has done so little by way of representing the needs of the working class that English Socialists had quite lost hope of him. But soon after his return from Russia there was a Labor Party conference. It was held at Westminster on August 10. Henderson attended and made a great speech in favor of having British labor represented at Stockholm.

Lloyd George was shocked. He said that Henderson might at least have told the War Council what he was going to do. Then Henderson resigned from the War Council, and his resignation was immediately accepted.

Here is one interesting incident: The members of the British Seamen's Union are naturally the ones who have suffered most from German atrocities at sea. It was they who refused to take a delegation to the first Stockholm conference. When the discussion was going on at Westminster they shouted that the conference might do as it liked; they would be the ones to make the final decision as to whether anyone should go to Stockholm.

The decision in favor of representation is not by any means to be accepted as a vote

for peace. The argument that really won the conference was an anti-German one. The delegates were told that the Russian and German Socialists should not be allowed to meet alone. There should be Englishmen there to represent the side of the allies.

A long resolution adopted is an elaboration of the Russian motto, "No annexations, no indemnities and self-determination for all peoples." In a general way this formula is interpreted to the harm of Germany without mention of Ireland or India. But the plea for peace on these terms is strong and evidently sincere.

Keeping Germany Quiet

The German Reichstag has once more demonstrated its perfect unfitness for the part it might play in the great events now going forward. It met, adopted a pious resolution in favor of peace, and adjourned. This resolution, which was definitely opposed to annexations, showed that the Socialists, Centrists and Liberals were in the majority. The super-annexationists were horrified.

But the government has countered in a very clever political move. The military clique which controls the Emperor forced Bethmann-Hollweg to resign. Thus we say farewell to the last of the statesmen who started the war. England, France, Russia, Austria, Germany—all have changed prime ministers within the past three years. None need mourn for Bethmann-Hollweg. He remained so long in office chiefly because he could keep all factions guessing and lead them all to think he was of their opinion.

There is, however, no good to be expected of the new cabinet. Dr. Michaelis, the chancellor, is not a nobleman, but he is a regular Prussian bureaucrat. His followers liken him to Bismarck. No doubt he would like to imitate his great predecessor. There

are two interesting points about the new cabinet. Dr. Peter Spahn has been made Prussian minister of justice. He is the great leader of the Centrists, the Roman Catholic party. It is the defection of these Centrists that upset the plans of Bethmann-Hollweg. The appointment of Dr. Spahn is a sop to them. Apparently it has had the desired effect. Catholic papers say they have not got quite what they asked for, but the presence of a good Romanist in the cabinet relieves the situation. The other interesting point is the naming of Dr. Richard von Kuellmann as secretary of foreign affairs. He has lived long in England and is eager to conciliate the Anglo-Saxon countries. He was opposed to the U-boat war, and it is said that had he been in office earlier, he would have prevented the break with America—or tried to do so. Now his great ambition is to represent Germany at a peace conference.

It is evident, however, that the whole shake-up was undertaken as a blind to the German people. For the moment it has worked. The majority Socialists are opposed to the government, but that worries

nobody. More important is the news that a great mass meeting of miners has voted for peace.

Strikes in Spain

In Spain the war stirs up labor troubles. Times are hard there. The foreign market for Spanish fruits and other wares has practically disappeared. The cost of living has gone up and the chances to make a living have gone down. Twice in the course of the month there have been railway strikes. As we go to press a great stoppage of labor is reported on the Northern Railway. Troops are to be called out and there will doubtless be rioting.

The King of Spain thinks his country is moving toward Socialism. He is an intelligent young man and has abundant opportunity for observation.

Karl Liebknicht

A cable dispatch, probably untrustworthy, reports that Karl Liebknicht has been dismissed from jail and is suffering severely from tuberculosis.

GREATEST OF ALL SOCIALIST BOOKS Marx's CAPITAL

You can be a Socialist without reading CAPITAL, but you cannot talk or write about Socialism, nor hold your own in debates with old-party politicians, without a clear understanding of the principles and theories which are explained in this book.

Until a few years ago, only one volume could be had in the English language, and that in an inferior edition. Then this publishing house took hold and published the entire work in three magnificent volumes, strongly bound in library cloth, with gold stamping.

VOLUME I, entitled "The Process of Capitalist Production," is practically complete in itself. It explains the thing which, up to the time that Marx came on the scene, had confused all the economists, namely, **Surplus Value**. It explains exactly how the capitalist extracts his profits. This volume might be called the keystone of the Socialist arch. 869 pages, \$2.00.

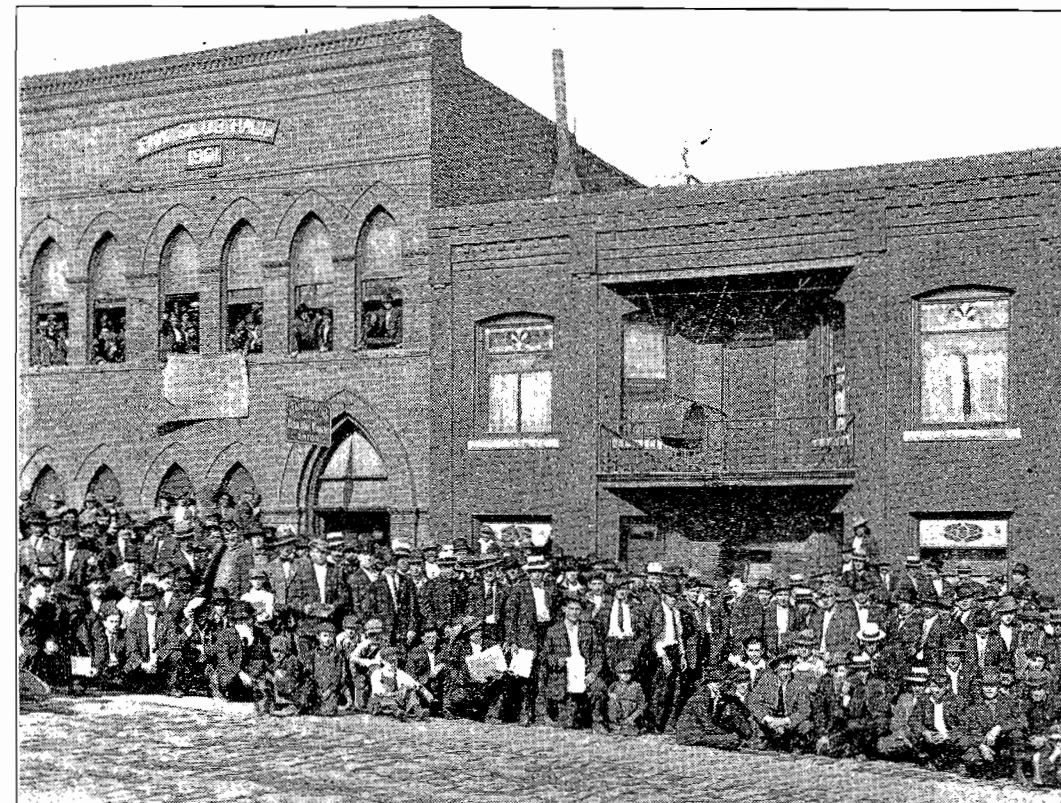
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NEWS AND VIEWS



FINNISH HALL AND OFFICE OF METAL MINE WORKERS' UNION AND STEEL BLOCK, BUTTE, MONTANA.

Ohio News—Ammon A. Hennacy and Charles Townsley were convicted at Columbus of conspiring against the conscription law. Hennacy was also found guilty of not registering. He was sentenced to two years and nine months in Atlanta federal prison. Townsley was sentenced to two years in prison. Notice of appeal of the cases has been given, but the comrades are in jail because bondsmen could not be secured.

The fifteen comrades arrested in Cincinnati are all out on bail. Indictments against them have not yet been drawn, and it is not known when the cases will come to trial.

In Cleveland C. E. Ruthenberg, Socialist candidate for mayor; Alfred Wagenknecht, state secretary, and Charles Baker, state organizer, were convicted of aiding and abetting a certain Alphonse Schue to register. Schue, when arrested for failure to register, stated that he had been influenced by speeches made by Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht and Baker, and the charges against the latter were based on this statement.

The three men were sentenced to serve a year in the Canton, Ohio, jail. The case has been appealed to the supreme court and will not be decided until October or November. In the meantime all of the defendants are out on bail, and continuing their activities in the fight for Socialism, Peace and Democracy.

A dispatch from Washington, D. C., informs us that the cases of Ruthenberg and Wagenknecht will be first to come up for review before the U. S. Supreme Court to arrive at a decision as to the constitutionality of the draft law.

No Yellow Streak in This Bunch—Local Union No. 2328 of the United Mine Workers of America at Superior, Wyo., is a staunch supporter of the Review. For the past six years it has regularly subscribed for 42 yearly subscriptions. Guess the boys appreciate a revolutionary working class magazine.

If every union man who reads the Review would get busy in his own local union, it would not be long before we would be reach-

ing a quarter of a million wage slaves every month.

Sugarman and Bentall—Just as the Review goes to press word comes to this office that State Secretary of the S. P. of Minnesota, A. L. Sugarman and J. O. Bentall have been arrested on a charge of attempting to "obstruct the war." Comrade Bentall writes us from the county jail in Minneapolis: "There are about fifty of us on this floor and the boys are all eager to know about Socialism. Some are party members and 'slackers.' We have had some great meetings in Minnesota, all from 3,000 to 10,000 people. At Hutchinson at least 10,000 came—some 20 or 30 miles—full of enthusiasm and eagerness. I never saw anything like it. In the middle of my speech the postmaster rushed up on the platform and struck me in the face. He was promptly reduced to quiet by some big farmers, and I talked another hour and a half. People are falling over each other to hear about Socialism these days. They are no longer afraid of it, and the farmers are most radical and fearless. They no longer imagine that this is a free country and they rebel like mad bulls. They can't believe that capitalists, through a few hireling politicians, can rob us of 'our liberties.' All they need is education. Eight thousand attended the meeting at Dale, including two sheriffs, three judges and several U. S. deputy marshals and a number of plain clothes men. We sold all our literature and needed more. Later I went back to the old farm, hitched up the tractor to two eight foot binders and had just gone one round on our oats when a U. S. deputy marshal came along and arrested me. So I shut down the gas horse and here I am. There is just one thing I want to say, I never talk against war; all I do is to talk peace. They say that it was the little Hutchinson postmaster who reported me as undesirable. His word went. Good cheer to you all in the grand work for the revolution. Everything is coming our way.

Muscatine, Iowa—Lee W. Lang, one of the old guard, writes: "I purchased twenty copies of the August issue of the Review at the Tri-

"Enchanted Hills Colony" in Sunny California. Socialism in practice among the orange groves where it is delightful all the year. Become a member and stop worrying about how to make a living. Write for particulars. 625 Fifth street, San Diego, Calif.

Is He Crazy?

The owner of a large plantation in Mississippi, where the fine figs grow, is giving away a few five-acre fruit tracts. The only condition is that figs be planted. The owner wants enough figs raised to supply a cooperative canning factory. You can secure five acres and an interest in the canning factory by writing the Eubank Farms Company, 1428 Keystone, Pittsburgh, Pa. They will plant and care for your trees for \$6 per month. Your profit should be \$1,000 per year. For 18 cents to cover mailing expense, they will send you, prepaid, sample jar preserved figs, grown on the plantation.

City picnic a week ago last Sunday, but they sold so fast that I have to have twenty-five more to sell to my regular customers." If we had a few more comrades like Comrade Lang, it would not be long before Iowa would be on the red map.

Joplin, Mo.—Comrade Eleanor E. Carpenter orders a bundle of seventy-two Reviews and adds: "Reviews sell like hot cakes down this way. All it needs is for one to have the time to devote to it. We intend to keep increasing our order."

Fresno, Calif.—Secretary Elliott of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union remits for a bundle of Reviews and says: "The O. B. U. is fast getting a footing here, one hundred members in July."

All Tied Up—The secretary of Seattle District Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500 of the I. W. W. rolls in twelve big iron dollars for August Reviews along with an interesting letter, from which we quote as follows: "The strike in the lumber industry is coming along with a rush. Of course they are jailing lots of our members and trying to close our halls, especially in Idaho, where they are trying to enforce the anti-syndicalist law, but all log workers and mill workers are staying away from Idaho. The solidarity amongst the workers and their determination to win the strike is growing stronger every day. WE HAVE PRACTICALLY EVERY CAMP AND MILL IN WASHINGTON, IDAHO AND MONTANA TIED UP."—J. M.

Rock Island, Ill.—The annual Tri-City picnic was pulled off on schedule time this year and the Rock Island reds were on the job as usual. Comrade Edgar Owens writes: "Our picnic was one grand success. We pulled the biggest crowd in the history of the local party organization. We hope to increase our order for Labor Day number a couple of hundred."

St. Paul, Minn.—State Secretary Sugarman writes: "Enclosed find our check for \$25.00. Send us 500 additional August Reviews. Sold 700 copies yesterday at a big meeting of farmers. Could have sold more if we had had them. Well, just watch the farmers of this state."

Slavery in Utah—"The sugar factory workers are slaving for the Mormon church barons at the rate of 20 cents an hour. Several weak attempts to strike have been broken by the bishops. In fact, the Mormon Church is the most efficient strike breaking organization we have run up against.

"An attempt was made in the last legislature to pass an 8-hour day for the sugar workers, but the church influence defeated the bill. The slaves now work 12 hours a day."

Strike at Mineral, Wash.—Comrade Longmire writes: "Enclosed find \$1.20 express order for the August Review if you have any left by the time this reaches you. A big strike is on here now, the timber, saw-mill and shingle workers have all walked out for an eight-hour day. The Review is needed. The July numbers are about all gone."

Kentucky Becoming Revolutionary—Louisville, Ky., state office of the Socialist Party reports Socialism and industrial organization sweeping the state. Three weeks ago 25 garment workers at Shimanski's big clothing establishment walked out, demanding an eight-hour day and 15 per cent increase in wages and recognition of the union. Frank Rosenblum of Chicago, Ill., organizer for the Amalgamated Garment Workers of North America, was placed in charge of the strike and the Socialist Party threw open their headquarters, Karl Marx Hall, 306 West Jefferson street, where the strikers can meet daily and confer. They were offered every assistance possible by the Socialists and as a result 18 joined the local, including many members of the executive committee of the newly organized union.

The strikers are furnished electric fans, ice water and piano by the Socialist Party, and they pass the time very pleasantly. Ben J. Robertson, Socialist Party nominee for mayor, and Rev. John G. Stilli of the leading revolutionary church in the state, addressed the strikers at a big mass meeting which startled the old parties. Coal miners in Central Kentucky and Eastern Kentucky are all on strike demanding shorter hours and better pay and recognition of the union. Now comes the tobacco workers in the largest establishment in the city ready to walk out. The city employees are demanding more pay or a strike. At a big meeting Aug. 5th, which was addressed by George R. Kirkpatrick, 100 International Reviews were sold, and the larger part of the strikers in the Garment Workers' Union were present and the girls occupied box seats as being the most honored guests of the occasion.

Fully 100 new party members were added to the Socialist Party in the month of July.

The Chamber of Commerce, in league with the chief of police and other crooks in Aberdeen, S. D., have recruited a band of out-laws. They are shielded in their bloody and brutal work by the national war cry of "save the world for democracy." They are carrying on a campaign of mob rule and murder. They have arrested men on the main street and thrown them in jail with no charge placed against them. In the dark hours of night these men are taken out of jail by the chief of police, loaded into autos and taken to the country. They are stripped of their clothes. With pick handles and black-jacks they are beaten and left bleeding on the prairie. Men are coming into Minneapolis every day showing the marks of this dirty and degenerate mob. Although the men so badly beaten have come into town, they are only here to recuperate and though their bodies are broken their spirits remain unshaken. Their determination to carry the message of freedom to the workers is stronger than ever. The capitalist papers are continually lying about the lawlessness of the I. W. W. and it is safe to say that if such tactics being used by the thugs of Aberdeen are continued, the press will have a real excuse for accusing the I. W. W. Violence breeds violence. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and if the workers can't get protection from the courts and have such brutality stopped, it is only natural that they will take the law into their own hands and protect themselves.—F.

Edwards, secretary, and Ted Fraser, chairman Organization Committee.

From the Socialist Party, Superior, Wisconsin—The Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Douglas County at a meeting held in Superior, Wisconsin, August 6, 1917, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, the high cost of living has forced the workers of this country to struggle for higher wages; and

Whereas, one of the most bitter struggles is now being waged between capital and labor at Bisbee, Arizona; and

Whereas, 1,600 striking miners have been deported from their homes for demanding bread for themselves and families; and

Whereas, these men have been kept at the government camps at Columbus, New Mexico, since July 13, 1917; and

Whereas, capitalism has recently committed the crime of lynching Frank Little, the I. W. W. organizer at Butte, Montana;

Be it resolved, that we, the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Douglas County do bitterly protest against such outrages perpetrated by the capitalistic parasites against the laboring classes; and

Be it further resolved, that we demand a fair investigation by Federal authorities of the above criminal affairs, and the prosecution of the murderers of labor; and

Be it further resolved, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to President Wilson, to Representative Lenroot, to the Socialist Representative Meyer London of New York, to Senator LaFollette, the mayors of Butte, Montana, and Bisbee, Arizona, to the governors of Montana and Arizona, and to the Socialist press.—Resolution Committee: Angeline Hilger, Jos. R. Booth, Ethel Adams Peterson, 300 West 6th St., Superior, Wis., Secretary Central Committee.

From Leetonia, Ohio—Comrade Stewart of Leetonia, Ohio, sends in \$2.00, which he says he hopes we will use to make democracy safe in America.

Heard on the Streets—A young engineer who came from the Arizona mines to visit in Los Angeles during the I. W. W. strike said: "This strike isn't going to be ended so easily as some of the 'authorities' think. There are plenty of clerks, engineers and workers outside the I. W. W. who are wondering why salaries remain so low when the mines are selling all products at such high prices.

"Old men scarcely able to handle a truck are gladly accepted in Los Angeles warehouses these days. They are about the only ones willing to work a few days extra now and then for 25 to 30 cents an hour. Their appearance is creating discontent on the part of the regular slaves, who are saying, 'Why do these fellows who can't do a day's work come in and get as much pay as us fellows who understand and are physically able to do it? If it is that hard to get men, they will have to come across with more for us.'"

I have visited a number of warehouses and talked with scores of teamsters and other casual laborers. The same general ferment is at work in the minds of a large proportion of these men.

STUDY SOCIALISM

The great war has made the old competitive system no longer possible. Each warring nation is taking over an increasing share of production, and the question now is whether the nation shall be controlled by the workers or by the bondholders. We Socialists think it should be controlled by the workers. Read these books and you will agree with us.

Shop Talks on Economics. By Mary Marcy. Explains why the wage-workers create wealth and then turn most of it over to the capitalists. Clear, simple, forcible, just the book to start with. Price 10 cents.

Industrial Socialism. By William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn. Explains the ways in which the workers are organizing in the shops and on the political field, to take the control of industry from the capitalists. Price 10 cents.

Socialism Made Easy. By James Connolly. A straight-from-the-shoulder book of Socialist argument by a comrade who was executed after the uprising at Dublin. Price 10 cents.

Value, Price and Profit. By Karl Marx. A brief and scientific explanation of the process by which the employer buys the workers' labor-power, and sells it at a profit. Price 15 cents.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederick Engels. A great book written nearly fifty years ago and predicting the social changes now in progress, explaining their causes and the outcome. Price 15 cents.

The Question Box. By Frank M. Eastwood. Straightforward answers to the many questions about Socialism that are constantly asked by inquirers and critics. Price 10 cents.

The Communist Manifesto. By Marx and Engels. First published in 1847, this wonderful document has been translated into all European languages, and is still the text-book of the coming revolution. Price 10 cents.

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LEADERS: Why T Why P Why T

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POLITICAL PARTIES: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy

The author does not attempt to solve our problems for us. He merely shows what *has happened* in the Socialist parties and the labor unions of France, Germany, Italy, England and the United States. Here are a few of the chapters:

The Need for Organization.	Centralization.
The Need for Leadership Felt by the Mass.	The Exercise of Power and Its Reaction Upon the Leaders.
The Political Gratitude of the Masses.	The Metamorphosis of the Leaders.
Financial Power of the Leaders.	Syndicalism as a Remedy.
Relation of the Leaders to the Masses.	Anarchism.
The Struggle Between the Leaders and the Masses.	Party-Life in War-Time.

The last-named chapter was written in 1915 especially for the American edition, and shows how the action of the German Socialist officials has confirmed the author's theories.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a critical analysis of the workings of democracy, both on the political and economic fields. It introduces the reader to a new branch of science, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated.

POLITICAL PARTIES is a large volume of 426 pages, handsomely printed and bound. It was published in New York at \$3.50 net. We have bought all remaining copies of the American edition, and while they last we offer them to any REVIEW reader at \$1.50 postpaid; with the REVIEW one year, \$2.00.

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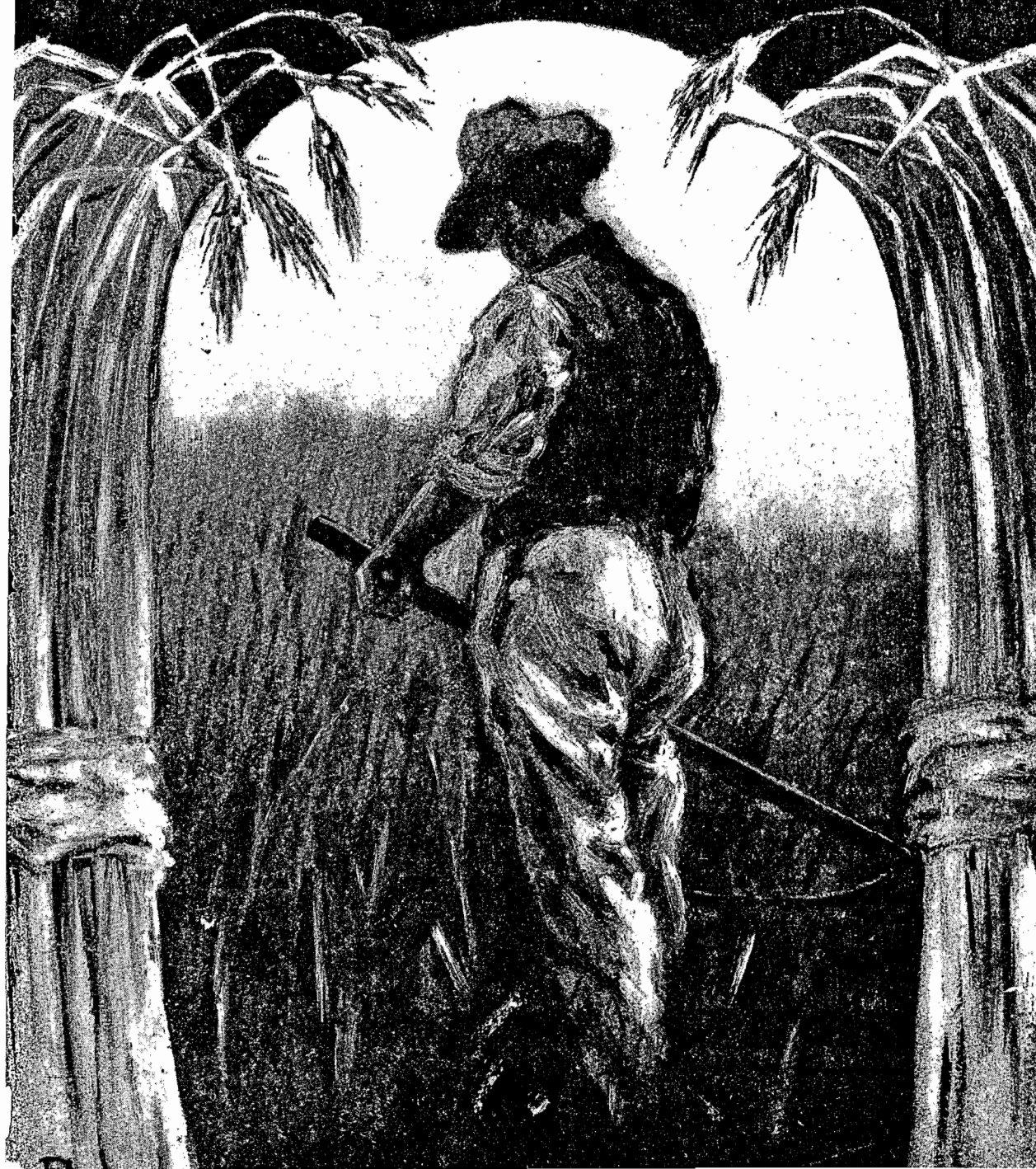
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No. 4

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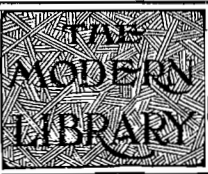
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

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OCTOBER, 1917

No. 4



WHAT SOCIALISM IS

By CHARLES H. KERR

THE word Socialism is a growing word. It grows because the movement for which it stands is growing. Seventy-five years ago, the word stood vaguely for the yearnings of a few scattered thinkers toward some better social order that might bring a happier life to the down-trodden millions. Today the countless millions of workers all over the world are waking into a new and vigorous life, inspired by a new hope, and to their mighty movement of revolution they have given the name SOCIALISM.

This world-wide movement has crystallized around the writings of KARL MARX, because he was the first great writer to reach a clear understanding of the social forces which are transforming society, and to point out to the workers of the world how they may take possession of the world and enjoy it.

As Prof. Thorstein Veblen wrote in the Quarterly Journal of Economics: "The Socialism that inspires hopes and fears today is of the school of Marx. No one is seriously apprehensive of any other so-called socialistic movement, and no one is seriously concerned to criticise or refute the doctrines set forth by any other school of 'Socialists.'"

The object of this article is to explain as briefly, clearly and simply as possible the principles, the aims and the methods of Marxian Socialism, and at the same time to direct the reader to the standard works in which the subject is fully treated.

I. HOW WE EXPLAIN PEOPLE'S ACTIONS.

What is the difference between good people and bad? Why did the world's greatest philosophers think human slavery a good thing 2000 years ago? Why was slavery right in Virginia and wrong in Massachusetts in 1850? Why do most wage-workers hate a scab? and why do college presidents call him a hero? Why do capitalists talk about the sacredness of contracts, and why do clear-headed wage-workers object to making contracts with capitalists or to being bound by them after they are made?

Questions like these cannot be answered intelligently by people whose heads are full of the moral ideas taught in the churches. They can only be explained in the light of a discovery of Marx to which we Socialists give the name of **Economic Determinism**, or the **Materialist Conception of History**. The names may sound hard, but the theory itself is so clear, and makes so many other things clear that you may wonder why it ever had to be discovered.

Stated in the simplest possible terms, the theory is this: People must have food or they will starve. In most countries they must also have clothing and shelter, or they will die of cold and exposure. Most people wish to live. Therefore the matter of supreme importance to them is to provide themselves with food, clothing and shelter. In different

countries, and at different times, they PRODUCE and they DISTRIBUTE these necessities of life in different ways. And their actions and feelings toward each other, their laws and customs, their ideas of what ought and what ought to be done, are bound to change as the methods of PRODUCTION and DISTRIBUTION change.

For example, here in America our great-grandfathers produced what they needed by going out on unoccupied land and planting corn. Their tools were crude; they did not produce much, but what they did produce they could keep. As long as there was plenty of land, all who would work could get plenty to eat, and it was natural enough to think under such conditions that private ownership of land and tools was right, and that if a man was poor it was his own fault.

But conditions have changed. Railroads have been built; machinery has been invented which does most of the work that used to be done by hand; the same amount of labor will produce ten times as much of the necessities and comforts of life. But now the good land is all fenced in; the wonderful machinery belongs to a small class of capitalists; millions of laborers who own no land and no machinery are compelled to work for the owners if these are willing to employ them, while if they cannot find work they must starve.

This new state of things develops two opposite ways of looking at the question of the private ownership of land and tools. Those who own them find life easy and pleasant; to them the whole social system based on private ownership naturally seems right. They bring up their children in this belief, and those who grow up in a property-owning atmosphere usually have an inborn respect for all laws and moral precepts which tend to make property secure.

The children of wage-workers, on the other hand, grow up in a totally different atmosphere. To them, property is not something sacred to be preserved inviolate; it is something to fight for and to be enjoyed when won. And they are fast learning that to make a winning fight they must struggle together, not each for himself. This different class attitude toward property is a necessary consequence of an organization of society in which one class owns the wealth and another class produces it.

All through history, the way people got their food has shaped their ideas. There have been times when the people of a victorious tribe had to eat the flesh of their conquered enemies or starve. Then cannibalism was "right." But by and by men learned to apply labor to land so as to get more food from the

land than was required to feed the man who did the digging. Then cannibalism came to be "wrong"; the "right" thing to do with a prisoner was to make a slave of him.

When machinery was invented the ruling class, who became the owners of the machinery, found that it was more profitable to pay wages to a laborer when they wanted him and let him shift for himself when they did not want him than to "own" him and be responsible for his livelihood. Then they decided that chattel slavery of human beings was "wrong." The eternally right thing, to their minds, came to be **free competition**, laborers competing for jobs, capitalists competing in the sale of the goods produced by wage-workers.

This ideal was almost unchallenged in America for a generation after the civil war. But now it is not only challenged by the wage-workers, it is freely questioned by many well-to-do people. And their changing mental attitude is an illustration of our Socialist theory of economic determinism. The MACHINE PROCESS has gone on developing. In all important fields of production the machines are becoming bigger and more expensive. Only the big capitalists can own the big machines, and the little capitalists are fast being crowded to the wall because the big capitalists can undersell them. So now it is only the trust magnates who seem perfectly satisfied with things as they are; every one else wants a change. But the kind of change each group of people wants depends on its economic position.

The best definitions of Historical Materialism will be found on page 8 of the *Communist Manifesto* (cloth, 50c; paper, 10c), and on pages 94 and 95 of Engels' *"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"* (cloth, 50c; paper, 15c). An indispensable book to any student desiring a full understanding of the theory and its applications is Labriola's *Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History* (cloth, \$1.00). An admirable and fascinating book applying the theory to the moral ideas commonly held in America is Clarence Melly's *Puritanism* (cloth, 50c).

II. SURPLUS VALUE.

With modern machinery, an American wage-worker can produce and does on the average produce each day commodities that retail for at least \$10.00. He gets on the average not over \$2.00. These facts can no longer be denied. They must be explained. And the Socialist is the only one who can offer a clear and satisfactory explanation.

The great English economists, Adam Smith (1776) and David Ricardo (1817) had long ago discovered that commodities tend to exchange at their values, that is, according to the amount of necessary social labor embodied in each. Karl Marx published in 1867 the first volume of "Capital," in which he stated a scientific discovery which has become one of the fundamental principles of Socialism.

Marx's discovery is that the power to labor day by day is itself a commodity, which the laborer sells to the capitalist who employs him. He MUST sell it, since otherwise he has no way of obtaining food, clothing and shelter. This commodity, like others, is sold at its VALUE, and this value is determined by the amount of social labor required to produce the food, clothing and shelter required for the laborer and his family, since children must be provided for in order to insure a future supply of laborers.

The capitalist who is a manufacturer buys the machinery, the raw material, the coal or other source of power to keep the machinery revolving, and he also buys the LABOR POWER of the men, women and children needed to tend the machinery. He has a very good reason for buying this labor power, for it has a most remarkable property, first pointed out by Marx. In less than TWO HOURS the American laborer produces wealth equal in value to the wages he receives. But when he has done this he does not stop working. He keeps on six, or eight, or sometimes ten hours more, and in those hours he is producing SURPLUS VALUE, which belongs to the employer.

This is the way the capitalist makes his profit. But not everyone who employs laborers is growing rich. Out of the "surplus value" the employer must pay interest if he is a borrower. He must pay rent if he is a tenant. He must pay taxes (and by the way, Socialists should not make the mistake of supposing that it makes any great difference to the wage-worker whether taxes are high or low). What the employer has left, after these and other expenses are paid, is his profit.

Now, as Marx has shown, in countries where capitalism is highly developed and conditions are stable, competition establishes an average rate of profit, so that, accidents apart, the capitalists divide the surplus value produced by the laborers not according to the number of laborers each capitalist employs, but according to the number of dollars each capitalist has invested.

For a full explanation of this and the proof of it, the reader must turn to the third volume of Marx's Capital, and this whole work should be read by anyone desiring to write or to speak in public on the question of surplus value. But here I wish to point out some very practical conclusions at which we arrive by applying the theory.

The way in which competition establishes the average rate of profit is this: Take two industries, one like shirt-making, where inexpensive tools or machines are used, and where a capital of one thousand dollars will employ several laborers. Let the other industry be

one like the making of structural steel, where the most expensive machinery is required, so that several thousand dollars must be invested for each laborer employed. If now both shirts and steel products were sold at their value, investors could get far better returns by making shirts than by making steel products. As a matter of fact, the shirt-makers compete with each other to get business by cutting the wholesale prices of shirts far below their value, until each little capitalist, buying the labor-power of his work-women as cheaply as he can, gets on the average, besides pay for his own individual labor-power, about the usual rate of profit on what little capital he has invested. On the other hand the big investor who has bought a million dollars' worth of steel trust stock will get only about the same rate of profit, even tho the steel products are sold above their value. He is better off than the shirtmaker, not because his rate of profit is larger, but because his capital, and with it his mass of profit, is larger.

As capitalism develops, as machinery is improved, more and more capital is needed to become an employer. The average rate of profit is growing less, but this does not mean that the wage-workers are getting more of what they produce; quite the contrary. The rate of profit is growing less because the percentage has to be figured on an ever greater mass of capital.

It used to be so that a wage-worker might hope to establish himself as an employer. This is now growing harder and harder. Moreover, as capitalism develops, the employer with small capital finds his profits growing smaller and smaller, so that he is scarcely better off than the laborers he employs, while thousands on thousands of little capitalists every year drop back into the ranks of the wage-workers.

In pointing out the nature of surplus value, we Socialists do not assert that the wage system was always wrong, nor that the capitalists who uphold it today are "bad." The wage system in its time was a distinct advance upon the forms of production which had preceded it. Under this system labor has become far more efficient and productive than ever before. But two things should be noted:

First, the capitalist, whose brain directed the whole process in the early stages of machine production, has thru the growth of corporations and trusts, become transformed into a do-nothing stockholder or bondholder. The brain work as well as the hand work is now done by hired laborers.

Second, every improvement in machine production has diminished the amount of **necessary labor** required to produce the food, clothing and shelter of the laborer and his family.

The consequence is that the surplus value produced by the laborer for the capitalist is much greater today than at any previous stage in the world's history. When Marx wrote "Capital" the English wage-worker, whom he took for an example, produced wealth to the amount of \$1.50 a day and received 75 cents in wages. The average American wage-worker today produces \$10.00 and gets \$2.00. A dollar buys much less than formerly because gold can be produced more cheaply, so that part of the increase on both sides is only apparent. But the important point is that the capitalist class of America today makes about \$8.00 a day out of the labor of each productive wage-worker, which is far more than any previous ruling class ever squeezed out of its slaves.

By all means the first book to read when beginning the study of Surplus Value is Mary E. Marcy's *Shop Talks on Economics*. Any wage-worker can read it understandingly in a few hours. It is not only a delightful and stimulating book in itself; it is also the best possible introduction to the study of Marx. 10 cents. Untermann's *Marxian Economics* is interesting and suggestive, altho marred here and there by an opportunistic bias. Boudin's *The Theoretical System of Karl Marx* is an important and valuable work, showing the necessary connection between the various theories of Marx and answering in a convincing fashion the attacks on Marx by various critics. But of course the great authority on this subject is Marx himself. Two small books of his, *Wage Labor and Capital* and *Value, Price and Profit*, should be read, as well as some of the introductory works just mentioned, before attacking *Capital*, which is a three volume work of over 2,500 pages. No one should, however, feel himself thoroughly qualified to talk on Socialism in public who has not studied *Capital*.

III. THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We have seen that people's political institutions and their moral ideas are the direct result of the way the people get their living—taken in connection with the way their fathers and grandfathers got their living. We have also seen how the laborers today get their living by creating surplus value for the capitalists.

Put these two thoughts together and what do they suggest? Here we have on the one side a class of capitalists living in luxury on the labors of others. Yet no one capitalist is forcibly robbing any one laborer. In many cases each capitalist, or at least the father or grandfather of each capitalist, has been a laborer himself. So these capitalists and their hangers-on persuade themselves and also persuade the less intelligent laborers that wealth is the natural reward of virtue and efficiency.

On the other hand, the more intelligent laborers realize that they are getting far less than they produce. They realize that the modern machinery now used makes their labor immensely more productive than labor used to be, yet they see that they are receiving as wages a smaller portion of their product than ever laborers received before.

So the class struggle is on. Socialists do not make it; they simply explain it, and point out the lines on which it must develop. Thus far the chief weapon of the laborers has been the labor union, and the fighting has been thru strikes and boycotts. In the day of the small capitalist, real gains were made by the unions. But in this country the development of the unions has lagged behind the development of industry. The laborers today if organized at all are mostly organized by crafts, so that a corporation employing laborers of several crafts can make a separate contract with each, and when those of one craft are striking for better conditions, can use their fellow workers in the other crafts to crush them. To contend with the great corporations on anything like equal terms, the unions will be forced to organize industrially, so as to include in the membership of one union every laborer in the employ of one corporation.

Again, the unions have thus far been made up mainly of the better paid laborers, and thru these unions they have generally endeavored to hold on to what little advantages they have had, rather than to overthrow the capitalists; they have been conservative rather than revolutionary. But the changing mode of production, irresistible force that it is, has cheapened the skill of the union laborers.

Every improvement in machinery enables each laborer to turn out a larger product than before in the same number of hours, and thus the employer is enabled to do without a part of his laborers. These displaced laborers make up the "army of the unemployed." If the workmen employed by a trust go on strike, a new force of workmen can soon be organized out of that army.

It is natural under such circumstances for the unions to resort to force, but here the capitalists are ready for them with superior force. The powers of government in America and in every other "civilized" country are at the disposal of the capitalist when a contest is on with the laborer.

Thus by the logic of events the class struggle has been extended to the ballot box. Here from year to year the voters have a chance to say who shall direct the clubs of the police and the rifles of the soldiers. Thus both in the shops and at the polls the struggle is on.

(Continued on page 237)

The Horrors of Respectability

By EDWARD CARY HAYES

WHY is it that "respectability" excites the rage of such writers as Bernard Shaw? Can anything be more respectable than respectability? Can anything be more contemptible? these writers retort. The question and the answer issue from points of view so diverse as to be mutually almost incomprehensible.

Yet those who question thus and those who reply have certain ground in common. Both look with respect upon gratitude, generosity, helpfulness, fidelity, and competent pursuit of worthy aims; and both look with abhorrence upon ingratitude, meanness, cruelty, falseness, and purposeless drifting, when these are clearly recognized for what they are. In so far as there is a difference in appreciation of these respectable virtues and in contempt for these sins between the two classes, those who decry burgeoise respectability have the greater moral earnestness and evince the more compelling moral enthusiasms and detestations. Those who defend respectability often speak with cynical skepticism of any ideal aims and of the possibility of any devotion stronger than selfishness, while it is those with most respect for what is most respectable in man who decry respectability.

Conventional respectability is mere conformity, and mere conformity is not respectable, but contemptible. To be a mere conformist to the prevalent standards of the moment is to despair of all the unfulfilled possibilities or to be a traitor to them, or at best to be carelessly oblivious to them. Nonconformity may be reckless, ignorant, and selfish. Conformity usually is all three. It is *reckless* of the woe of the world, which it cares not to abate; it is *ignorant* of the signs of the times, of the promises implied in past changes, and of the proffers of sciences as yet largely unapplied; it is *selfish* in its disregard of posterity and of all social classes except those which profit most from the existing status. No life is truly respectable that has not in its habits of thought a potential element of fellowship with the prophets and the martyrs.

That contemptible respectability which is mere conformity is difficult to escape. Suc-

cess, in its usual forms, is another name for conformity. Even the "original" man succeeds by inventing a new way of getting what people want to get or a new justification for thinking what people want to think. Success is a matter of supply and demand is the desire of those who can reward or punish. It is profitable, not only to do what the influential want us to do, but also to think what they want us to think and to entertain the sentiments which they approve. They enter into our inner life with their subtlest deterrents and inducements. Even when we reflect in solitude, our interest unconsciously biases us in favor of conformity. To resist this bias requires a sturdy spirit with an element of heroism like that of Carlyle, who could differ with the mother whom he loved above all human creatures, suffer his genius to smolder in obscurity, and prefer to go, if need be, to the pit of perdition with open eyes of unflinching intellectual honesty rather than go to paradise blindfolded by comfortable self-deception.

Self-deception is unconscious, otherwise it would be no deception. One needs only to suffer his mind to drift where interest turns the helm to deviate to the opposite point of the compass from that where the star of truth is shining. To shift the figure: when interest puts us in blinders, we do not have to close our eyes to be deceived, for all that our blinders let us clearly see justifies the mind in its erroneous beliefs.

It is not interest alone that renders it difficult to escape from mere conformity. It is also the weight of social prestige. If conformity were no more advantageous than nonconformity, still we should conform. The *status quo* rests on us like a superincumbent mountain. The influences which press on us from infancy make one a Democrat and another a Republican, one a Catholic and another a Protestant. Mentally we are part and parcel of the social classes to which we belong, unless by a determined resolution we have declared our independence. And if with reference to certain questions the advocates of change do make

their voices heard above the steady *bourdon* of conformity, it makes comparatively little difference what arguments they present unless they win some advocates who have the prestige of "respectability." Nowadays almost everyone believes in biological evolution, whatever he may think of the comparatively infant processes of social evolution. But among this "almost everyone" how many have adopted their belief in evolution as a result of an appreciative consideration of the facts and arguments adduced by Darwin and his followers? If, now and then, a new belief grows to prevalence, it is but little because the reasons for it appeal to the intelligence of ordinary men, and chiefly because here and there those reasons win the assent of a person who enjoys prestige, and, therefore, ordinary men believe because the man of prestige believed, as we believe in evolution because our ministers have given us permission, our teachers have indorsed the theory, and, at length, "everybody" accepts it. It has become respectable. Thus prestige unites with interest in determining belief, and the two embed us in "respectable" conformity.

In social and economic matters, however, interest occasionally sides with innovation. Those who have no hope of ordinary, conventional, "respectable" success, and upon whom the existing status presses cruelly, may cry aloud for change. The innovation which is thus advocated by the less "respectable" classes may be either that which is blindly desired in the hope that any change may benefit those on whom the existing order lays such cruel handicaps, or it may be the wisest measure which experience and investigation justify as promising relief and benefit; in either case it will usually be opposed by prestige and by the interest of the well-situated classes. It is thus that the abolition of slavery and of child labor in mines and factories was once passionately resisted. Even the most recent step in the mitigation of the evil of

child labor encountered resistance from respectable people. It is almost always "respectable" to stand pat, and it is usually of doubtful respectability to advocate social change. In spite of all the social changes of the past, some of which were once more incredible than any of the proposals that now are advocated by any party of reform, it is still easy to argue that what has not been, cannot be. It is both easy and cheap to camp in the actual and laugh at those who set forth upon the path of hope. And among those who thus camp and scoff are sure to be most of those who profit by the *status quo*, most of the well-fixed who desire all things to stay fixed, most of the rich, most of those who own and control the more "respectable" *dolies*, most of those who set the fashion in opinions, most of those who have prestige and whose favor conditions "success."

Change is not desirable for its own sake. The heritage of the past is infinitely precious. Some things appear to be settled once for all, or a thousand times for all. Yet change is indispensable if there is to be progress. In the most "respectable" quarters, not only is it bad form to advocate specific changes, it often is bad form even to hope for progress. But to be laughed out of that hope would be craven and contemptible. Prestige and interest, like gravitation, weigh down the limbs of endeavor. But the past and the present are full of prophetic promise as well as of warning. And men will cease to be men when they are so intimidated by prestige and so bribed or drugged by interest that they will not lift a hand for faith and hope and love—*faith* in humanity which has martyrs and mothers as well as tyrants and sycophants, *hope* for humanity which has a future far longer than its past and full of ever-accelerating movement, *love* of humanity which suffers needless woes and is rich with possibilities as yet unfulfilled.—From *The American Journal of Sociology*, July.



GOVERNMENT

By Carl Sandburg

The Government—I heard about the Government and I went out to find it. I said I would look closely at it when I saw it.

Then I saw a policeman dragging a drunken man to the calaboose. It was the Government in action.

I saw a ward alderman slip into an office one morning and talk with a judge. Later in the day the judge dismissed a case against a pickpocket who was a live ward worker for the alderman. Again I saw this was the Government, doing things.

I saw militiamen level their rifles at a crowd of workmen who were trying to get other workmen to stay away from a shop where there was a strike on. Government in action.

Everywhere I saw that Government is a thing made of men, that Government has blood and bones, it is many mouths whispering into many ears, sending telegrams, aiming rifles, writing orders, saying yes and no.

Government dies as the men who form it die and are laid away in their graves and the new Government that comes after is human, made of heartbeats of blood, ambitions, lusts, and money running thru it all, money paid and money taken, and money covered up and spoken of with hushed voices.

A Government is just as secret and mysterious and sensitive as any human sinner carrying a load of germs, traditions and corpuscles handed down from fathers and mothers away back.

AS WE GO TO PRESS

GENERAL STRIKE IN AUSTRALIA

AS we go to press word comes that Australia is now paralyzed with a general strike of trade unionists, I. W. W. and soldiers. Two hundred and fifty thousand men are reported out. Railroad workers are permitting the movement of mail only. Docks and mines are closed down solid.

Fifty trades in Sydney are tied up, including all street car lines. Soldiers are selling union papers on the streets.

Tom Barker, editor of Direct Action, recently sentenced to a long term in prison, has been released.

The strike is spreading out into the country among sheep herders and harvesters.

FROM THE DEPORTED BISBEE MINERS

A LETTER from one of the 1,164 exiled Arizona copper miners reads: "I am writing to let you know that our civilian camp at Columbus, New Mexico, was broken up by the government shutting off rations. There is nothing to do but to scatter over the country like a bunch of outlaws.

"We had about determined to go back to our homes in a body when we learned that several of the boys who had gone into Bisbee for their clothes were seized by gunmen and that they received no protection from the authorities.

"I am writing from —, Mexico. About fifty of us crossed the line with some two hundred of our Mexican fellow workers. The consul here has assured us we are welcome. We are staying at a ranch and a large amount of supplies have been brought to us."



OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ADOLPH GERMER
The National Headquarters of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Illinois, cover the entire fourth floor in the big Mid-City Bank Building. This is divided into sixteen rooms.

The I. W. W. and the Socialist Party

SIMULTANEOUSLY on September 5th, representatives of the U. S. Government raided the national offices of the Socialist party and of the I. W. W. Chicago, and of some twenty branch offices of the I. W. W. in different states. U. S. marshals armed with search warrants have taken files, records, pamphlets, leaflets and in many places the entire offices were cleaned out.

Such a wholesale and simultaneous invasion upon the offices of a labor and Socialist organization have never taken place before in the history of this country. The charge has been made that the I. W. W. is a seditious organization and that the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party headquarters are guilty of violating the Espionage Act.

From the National Office

SEPTEMBER 5th a force of Federal Agents took possession of the national

office. A thoro search of the office was made and later copies of books, leaflets, records and lists were taken.

This material is to be placed before the grand jury. The charge made against the national office is that some of the comrades have violated the Espionage Act.

It may have been the intention to conceal the real purpose of this search, but the inference was left that there was no disposition to interfere with the routine work of the party. If the information given us is correct, we will be permitted to continue our regular activities except so far as we interfere with the war program.

We appeal to the members of the party to lay special stress on organization at this time. Every member should enlist as a recruiting officer in order to build up the party machinery so that we can win a sweeping victory in the congressional elections of 1918.



MAIN OFFICE OF THE I. W. W., CHICAGO, ILL.—WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD, SECRETARY-TREASURER, AND ASSISTANTS

The General Headquarters occupies a large three-story building at 1001 West Madison street

Statement from the I. W. W.

Fellow Workers:

At 2:00 p. m., September 5th, the general office and publishing bureau were raided by the United States authorities.

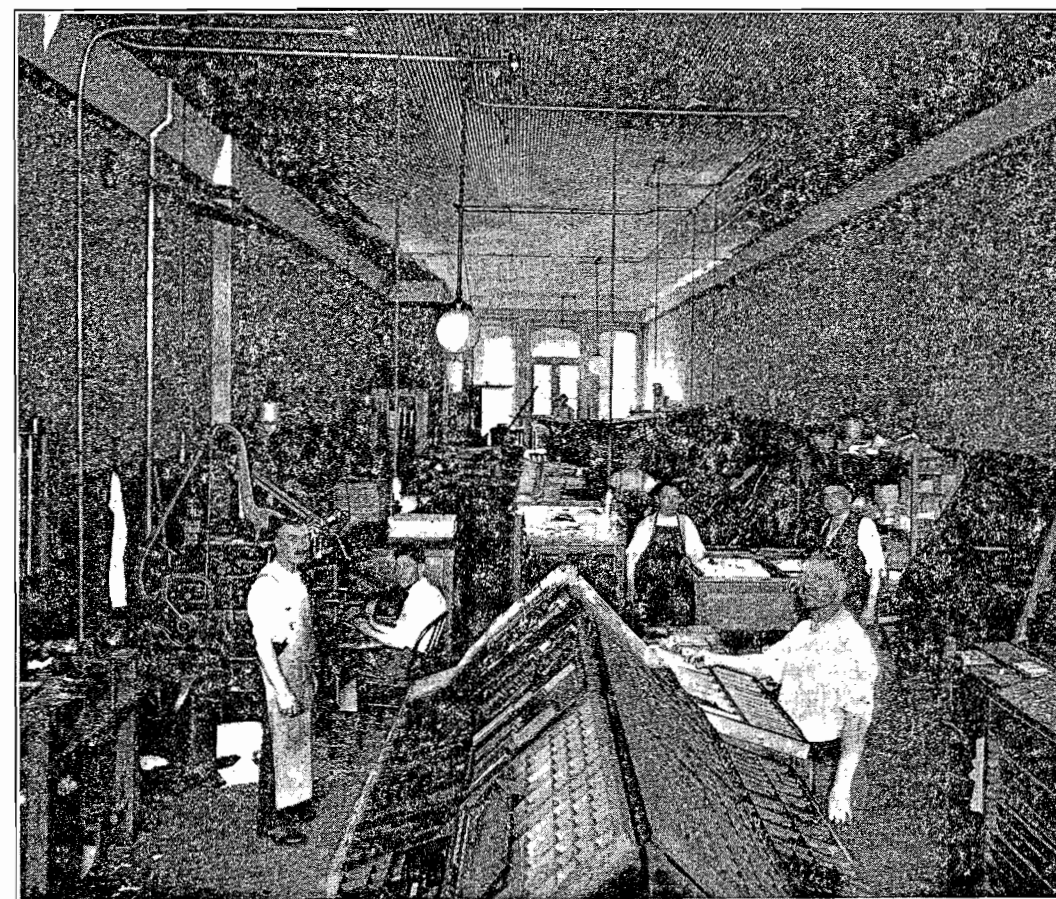
Government officials have taken for investigation all the correspondence files, books and ledgers wherein the financial transactions of the general office are recorded, and the duplicate membership record of the G. R. U. and many of the Industrial unions, that were kept on file in the general office. Also there was taken samples of all literature published by the organization, and samples of the due stamps and various assessment stamps, membership books, report blanks, cre-

dentials, and all other supplies pertaining to the work of the organization.

In the publishing bureau, none of the machinery was disturbed, but the federal officials requested that proofs be printed of all the papers, cuts and literature published by the bureau.

From the editorial rooms was taken all the contents of the safe belonging to Solidarity, all the books, records and mailing list of Solidarity, and also the mailing list of all the language papers, all bound and unbound files and all the papers, and the contents of the desks of the editors of all the papers.

From this voluminous mass of papers,



A BUSY PLACE IS THE I. W. W. PRINTING PLANT, ALTHO SO GREAT IS THE DEMAND FOR LITERATURE AND SUPPLIES THAT MUCH WORK IS GIVEN TO OUTSIDE PRINTERS

literature, and records the government will endeavor to sift whatever evidence (if any) they can find to substantiate their charges against the organization, and will present same to the federal Grand Jury now sitting in Chicago.

We who have nothing to hide, and never have had, have nothing to fear from a fair and square investigation. In fact the general office, only a few weeks ago, sent an invitation to Justice Covington, who had been appointed by President Wilson to investigate the I. W. W., to visit the general office in Chicago and go over all of our records himself, and we assured him of our hearty co-operation in the event he accepted our invitation.

However, while this indiscriminate seizure of the records, files and property, etc., of the organization, and the fact that

the general office and the publishing bureau have been in the possession of federal authorities has handicapped the work of the organization considerably, we are now able to inform the membership that the general office is open for business, and will fill all orders for supplies and literature promptly and efficiently.

In regard to the publication of our papers, we do not know when we shall be allowed to publish them again, but we think that in the course of a few more days we shall be able to resume the publication of Solidarity and the foreign language papers.

In the meantime until the publication of our papers is resumed, we shall endeavor to keep the membership informed

thru bulletins and letters of whatever events may yet transpire.

We also ask the forbearance of the membership if answers to their correspondence is somewhat delayed, as the mail of the general office, the publishing bureau and of all the papers is tied up in the post office. We expect to secure the release of all our mail in a day or so, and we will lose no time then in replying to the correspondence of one and all.

Until things become normal again, we ask the membership to redouble their efforts to build up the organization to the end that the lot of the workers may be bettered, and their toil-worn existence brightened.

Yours for the O. B. U.
WM. D. HAYWOOD,
Sec'y.-Treas. I. W. W.

A copy of the *Industrial Worker*, published at Seattle, reached our desk this morning. It reports that everything movable was removed from the I. W. W. headquarters at that point, but that since there had been no withdrawal of the second class mailing privileges of that paper, the boys proceeded to publish an edition as usual, under great difficulties. Says the *Industrial Worker*:

"A raid on the offices of the Seattle district of the Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500 and the I. W. W. hall in Seattle was carried out as completely as that on the *Industrial Worker*. Everything that could be used in the work of organization was taken.

"Word from Spokane is to the effect that everything belonging to the organization was taken and that some records in private houses were seized. The supplies were taken there as at most other places, and those in charge of the offices report that they are about out of supplies to carry on the work.

"The raid was carried on very thoroughly at general headquarters in Chicago. Even the private homes of several members of the I. W. W. were entered and searched. The day after the raid of the Minneapolis office of the Agricultural Workers that office issued the following statement:

"According to information, September 5 was the date set for a nation-wide search of the files of the Industrial Workers of the

World by federal authorities. The purpose of this raid, as near as we are able to learn, was to find out whether the I. W. W., as an organization, is carrying on a propaganda of sedition and anti-militarism.

"There will be no evidence obtained from the I. W. W. that will connect the organization with any such propaganda.

"The federal authorities, acting under instructions from the Department of Justice at Washington, came into headquarters of the A. W. I. U. No. 400, in Minneapolis, with assistants and U. S. deputy marshals. They made a complete investigation of the files and everything else in the office. The investigation was carried on quietly and with order. They were told when they commenced their investigation they would find no such evidence as they were looking for, nor would they find any evidence that the organization was being financed by "German Gold."

"When they finished their work, they were pretty well satisfied that the business carried on is legitimate business. There was nothing destroyed or taken from the main office of No. 400 that would in any way interfere with the business of the union. "Business is going on just the same as it did before the investigation.

"Instead of this investigation hurting the organization, it is my firm opinion that it will result in a great boost. Every delegate should get busy and take advantage of the excitement caused by this investigation. Those who are not carrying credentials and who are eligible to do so, should write in and get them at once. We are herewith producing some telegrams received from various branches:

"Tulsa, Okla. Federal agents under instructions of U. S. attorney general's office, seized literature, letters and day book today. No arrests. Hall open for business as usual."

"Omaha, Neb.: Hall raided and everything confiscated by federal officers."

"Great Falls, Mont.: Hall raided and closed by the police."

"Spokane, Wash.: All records and papers taken by U. S. marshals. No arrests."

From Minneapolis

"The entire effects of the I. W. W. have been gone over in the hopes that something or other would be found that would prove

their allegiance to kaiserism. It was undoubtedly hoped that large consignments of gold and other evidences of Germany's control would be discovered.

"The cause of the raid is attributed to the labor troubles of the West. The labor trouble is attributed to German influence. We have a faint suspicion that the attorney-general was searching the wrong house for the attributed cause of the latter.

"We also suspect that he was misinformed as to the ability of the members of the I. W. W. to conduct their business and go on without the aid of leaders.

"Akron, Ohio, reports all supplies confiscated."

The Socialist National Headquarters

At the time of the raids made upon I. W. W. headquarters, the federal authorities took charge of the offices of Socialist national headquarters. The office force was sent home; copies of pamphlets, books, papers, records, files, letter copy books, etc., were taken for use in the investigation which has been going on for ten days.

The *American Socialist* has been permanently denied mailing privileges. We understand that every assistance was given the federal officers both at the I. W. W. and Socialist headquarters. The comrades at the national office of the party are sending out rallying cries to Socialists all over the country to get together, to become organizers and to elect as many Socialists as possible at the coming elections.

The *Chicago Tribune*, printing a "tentative slate" of an agreement reached between the Democratic and Republican organizations on the judicial election, says:

"The leaders hope to avoid a bitter battle between the factions in each party preceding the nominations, and a partisan campaign following, which might end, the leaders on

both sides say, in a clean slate of Socialist candidates slipping through in November.

Governor Burnquist of Minnesota, has issued orders to every sheriff, with the possible exception, we are informed, of those counties in which Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth are located, to prevent all Socialist meetings. The three cities mentioned are the only ones where it is now possible to hold Socialist meetings.

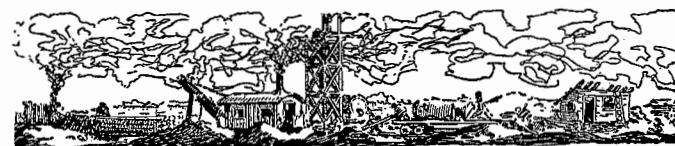
State secretary of Minnesota, A. L. Sugarman, went to Deer Wood to fulfill a speaking engagement. At the depot he was met by half a dozen deputies and the sheriff informed him that he had orders from the governor to permit no Socialist meetings in that county. The sheriff saw to it that Sugarman got on a train bound for Minneapolis.

A few days later Andrew Hansen went to Greeley to fill a lecture date for the Socialist party. The sheriff and county attorney declared the meeting could not be held. They offered to pay all the Socialist expenses and even asked Hansen what "his price" was. The sheriff put Hansen on a train bound for Minneapolis and there was no Socialist meeting.

At Staples the authorities assured the Socialists that a mob had organized to put their Socialist speaker out of business and that they would have to prevent meetings in order to avoid riots.

At Dale where 10,000 people had planned holding a Socialist picnic, a bunch of deputies, sheriffs, rowdies, etc., etc., took possession of the hall and picnic grounds before the Socialists began to arrive.

All this persecution and misrepresentation is going to cause the Socialist movement and industrial union organization to grow as never before.



THE COMING UNIONISM

By AUSTIN LEWIS

NOW that there is a stoppage in immigration and a demand for men in other directions than in productive industry, the time has come that the masses of workers in this country, as well as in others, may reconsider their position and try to make the best of it. We know that when two men are looking for one job the chances of improving the conditions of labor are very hard, for it is difficult for any other idea than that of absolute physical necessity to find a lodgment in the mind of a worker at such times. But when times are such that the quantity of available labor power is very limited, and that supplies are not renewed in the usual fashion but are, on the contrary, continually reduced by the attrition of war, the ordinary working man is in a better position to establish a standard.

Even governments and capitalists feel this and act accordingly. Over in Great Britain there has been a commission of doctors and others to report on the way to get the best output of munitions. Their report is an eye opener. They require as the preliminary to efficient production, shop conditions which do not obtain anywhere, except in a few very highly developed factories. They want a limited workday, regular week-end holidays, cheap railway excursions for the sake of change, shower and other baths, the best ventilation of factories, provision against cold and wet clothes, and many other things which would appeal to the ordinary worker as luxuries. And these are set by physicians and factory inspectors, and even employers, like Rowntree, as the necessary elements in successful production. In this report there is no attempt to talk humanitarianism or altruism or any other ism except that of effective exploitation, the making of the most goods in the least time.

It is a cold-blooded proposition and there is complete agreement by all the experts that the best way to make plenty of goods most quickly is to treat the employees as the commission suggests. As Rowntree says, the employer has machines and workers. The machine he nurses and gives individual attention. If the machine is a little out of order it is treated back to good con-

dition and has an oiler to coddle it. It is never allowed to overstrain and it is kept in the pink of condition as long as its life lasts. He suggests that the worker also be regarded as part of the machinery of production and that the same care be lavished upon him as on the machine. Then, Mr. Rowntree thinks, he will repay as the machine repays. You will see that it is purely a capitalistic proposition of efficiency and does not go to the essence of the matter at issue in the working-class fight.

But it is very plain that this point of view puts a new complexion on the matter, for, if it becomes obvious to the employer that he can get better work by a distinct improvement in the working conditions of the worker, it does away with a whole lot of unnecessary fighting on the part of the working class in the way of organization for mere palliative measures, and allows of organization for what is, after all, the main purpose (or should be the main purpose), of a labor organization. That purpose is the control of the job and the displacement of the capitalist employer by associated labor.

Now why have the employers taken the pains to have the commission appointed, and why have they allowed the publication of the report? Neither of these things would have happened a few years ago. Now comes the United States Government and reprints the main points of the British report and circulates it, through the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The reason is plain enough. *There is a shortage of labor* and, since there is a shortage, labor becomes at once valuable and must be taken care of, if only for the making of products which will again shorten the supply of labor, and render the question of production more and more difficult of solution.

Suppose there had been an unlimited supply of labor in England; the same old system would have been persisted in and the same old destructive methods supported as being necessary to the required amount of production. If it had been necessary to kill twenty per cent of those employed in the production of munitions they would have

been killed, for the munitions had to be produced. If there had been enough labor power loose to allow for the killing of twenty per cent without seriously jeopardizing the continuance of industry, they would still have been killed, for it would have been cheaper to have killed them in production than to have furnished the equipment which the commission reports as necessary to successful production.

There is no poetry at all about it, and the demand on the part of the commissioners for the improvement of conditions is merely the practical solution by the bureau of the capitalist experts for the problem of the scarcity of labor and the proper production of commodities—the carrying out of a system of industrial efficiency. Only that, but its complications are great.

If the admission is made that the condition of labor must be improved to the extent demanded in England and if the intelligent capitalist sees that the condition of labor must be so improved in order to get the maximum of efficient production, then the question of decent conditions is removed from the work of labor organization and becomes a part of the capitalistic method of production, whether that production is carried on by a firm, corporation, a syndicate or the government itself. If the worker is part of the machinery he is the care of the employer.

Taking a concrete example: a few weeks ago I was in the Northwest, in the neighborhood of the lumber workers' strike. I found a series of demands which ran practically as follows: An eight-hour day, proper conditions, such as the substitution of good beds in a well-aired room for the present arrangement of rotten bunks full of vermin and all manner of uncleanness, shower baths, and the proper placing of meals on the table by the employer, in place of the utterly inhuman and bestial way in which food is presented to the worker at present.

Now all of this is covered by the report of the commission, which finds expressly: "Cleanliness is not only beneficial to the health and personal efficiency of workers engaged on processes in which heat, dust and dirt are present to an unusual degree, but it bears an important relation to the good health and working efficiency of *all workers*. Shower and douche baths should be provided for both men and women.

Water at a temperature of 100 degrees F should be provided."

Taking the question of hours, the commission finds: "The human system flags and produces less in a system of long hours." Prof. Stanley Kent of the British Home Office, showed that the output between six and eight p. m. was less than for any other two hours during the day.

Even the question of wages came under the consideration of the commission, which finds that high wages tend to an increase in the amount of product and are followed by better and greater efficiency in production. Again attention is to be called to the point that there is nothing altruistic or humanitarian about this; it is solely a matter of efficiency, of the amount of actual product of a given quality to be produced in a given time. These higher wages are found to result in the following factors, which make for increase in product: (1) Higher will-power on the part of the man, having more energy of course he is able to expend more and where the work requires a more concentrated effort he is able to give it. (2) "Better wages mean better food for a larger number of men with families, and again they mean a better provision for those families, which reacts upon a man's health and his work. In these cases it is not so much the saving or the possibility of saving money which is the factor of importance, but the satisfactory spending of it."

In the last sentence is repudiated the whole of the old-fashioned view. According to that, the worker was a lazy and selfish, good-for-nothing, who did not save, who did not actually deny himself in order to save, and go without the elementary pleasures of life in order that he might save. Now spending becomes of more importance than saving, even in the eyes of this commission. The commission regards pleasure as essential to the proper production of output in sufficient quantities and of the proper quality. "Opportunity for recreation is of the highest importance," says the commission, "as a healthy relief from the monotony of work."

Here is topsy-turvydom with a vengeance; who can imagine the old capitalist economists presented with a program such as this?

Also, what becomes of the old trade union notion with its labor commodity standpoint,

and its demands for higher wages, as a better price for the commodity, labor power, which was peddled by the business agents? If there is to be no higgling at the point of production, and if the worker is to be regarded as a high-priced machine which has to be kept in constant repair at such an expense as is found to be reproductive, like any other machine, what is to become of the business agent? He will be as extinct as the dodo, for if his business is to get wages and conditions, and the wages and conditions are forthcoming, his occupation is gone, and he will be another capitalistic agent flung on the scrapheap by the demands of war and the consequent shortage of labor power.

Of course it is not to be imagined that the employers as a whole are going to be enlightened enough, or in the mass (speaking of the small competitive employers) rich enough to furnish the material for the change in conditions sketched out as necessary. But such as do not change their methods will be inferior employers with inferior machines and unable to compete in the markets with the efficient employers, whether they be the government or corporations which can expend the amount required to improve the human machines requisite to turn out the increased product. This again will be another drive in the tendency towards government employment and the increase of the scope of government industrial enterprise. In the district of the lumber strike the strikers were frequently asked how they would regard government employment; to which they replied that they would just as readily work for the government as for any other employer.

"But," added the men, "the government will have to give us our conditions or we will not work for them any more than for any other employer." Would the government grant the conditions? That would depend upon the attitude of the government officials and whether they were modern and enlightened industrial overlords or have merely carried over the psychology of the older and more crudely brutal school. It would all depend on whether they are like the Neapolitan who fancied he could get more work out of his ass by giving it little hay, plenty of beatings, and some prayers. In spite of such stupidities as are inseparable from governmental officialdom, there is little doubt that a government would

grant such conditions as are demanded by the lumber workers. Such would appear to be a reasonable assumption at least. But the workings of governments are, to say the very least, problematical, and a government which turns over the manufacture of clothes for soldiers to notorious scab firms is more than that.

But suppose the government or some great corporation does take over the lumber industry, and does provide those conditions which the English commission has considered as necessarily preliminary to the production of the greatest amount and the best quality; what would be the condition of organized labor?

Speaking by and large, its position would be just what the capitalist experts have declared that it should be; to wit, a well-kept, well-oiled, well-finished, well-polished machine, properly geared and running steadily and purring contentedly like a good motor engine, and grinding out profits as they were never ground out before. Cannot you see the workers? All in the pink of condition, and profits piling up all around, the greatest amount of product of the best quality spilling beneficently all over creation at the very touch of these highly trained, carefully watched and splendidly handled proletarian mechanics!

Actually the workers would be a great deal better off physically, better fed, better clothed, better rested, and at the same time more completely policed, herded together with the most beneficent and philanthropic oversight ever expended. Relatively they would be much worse off for the wealth created by such a class would be relatively much greater, its exploitation much higher than ever before. The creation of this greater wealth is the cause of the new idea. More wealth for the industrial overlord is the incentive which lies behind the whole of the scheme. As has already been pointed out over and over again, there is nothing to move employers in the idea except that fact that such treatment of employees means a greater amount of product and thus greater values created. These values would remain in the hands of the employing class, as well as the very effective human machinery.

And what would be the position of the craft trade unions under such conditions? It would be hard to create a case against

employers who treated their help with such consideration and care, would it not? If we accept the idea that labor power not only is, but must always be, a commodity to be bought and sold, which is the current concept in the American Federation of Labor, the position of the trade union leaders would be practically untenable. Of course, I am told over and over again, that the American Federation does not accept the commodity conception of labor. But I can see no proof. Indeed I am convinced to the contrary. I know that there is a provision which states that the commodity, *labor*, is not one of those commodities which are subject to the Sherman Act, as amended, but even this staggering statement does not compel me to accept the conclusion that the American Federation of Labor has abandoned the practice of asking a high price for the commodity, labor power, and conceding the product to the employers.

If the essence of the labor movement is wages and hours, then the American craft union will be driven out of the ring by the process of the new idea, for wages and hours will be conceded as oil to the machine. The idea of labor as a machine will be hailed enthusiastically by the really capable portion of the American industrial capitalists and the mere question of wages and hours will recede into the background.

But the fortress of capitalistic domination, of the power of the industrial over-

lord, will be just as strong as ever. For whether the process of production is carried on by the corporation guided by the machine-proletarian principle or by a governmental body, which is actuated by the same principle, the results will be identical. We shall have a subject proletariat manufacturing vastly increasing amounts of vastly improved products for the industrial overlords and still in a state of subjection itself, and still as far away as ever from the actual control of industry. And against this condition of affairs the old-fashioned craft union will be helpless.

But it is just under such conditions that an industrial unionism, striving for the overthrow of the industrial overlord and endeavoring for shop control and all that shop control implies, will be at its very best. A working class, well enough fed and well enough rested to be ambitious and to have developed the "Will to power" is the proletariat which can the most successfully make the great fight of the future. It is a working class which can be inspired, for it is a class which would have the time and energy for imagination and enthusiasm. The whole tendency of the modern industrial movement, even in the capitalistic circles, is towards making possible those conditions under which industrial unionism will thrive and is shaping the trend of the industrial union to the goal of possession and power for the working class.



The National Guilds League and the War

By LAURENCE WELSH

The British Ministry of Reconstruction has just given out a preliminary program including a scheme giving labor a hand in the direction of industry. They call it Guild Socialism over there.

THE National Guilds League is one of the newest of the propagandist associations in the British labor movement, but it has already come well to the front on account of the force and value of its doctrines and the energy and ability with which they are set before the public. The League was formed in 1915 in order to organize into one effective body all those who sympathize with the Guild principles. The defined objects of the association are:

"The abolition of the wage systems and the establishment of self-government in industry thru a system of National Guilds working in conjunction with the State."

As will be seen, the intention of Nation Guildsmen is a revolutionary one. It is to take from the capitalist the entire ownership and control of industrial capital and land. No completer alteration in the economic structure of society than this can be imagined.

The ownership of the means of production the Guildsmen would vest in the State. This much they have in common with the orthodox Socialist tradition, and in this arrangement they see a guarantee of protection for the consumers against exploitation by the producers. It is, however, the organization of self-governing associations actually responsible for production, which gives its special significance to the National Guilds movement. Such a National Guild is an organization embracing the whole personnel actively engaged in any given industry. It will from time to time receive orders for the supply of certain materials or services from the central organizing bureau (consisting of joint representatives of Guilds and the organized State).

The task will then rest with the Guild to execute those orders in the manner best suited to its own conceptions of industrial fitness. Guilds will develop in existing society from the trade unions of today. These must organize on a purely "industrial basis" and must assume a revolution-

ary aim if they are to become fit for their new role.

In internal organization the Guilds will be democratic thruout. In this fact lies the special value to labor of the National Guildman's message. No matter how democratically organized a political system may be, the vastness of the political machine, the vagueness of political issues, and the mental inertia and economic impotence of the mass of the population will conspire to render politics the sport of plutocrats or of log-rollers.

In a democratic industrial system, on the other hand, every member would have an intimate knowledge of the technical process and the industrial conditions which form the substance of industrial politics. The internal organization of each Guild would be hierarchic, and the principle of popular election of all foremen and officials would apply thruout. In each grade of workers there would be electoral machinery to enable all those directly affected by the acts of the holder of an office to elect the man for that office. It would be necessary, of course, to qualify this simple democratic method in the case of highly technical appointments, but in general it would be widely applicable. The electors would be competent judges of all candidates, able to select them both as suitable from a technical point of view and as men calculated to exercise authority in a reasonable and humane way. By this means real popular control of the conditions of life would be secured. "Industrial democracy is direct democracy; and its immediacy is a guarantee of freedom."

Into a further explanation of the doctrines of the National Guilds League it is not now possible to go. The revolution aimed at is primarily an economic one, and the means to securing the new order of society must also be economic. Political activities are, therefore, at any rate for the present, entirely out of the sphere of the National Guilds League. The attitude of the League on the war as a political

and military activity is determined by this fact, and is one of sublime indifference! The suggestion that any organization can deliberately neglect important aspects of so vast a phenomenon as this war may sound frivolous, but closer consideration will soon show that this is the wisest position that can be adopted. No one would expect the Royal Geographic Society or the Zoological Society to have a "war policy," precisely because the war is entirely extraneous to the activities of these bodies. But if the war resulted, let us say, in the introduction into France of large numbers of African elephants, the Zoological Society would rightly concern itself with the effects of such an action on the elephants and the military value of the animals in their new sphere. Questions of military strategy or of political policy connected with the inception and continuance of the war would still remain outside the scope of the Zoological Society.

Similarly, when the war has social reactions (such as the Munitions Act and the Military Service Acts) that affect industrial organization and the prospects of the establishment of National Guilds, Guildsmen naturally take an active interest in this aspects of the proceedings. The questions of the responsibility for the present war and the most effective means of bringing it to a close, are, however, not regarded as any immediate concern of the League, and no official policy on these subjects has therefore been formulated.

Moreover, the resources of the League, both in finances and in personnel, are limited. Before entering on any activity, therefore, it has first clearly to be ascertained that the work is necessary and essential. In proportion as the energy of the League is directed to "war" aims (either "pro" or "anti"), its efforts to abolish the wage system and to substitute a system of National Guilds must slacken. The latter being its principal object, it wisely concentrates its efforts on this. The policy of 'neglecting the war' then, first dictated on grounds of theory, is supported also by reasons of the highest expediency.

While the League as a whole has no views on the subject of war in general or this war in particular, the individuals who constitute the League are not themselves

in so colorless a state of mind. There is, in fact, considerable diversity of opinion amongst members of the League, views on the war ranging from the extremely bellicose to the pacifist Independent Labor Party position.

It is possible, however, from private conversations and from a few references to the general subject of war in Guild literature, to discover and define a fairly general line of thought on the matter. While what follows must not, then, be taken as representing the official view of the League on war, yet it may be assumed to be an expression of the general position of the majority of the members.

Such a view unhesitatingly condemns war quite as heartily as the extremist pacifist, and if it supports the present war, it does so because it sees in the German claims a promise of unending aggression and consequent conflict, and in the defeat of those claims the only hope of a new order of international relations which shall exclude war from its machinery.

The main bases of war are economic antagonism and nationalist vanity, and both of these would be vastly reduced by the establishment of a Guild system in the great nations of the world. Economic antagonism is the result of competing attempts on the part of traders to secure profits from foreign trade, and a Guild state would never allow foreign trade to rest in the hands of private profiteers. While economic rivalry might persist between nations, and even constitute a source of healthy competition, it would no longer spur private capitalists on to egregious efforts at mutual extermination issuing in international warfare. In the reduction of economic antagonism, therefore, National Guilds hold promise of one guarantee against war.

The institution of large self-governing industrial units side by side with the political "State" would naturally tend towards a relative lowering of the latter's prestige. When men found that the greater part of their corporate concerns were dealt with, not by a centralized "State" definitely associated with the political conception of a nation, but by their respective Guilds, a considerable part of their loyalty would be transferred to strengthen the more real and intimate bond of association. This blow at the "Sovereignty of the State"

would weaken organization on nationalist lines and this weakening would increase as time went on by the tendency of economic Guilds towards international association. The advantages of union between Guilds engaged in fulfilling corresponding functions in different countries would be so great that internationalism would speedily become a practical fact.

Guildmen's hope for the future in international relations are fixed, not on any mechanical device for the prevention of war (tho supra-national machinery will undoubtedly be a necessary expres-

sion of the new ideals), but on an internal revolution in the principal industrial countries. Mechanical devices such as the League of Nations attempt to canalize in a pacifist direction ideals and aspirations which to a large extent exist only in the minds of those responsible for this kind of propaganda. National Guilds would simultaneously develop international machinery and internationalist ideals of a pacific nature.

NOTE—Any information regarding the League may be obtained either from the present writer, care THE REVIEW, or from the Secretary, 17 Acacia Road, N. W. 8, London, England.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN RUSSIA

By MARY E. MARCY

NOW that the German army, composed of one-third Socialists, as they have boastfully assured us in the past, is marching so bravely under the Prussian banner to destroy the new-won and glorious liberties of the Russian people and to succor the powers of reaction so busily engaged in fastening themselves upon their throats, we recall the farewell visits of a score or more eager political exiles who, on their way, called back to the homeland to help rebuild the glad new world of labor out of the ruins left by the czar and his clique.

Full of sweet hopes in the glorious possibilities before them, they flowed into the office of the REVIEW. The dreams of William Morris were coming true, they jovially assured us, and the Russian workers were winning their own at last.

"But what about the Germans? And the war?" we asked.

"We will end it," they insisted. "We do not want peace for Russia alone, but for all the world."

Then one of the Russian comrades told us how, in the rebellion of 1905, the Lithuanian peasants, made mad by hunger and oppression, drove the German land barons off the Russian land and back into

Germany; how the peasants sent guards to protect the lives of these nobles, giving them all safe-conduct to the border line. He told us how the German barons, with the help of the czar, returned a few weeks later and murdered 2,000 Russian-Lithuanian peasants and exiled several thousand others to Siberia. The comrade who related the story had managed to escape to America.

"But now it will be different!" he exclaimed. "We have no cause to love the Germans but the Socialists—they occupy the trenches on the Russian front."

In spite of his faith, we expressed grave doubts of the wisdom of trusting to the Germans.

"You shall see!" another returning exile shouted. "The German Socialists are not now attacking their Russian comrades. We will greet them at the trenches and refuse to fight. We will say to them, 'Comrades, we have no quarrel with you. We have overthrown our czar and his overlords; go home and clean up your own enemies. The Russian workers are your friends. We are brothers in the same cause.' " He smiled down on us in triumph. It was all going to be so very simple. Among comrades the war would be quickly ended.

So full of eager hope and high resolves

were they—these splendid, happy returning exiles, who had given so much, sacrificed so deeply for the cause of Russian liberty, that their enthusiasm was infectious.

So noble was their ideal, so wondrous their hope of seeing fighting, slaying men lay down their arms, shake hands and return home to their peaceful labors—that it caught us, too—the vision of a new German people—made sane at last.

I know it brought a lump to my throat. I could not speak. Was it not worth trying? Was it not worth the risk? Just to lay down your gun and call "Comrade" to the men across the battle-scarred fields; just to grasp hands with the weary German soldiers and wake them from their madness. "It cannot fail," continued our friend. "We will call the German comrades to their sober senses. They will respond. They will stop the war."

But we were not so sure. We counseled, we advised, we feared.

"Do you not trust Socialism?" one asked us in surprise.

"Yes," we said, "but, perhaps, not German Socialism."

"Have you forgotten Liebknecht?" he returned.

"But the Party disowned him. Besides, it was he who declared the German Social Democracy the worst enemy of the German workers."

"But when we show them that the Russians are their friends; that we want no land, no aggressions—the German comrades will go home and put the kaiser to driving a bus and all the other Prussians to doing useful labor."

And so they shook hands all around, their heads held high, their faces glowing with a great resolve.

"Do not fear. We have set them an example. When they see we are their friends, they will follow it!"

When they left my eyes were dim. Yes,

I thought, it would be worth while to try this way of bringing peace to bleeding Europe. Everything else had failed. Perhaps, who knew? the call of the old Internationale might yet save Russia, and Germany, France and England.

* * * * *

And so they sailed back to the new Russia and all her mighty problems. And the Russian soldiers set a new standard of sacrifice and brotherhood and appealed to their German comrades—and refused to fight.

But the German soldiers would not hear. At the command of their own supreme enemies they shot down the men who dared stretch out their hands across the trenches and offer them peace and freedom, and peace and freedom to all Europe.

* * * * *

Comrades of Russia, who bade us farewell a few short months ago, you have fought the good fight, you have upheld the faith; you have borne high the Red Flag of Brotherhood—and the German Socialists have shot it down.

Surely now you must see how little German "socialism" means. Surely now that the German Social Democrats have murdered our comrades and are bearing forward into the new Russia, by fire and by the sword, the hated Prussian flag of servitude, you have stayed your hand long enough.

The reactionaries in Russia can more easily make peace with Prussia than with the soldiers of Free Russia. Socialists are not pacifists. We have fought for every inch of progress made in the past. We will not hesitate to make war upon any army of working men which unites with its enemies and with our enemies to wrest from us any newly gained liberties. Since the German army has proven traitors to the Cause, Comrades of Russia, defend your dreams of freedom.



A COMMON SIGHT IN THE EAST.

The mango tree grows from beneath the cloth, and the child disappears through the topmost branches

MOVING PICTURES OF THE EAST

By R. R. HORNBECK

"Let Him Eat Cake."

WHILE walking home from work on a sultry afternoon I saw a big man with bowed head coming toward me. His body sways from side to side, and his step is halting and feeble. He must be drunk. As he comes nearer I see that his long hair is matted with filth, and his face and hands are covered by the grime of many weeks. There is a dirty sack thrown across his back as a protection against the tropical sun, but his hairy, sunken chest is uncovered. The trousers he wears were evidently thrown away by some European a long time ago, and are ragged and polluted. The man's whole appearance is utterly revolting, and the stench from his body is sickening.

As he passes I draw aside in terror, for the wild look in his eyes denotes insanity. To my astonishment, he drops on hands and knees just behind me, and I hear an unearthly chuckle as he runs his bony fingers over the ground and passes some-

thing into his mouth. Stepping back to where he is sprawling, I see that he is raking up dried potato peelings and the rotten fragments of a green cabbage. The Chinese family living nearby had thrown these away as unfit for human consumption, and so they are, but they are a God-send to this starving derelict. There is now a look of exultation on his emaciated face, and after swallowing every fragment of his find without taking time to chew it, he sits on the ground for a few minutes and croons to himself.

He has not seen me, and as he shambles off and passes a roadside restaurant, he does not seem to see the food which is arranged so temptingly on the large platters. A square meal of this costs only two cents, but two cents is a fortune to him.

As he disappears around the corner I notice a large banner in front of a nearby school, and on it these patriotic words are inscribed: "Help Strafe the Huns!" There is a collection box underneath, and as the happy school children of many na-

tionalities begin dropping their pennies into this, a military band strikes up "God Save the King."

* * *

The Rajah's Son Dines a la mode

As the train pulls into the station of a Malay jungle village on the Malay Peninsula, I observe unwonted commotion among the group of natives assembled there. Suddenly the door of my coach is pushed open, and a Malay enters with two large pillows incased in yellow silk, and a gorgeous silk cloth about six feet square. The cloth is ceremoniously spread over a seat and the pillows are arranged comfortably. Another Malay now enters bearing an armful of expensive hunting paraphernalia, which he deposits in a corner.

As the door is held open by a third attendant, the adorable Rajah's son himself appears, and as the three attendants kowtow themselves out of the first-class coach, the scion of the jungle grandiloquently struts to the place prepared for him, inserts a cigar at an aristocratic angle, and benignly surveys his fellow travelers. Being the only Asiatic in this coach, he manifestly feels his superiority, for he affects nothing western except his clothing and the aforesaid cigar.

He is a nice specimen of the titled Malay, and this hunting trip is the most strenuous exertion of his otherwise care-free life.

Happily, it is now time for dinner, and one of his attendants enters with a huge silver platter, on which reposes a whole chicken and a liberal supply of potatoes. A large bottle of wine is next produced, and the feast begins. The son tears the chicken apart with his fingers, and in the absence of knife and fork dines even as did Adam. He is not mindful of the grease which spatters onto the floor, and as the bones are stripped clean they find a place beside the spilt gravy. The wine is exceptionally rich, judging by the resounding smacks which follow a draught, and the potatoes disappear like a prestidigitator's apples. Since there are no amenities to be observed, the repast is soon over, and the ubiquitous servant sweeps the remains into a corner and bears away the spoils of war.

An Honest Living

While waiting for a street car in the Chinese quarter, my wandering gaze is arrested by the squatting figure of a Chinese young man. Approaching nearer, I hear him muttering faintly, and can see that he is either ill-fed or in wretched health. His hair is unkempt, and there is no evidence that his face and hands have ever been washed.

But what the hands contain is enough to excite any American's curiosity. He is tightly claspings hundreds of the burnt stubs of cigarettes, and a few of these have fallen from his twitching fingers. He seems to pay no attention to the fruits of his day's toil, for there is a far-away look in his eyes. His coat pockets are quite empty and could easily hold all the stubs he has gathered, but he is too hungry and tired to think of that.

This is so different from what he had expected to find in Singapore. His father had tried to persuade him, over three years ago, to remain on the little farm in the interior of China, for his help was needed to tend the poppy plants. But the white men who came twice a year to buy opium to export had often talked to him about the wonderful "golden cheronese," as they called it, and so he had resolved to explore the region of his dreams. Only a few dollars were necessary to pay for a steerage passage in a small Chinese coaster, and he had arrived in Singapore expecting to make a fortune in a few short months. His aged parents needed some of the money he was to get so easily, and his last promise to them had been that a nice sum would be sent by every steamer which stopped at their small port.

But how different he had found it! The feeling of joyful expectation had given way to dull despair, and he longed for the wholesome food which his father had always provided. It would take a long time now to save enough money to return to his old home, for it took about a dozen stubs to supply sufficient tobacco for one new cigarette, and then he had to sell twenty cigarettes for one cent.

This is what he was muttering, as the tiny objects slipped to the ground.

Enter the Witch Doctor

The long house before me is a Sea

Dyak dwelling in the Bornean jungle. A young girl inside has a severe attack of fever, and I have been invited to come and watch the Witch Doctor cure her. As I scramble up the notched pole leading to the enclosed veranda, a group of naked children emit a startled yelp and scamper away into the dark corners.

The beating of tom-toms is now heard not far away, and in the twilight we soon discern the flickering light of torches and a small group of men—the Witch Doctor and his helpers are approaching. There is an awed silence as they enter the room, and then the father of the sick girl points to her bed. But a liberal fee must be paid first, after which all lights are put out, for it is dangerous to exorcise the evil spirits in the light.

The Witch Doctor mutters that an evil spirit passed the girl and afflicted her, and that he must be propitiated at once. The father replies that he knows this, and explains that he has already killed four chickens and a dog, chopping the flesh into small pieces and strewing it around the doorway so the evil spirit would be satisfied with these sacrifices and not take a human life. But somehow, the fever still rages, and I suggest that perhaps the spirit does not relish dog meat.

However, there is no need to worry longer, for the Witch Doctor wields supernatural power over all malignant spirits, and is able to rescue the soul of the sick girl from the clutches of this one. The doctor's attendants place his medicine box before a long-handled spear, near the girl, and he produces a wild boar's tusk from a great heap of charms inside. Stroking the body of the girl with this, he takes his Stone of Light and gazes into it to seek the soul of the sufferer. He then begins to chant wildly, and is joined in the uncanny noise by his six attendants. The chanting is unintelligible to anyone present, but the evil spirit understands perfectly that the Witch Doctor is demanding the soul of the sick girl.

Suddenly one of the helpers falls to the floor in a swoon—his spirit has gone into the great spirit realm to seek the wandering soul. After half an hour the man revives and raises himself on his elbow, clenching his right hand. That hand has the lost soul, and he walks to the girl to return it to her body through the crown of her head, muttering incoherently all the while. But he is too late—the girl had died an hour before.



THE WITCH DOCTOR

Note the boar tusks in his nose and the elongated lobes

NEWS FROM RUSSIA

Chicago Tribune, Sept. 14th

(Associated Press)

THE political equilibrium, which the country had expected as a result of the collapse of the rebellion, has not been reached. The cabinet crisis continued all day. The cause of the trouble is an acute revival of the old struggle for power. Premier Kerensky persists that the entry of four constitutional democrats into the cabinet is indispensable, but opposition to this is growing among members of the Left. Kerensky might give way to this point, but he also is negotiating thru Minister of the Interior Kishkin for the entry into the cabinet of representatives of the Moscow industrial workers, and these declare that they will not accept portfolios if the constitutional democrats are expelled.

The social democrats and social revolutionaries, while continuing to oppose the constitutional democrats, declare that they also are against the formation of a purely socialist cabinet.

The problem is complicated by the attitude of the Petrograd council of deputies, in which at last night's meeting the Bolsheviks for the first time gained an overwhelming majority of 279 against 115 in favor of an extremely radical program. This program declares that not only the constitutional democrats but also all representatives of propertied classes must be excluded from power; that the policy of compromise must be abandoned, as it is merely a cause of counter revolutionary plotting, and that exceptional powers of repression claimed by the government must be relinquished.

It also demands the immediate declaration of a democratic republic, the abolition of private property and land, with the transfer to peasants of all stock and machinery on estates; control by the working classes over production, the nationalization of the chief branches of industry, "merciless taxation" of capital, and the confiscation of war profits.

The resolution demands further the publication of secret treaties; an immediate invitation to the warring states to conclude peace, the expulsion of counter revolutionaries from the commands in the army, the

satisfaction of the demands of Ukraine and Finland, the dissolution of the duma and the council of empire, the immediate summoning of a constituent assembly, and the abolition of privileges of nobles.

M. Tseretelli, former minister of the interior, vainly warned the meeting against extremists, declaring that the reactionaries await with impatience the transfer of power into the hands of the council of workmen's and soldiers' deputies, which will give them excuse for a new attack on the revolution. The Bolsheviks retorted that only the proletariat could save the revolution.

An officer who arrived here today from Gen. Korniloff's headquarters at Mohilev gave the first authoritative account of the events there at the outbreak of the Korniloff rebellion.

The officer said that last Saturday a number of infantry, "striking battalions," volunteers and picked men, splendidly disciplined and armed, who were the backbone of Gen. Korniloff's Galician offensive early last summer, arrived at headquarters. They had been informed that they were needed to reinforce the Riga front, but the real aim was to march them against Petrograd. Korniloff reviewed them with great pomp.

That night Korniloff prepared his first proclamation to the army, ordering the printing of vast numbers of it. The socialist compositors refused to do the general's bidding, and an officer took a detachment of Tekke Turcomans, who composed the rebel general's bodyguard, into the composing room, and under a threat to cut down the printers, forced them to set the type and print the proclamation.

The compositors later received Premier Kerensky's proclamation, and while diligently printing that of Korniloff also printed secretly Kerensky's and circulated it everywhere.

Meanwhile the local council of defense began a vigorous demonstration among the "striking battalions." The Kerensky proclamation caused dissension among the troops and a majority of them sent a demand to Korniloff that they immediately be

sent back to the front. On all trains passing thru Mohilev the printers threw large quantities of Kerensky's proclamation so that they might reach the soldiers at the front. As a result of the government's counter agitation a battalion of the Cavaliers of St. George seceded from the rebellion. They announced to their officers they would die for the provisional government and issued orders to attack Korniloff.

Another officer says that he, with one officer from the All-Moscow regiments, was summoned to Mohilev ostensibly for the purpose of studying "the English method of throwing bombs." When he arrived he was informed that he had been summoned for a more serious purpose.

"In Petrograd," the officer said he was told, "there has been planned a new Bolshevik rising, in which are implicated some of the ministers and the object of which is to conclude a separate peace and to send disbanded soldiers from house to house to massacre the bourgeoisie. Without help from the front it is impossible to defeat the plot. General Korniloff already has sent part of the army to Petrograd and his plan is to appoint himself temporary dictator."

This officer says the officers, on Monday returned to Moscow, passing on the way the "savage" division, one detachment of Siberian Cossacks and "Korniloff units." On reaching Moscow the officers read Kerensky's proclamations and realized the truth of the situation.

In the midst of this new crisis Premier Kerensky struck vigorously today to wipe out all traces of the ill-fated revolt.

At Odessa, Minsk, and Mohilev, and in other towns, numerous officers and politicians who had declared in favor of Gen. Korniloff have been arrested. Among the latter was Deputy Rimsky Korsakoff, the former president of the League of the Russian People.

After being received by Premier Kerensky at the Winter palace and informed of the fate which awaited him, Gen. Krymoff, commander of the Korniloff troops, which were sent against Petrograd, returned to his lodgings and killed himself.

The central committee of the Baltic fleet has telegraphed Premier Kerensky assuring him of the unanimous decision of all the crews to support the government.

From the United Press Staff Correspondent, Chicago Tribune, Sept. 15th:

Petrograd, Sept. 15.—Gen. Korniloff and his principal accomplices have been arrested, the government was informed today. It is believed here that he will have to face death. He misjudged Russia; therefore Russia is demanding that he die.

The provisional government faced a spreading anger of the people against the former generalissimo today. It was due less perhaps to his actual attempt at a revolt than to events which preceded it.

Isstesma, a people's organ, expressed today the popular suspicion that Riga was surrendered to the Germans in furtherance of Korniloff's schemes.

"If Korniloff succeeded in outwitting the soldiers' committees," the newspaper asserted, "his treachery has not been punished. Our country was handed over to the enemy. Only the soldiers' committees saved Russia. Is it not true that the reported panicky retreats of the Russian army were exaggerated? With the investigation under way, we can now discover whether or not these panics were organized by Korniloff's own adjutants."

The newspaper referred to recent "remarkable communiques" frankly dilating on the panic in the Russian retreat.

Korniloff's fate had not yet been officially decided today. The cabinet was in the throes of a re-organization, due as much to differences on what punishment should be given the rebel leader as to internal conflict.

But Petrograd is demanding one of only two courses for Korniloff—suicide or surrender.

The one means death just as certainly as the other, in the view of the populace. Korniloff himself decreed punishment for revolters in the army. It was the main issue which he projected into the Moscow convention. He put it into effect at once. Probably a number of Russian private soldiers have already paid the penalty for infractions of discipline.

It was at the Moscow conference that Korniloff planned his coup. I believe the idea sprang full grown into his brain at the dramatic moment when the great army commander stood on the platform in the city hall of Moscow, acclaimed a hero in five minutes' tumultuous demonstration.

A splendid audience of bankers, mer-

chants, manufacturers, and intellectuals, in complacent confidence, arose from the boxes and galleries. They cheered the militant figure tumultuously. For five minutes the noise continued unabated.

Even Korniloff stoicism melted under the warmth. He visibly expanded. That was the moment, as I see it today, that the idea of power was established in the commander-in-chief's mind. He believed the cheers were those of all Russia.

In one corner of the vast hall 300 men—only a tenth of the great assemblage—sat, grim and silent thruout the cheering. The frenzied ones jeered at them. Yells demanded they arise and join. But they sat silent.

Korniloff, the general, the military man par excellence, did not know them. He was ignorant of what was happening away from the battle front. Constantly surrounded by military affairs, constantly studying military strategy, ever thinking in terms of army life, the generalissimo thought all the voice of Russia spoke to him in this great demonstration.

If Korniloff thought at all about the silent 300, he thought they were a minority. He was wrong. They represented the armed citizens of Russia—the majority. Every man of the 300 had been elected by the vote of thousands of soldiers at the front and by workers thruout the nation.

To them Korniloff represented everything in Russia that they had overthrown by the revolution—the cold power of military force. Yet Korniloff disdained to look at them. In his ears there resounded the sweet sound of 2,700 wildly acclaiming delegates and he forgot the chorus was not joined by the grim 300. It must have been at this dramatic moment that the idea of revolt came to Korniloff.

Thus it happened when Korniloff's troops met those of the provisional government, forty miles from Petrograd, there was no fighting. On the contrary, the men on the two sides fraternized. Not a shot was fired. Men in the ranks on both sides understood each other. They conferred at length and then returned to their comrades. Before Korniloff's own eyes his common soldiers arbitrated the differences of a nation. Korniloff and his officers were left alone.

Meanwhile, on Russia's front, headquarters stood back, looking for civil war as much as for war from the Germans.

Petrograd never lost its nerve thruout the great mistake. There were crowds on the streets, but no panic. They merely jammed the corners and spaces on the Nevskv Prospekt and eagerly awaited meager newspaper reports. On Tuesday and Wednesday, when Korniloff's mistake appeared for a moment not to be a mistake, the populace was unmoved. They made a new record for patience and fortitude. The two days were formally observed, as usual, as church holidays. All business was closed.

At the Winter palace, however, strong guards and tremendous activity betrayed that the people of Russia were fighting civil war. There Kerensky received ministers, talked over the telephone and by telegraph to distant parts of Russia, and collected the vast forces of the public to crush the rebellion.

In the room of Breshko Breshkovsky I sought the "grandmother of the revolution" on one of these grim days of unexcited preparation. She was gone, but a gentle white-haired lady who sat there working declared:

"The grandmother of the revolution says we mustn't make terms with Korniloff. We will not."

Chapter IV of THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN JAPAN, by S. Katayama, The Socialist Movement and Russo-Japan War, will appear in the November issue of the REVIEW.



How Old Is Man?

By WILLIAM BOELSCHE

IT was about a million years ago. If a man could have had the opportunity to wander thru our present European continent, with a rifle in his hands, he would have seen in those days a very strange country. He might have imagined that he was in the interior of Africa as we know it to-day. He would have tramped for weeks over immense prairies in Southern Europe, dotted sporadically with a few dense woods, and out of the wilderness of this green ocean of grass, he would have started before him innumerable herds of antelopes, giraffes and animals resembling wild horses. From his camp near a rippling spring, he could have watched in the clear moonlight, such colossal forms coming to drink and to bathe as were once seen by the first hunters who ventured into the interior of Africa by way of Cape Colony. There, he could have seen elephants of various species, with two and four tusks, or even with tusks bent downward like those of the walrus, massive rhinoceros, and ponderous hippopotami. Behind them he could have heard the roaring of lions, panthers, and giant wild-cats armed with saberlike teeth. Wandering further north into localities which are now the scenes of a highly advanced civilization, he would have entered the most impenetrable, primeval forest, similar to that in which Stanley, in the heart of Africa, experienced all the sensations of daring conquest of an absolutely wild tropical country. Out of the dense undergrowth

splendid palms rose toward the sunlight. Parrots of many colors shrieked, the features of a large anthropoid ape, similar to our gorilla, might peep suddenly out of the thick covering of foliage, piercing the daring intruder with sharp glances. And above it all, there trembled the atmosphere of a hot climate.

Our wanderer would have been still more surprised if he could have compared our present-day maps with the road traveled by him in those primeval days. Where the blue surface of the Mediterranean now extends so widely that a navigator cannot see the shores on either side, he would have advanced over dry ground from horizon to horizon thru prairies inhabited by giraffes and forests peopled by monkeys. And where today the red rose of the Alps grows upon dizzy heights near the grim ice of the glaciers on mountain passes, there he would have found nothing but wooded hills in which his geologically trained eye might have discovered traces of a slow but irresistible rise. And where today the sun is sending its glowing rays down upon bare mountain ranges, as in the heart of France, he could have observed the horizon tinted blood-red, a reflection of the boiling lava of volcanoes.

A strange world in an immeasurably far off time!

A million years is a tremendous period of time for human minds to grasp. If the history of human civilization is traced by

written chronicles, it does not take us back beyond six thousand years. One might fill entire libraries with events thru which human beings have passed merely in a period of one thousand years. Here, we are supposed to place side by side thousands of thousands of years. What wonder then if the mirror of research transports us back to those primeval times into a different Europe, composed of different seas, countries, mountains and climates.

It is the so-called "Tertiary Period" into which we have looked.

Four great periods are distinguished by the historians of the earth, in speaking of the change and succession of animal and plant life as it is discovered in the course of the many million years during which it has developed. We may use the simple Latin numbers to designate these periods: Primus, the first; Secundus, the second; Tertius, the third; Quartus, the fourth. There is the Primary period, the very first in which we discover traces of living beings on our earth. It was then that the forests were green, the fossil remains of which we now know as coal. Strange and uncouth newts crawled about in their shade. The sea, the shores of which were covered by these trees, was alive with long forgotten crustaceans and fishes. Then followed the Secondary period, in which the terrible giant saurians, typified by Ichthyosaurus, infested land and sea. After that we reach the third great period, the Tertiary period, when Europe had the climate and the fauna of present day Africa, such as giraffes, elephants and monkeys. And when this epoch came to an end, the Quaternary period began, with which our entire historical tradition is identified and in which we are still living today. We do not meet any familiar objects until we reach this last period. The surface of the earth then assumes the form to which we are now accustomed. All things come closer to us. The things that lie beyond are strange to us, like an unknown creation, like a dream of some other planet.

And yet man lived even in that Tertiary period.

No song, no heroic story, gives any information about him. But where the voice of tradition, the chronicles of conscious humanity are silent, there we find other witnesses that speak to us—the stones. The tradition of mankind expires within the

Quaternary period. There is an extreme moment when even the most ancient inscriptions of the Chinese, the Babylonians, and the Egyptians become mute. Written characters disappear and with them the earliest direct voice from the cradle of humanity about itself. But beyond that point we are made aware of a very important event in the development of this earth which took place in this Quaternary period, the traces of which are still visibly impressed in the rocks. It is the great ice age. For many thousand years, colossal masses of glacial ice were piled on top of the continents of Europe and North America. Large herds of mammoth, a species of elephant, covered with a thick coating of hair as a protection against the cold, grazed along the edge of these glaciers, just as in our day the musk-ox and the reindeer are doing in the countries near the North Pole. Undeniable and plain traces of human beings are still preserved from that period.

In the sand, which remained when the glaciers flowed into the caves which were formed by the mighty ice waters boring their way thru the lime rocks, the crude and simple stone tools have been found with which the men of that period hunted the mammoth. The walls of such caves in France are still covered with colored pictures in which the men of that ice age have drawn unmistakable pictures of the mammoth. As it happens we are enabled to test the accuracy of those pictures, since well preserved bodies of mammoth with skin and hair are found in the ice of Siberia. We have also found the skulls and bones of those men, so that we now have a fairly good idea of their characteristics, in spite of the fact that all written and oral traditions of the civilized nations now living have completely forgotten their ancestors of the ice age.

But those simple stone tools, especially knives and arrowheads, which give us such reliable information of man as the contemporary of the mammoth, are occasionally found also in the strata of rock which were already present when the ice age with its glaciers and mammoths began. We find in them remains of that most primitive human civilization, together with bones of a giant elephant, who was not only larger and of different form than the mammoth, but also older—the so-called South-elephant

(*Elephas meridionalis*.) But this South-elephant was still living in laurel groves and under magnolia blossoms in France and Germany, instead of feeding on reindeer lichens on the edges of the glaciers. With this elephant we have come into the middle of the genuine Tertiary period. This Tertiary period, the more we follow it backwards, takes us into a warmer climate instead of a colder one. In the middle of this period we meet with that very picture which I drew in the beginning. Europe then had the giraffe plains and the primeval forests of the present day inhabited by anthropoid apes, and there is no longer any doubt that the oldest tools of man, which we can distinguish as such, lead us even to the limit of this very hot, middle period of the Tertiary age. Man is even then a part of that picture! He is himself almost a million years old on the surface of this globe, and had simple stone weapons and other tools which he used in his fight with the giant animals of that time. In other words, he possessed the indubitable beginnings of civilization.

It seems to me that we cannot trace matters up to this point without confronting this further question: Is it not possible that man may be still older?

With this venerable age of one million years he is a part of the wonders of the primitive world, he drifts into the company of still stranger animals than the mammoth, into other climates than those of present-day Europe, the Alps of which were then in the first stage of formation and the seas of which had not yet found their present level. So it really would not change matters very much even if we found that we must trace him further back into still more ancient and strange landscapes of this globe. It is true that all traces of civilization disappear at this point. We do not know of a single piece of flint stone in the first half of the Tertiary period, or even of the saurian period following it, which would show traces of the human hand. But long before we reach this point, we may observe a gradual divergence of these flint stone tools. They grow cruder and cruder. Is it too wild a speculation to suppose that men may have existed even beyond that time who may not have possessed sufficient civilization even to fashion the simplest stone tools? In that case, we could not expect to find any stone tools as witnesses.

But, one might say, there should at least be genuine human bones preserved in a fossil state in the solid rocks together with skeletons of the ichthyosaurs? Still, this objection would not carry much weight. We know very well that not all of the living beings which once lived upon this earth left their fossil bones behind. The bones may have been destroyed, for human bones particularly are not very durable. Or they may be buried in certain places of the earth which we cannot investigate today, because they may be at the bottom of the sea, or covered by the perennial ice of polar regions. How often has not this earth been shaken thru and thru and turned inside out in these long, long periods? Strata, which were once sediment at the bottom of the sea and which are still full of sea shells, are now found on the high summits of the Alps. On the other hand, entire mountain ranges, ground into sand, are now found in the flat sandstone of the plains, or at the bottom of the sea. Many of the remains of the primitive world have certainly been destroyed in this wild chaos, have been ground into powder, or broken to pieces. We get a vague conception of this when we see that even the gigantic monsters of those primitive days have frequently left but one single bone, a thigh bone or skull of one single individual. That is to say, while thousands and thousands of individuals of this species lived once upon a time, only the scant remains of one single individual have come down to our time.

Then too, there is still another possibility which is far more interesting. It is very probable that we may not recognize the man of those far distant days, even if some of his bones were preserved. For man himself might have become transformed in his structure, and his bones might differ from ours. Might it not be possible that his bones might look strange to us that scientists might have described them as belonging to some other thing, little aware of the fact that these remains represented just the thing for which they were looking?

Similar ideas have ever played a role in various tales and legends. There, we read that the men of the primitive world were gnomes, or again giants, Cyclopes with one eye, or fauns with goat's feet, tails and pointed ears. When mammoth bones were first found, it was said that they were the

actual remains of such old fabulous men, bones of the giants Gog and Magog, or of St. Christopher. Of course, this was nonsense, and the supposed human bones were nothing but honest mammoth bones with no relation to primitive man. But, we of today have really something better than mere remains to rely on, we have reliable scientific data for the theory that men with essentially different characteristics from ours existed not so very long ago.

I mentioned, a while ago, that we have remains of skeletons of men who lived in the ice age, the age of mammoths. But these men of the ice age, who are still relatively close to us when compared to the more distant primitive periods, are not so very much behind in their civilization when compared to certain savage peoples of today. Even in our day, there are certain tribes, for in-

stance in South America, who are not familiar with metals, who fashion all their tools and weapons out of stone, horn, or wood, and who therefore are actually living in the "Stone Age," similar to those primitive mammoth hunters. Nevertheless, if one of us had met one of these primitive ice age men, we should have been somewhat startled by the features of that man. For his face, his size and his limbs would have appeared to us perceptibly different from ours, even from those of the savages of the present day. True, no one would have doubted that this was still a "man," but something strange, something divergent, would certainly have startled us in this type of the "Ice-age man." We may still reconstruct this man tolerably well from the remains of his skeleton.

CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY?

After we had written the indictment against the pro-war German Social Democrats, our attention was called to the enclosed quotation from a cablegram published in the *Chicago Tribune*. It appears that the Left Wing Socialists of Germany are remaining true to the spirit of the International and, in the midst of tyranny such as the world has never known, when all the brutal forces of the German autocracy are arrayed against the working class of that country, are conducting a campaign for nothing less than civil war. We hope they may succeed in rallying enough socialists and workingmen to crush militarism in Germany and bring us hope for an early peace. While, to our mind, nothing can equal the cowardice of the pro-war German (so-called) socialists, it requires courage of the very highest order for men to organize a

revolt against the military clique of Germany at this time.

Amsterdam, Sept. 20—According to the Socialist newspaper, *Voryaerts* of Berlin, the following manifesto has been circulated thruout Germany:

"Citizens: The fatherland is in peril. It is in worse peril than three years ago. Today the enemy is in our midst and he is at work."

The newspaper adds: "It is not enough that the whole world is fighting us. The men who are responsible for this manifesto being issued also want to war against their own people. The civilian truce is over. Let us have a civilian war! Very well, let them have it! But the reichstag must see to it that nothing shall interfere with the people's defense against the civil war agitators."



AN ARKANSAS MOTOR-GROCERY

When this car comes to the farmer's gate the bell on the wind shield bracket is rung, and the housewife comes out with her purse and exchanges cash for groceries.

A Motor-Car Grocery Store

THE old-fashioned peddler's cart, with its picturesque array of new brooms and shiny pans, is outdone by an elaborately equipped grocery store which now motors up to the farmers' doors in the neighborhood of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. For a time this grocer supplied a fifteen-mile circuit, but his customers took to his idea so readily that he now finds a five-mile route quite enough to handle. The ingeniously contrived motor car store, herewith pictured, is both the invention and in large part the handiwork of the owner. He bought a two-ton truck chassis, and built the body himself from ash, yellow pine, and sheet steel. According to a brief description in *Motor Age* (Chicago), it is 16 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 6 feet 2 inches high. More facts regarding this boon for the busy farmer's wife are thus given by the *Commercial Vehicle* (New York):

"The groceries carried in the truck are sold on the cash basis and are bought, paid

for, and delivered at one time. The vehicle starts out on its daily route stocked with goods which experience has taught can be sold. It pulls up outside the customer's house and the driver rings a bell mounted on the left side of the windshield. This notifies the customer that the truck has arrived.

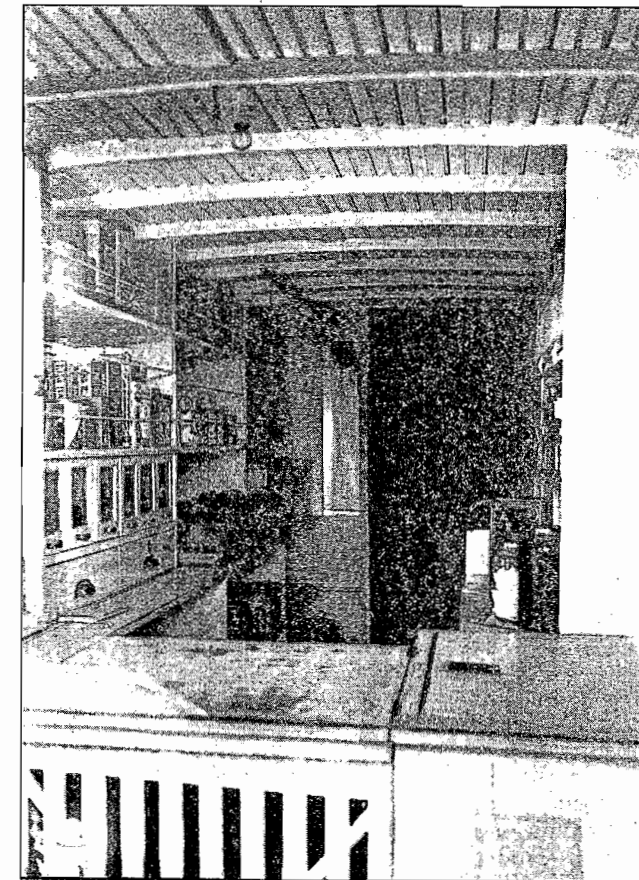
"The body is divided into two main parts, that for the driver and that for the store proper. The former is entirely enclosed and is provided with a full-length door on the right and adjacent glass panels. The driver walks into the store part of the body from the cab thru a usual-sized door in the center of a partition separating the two. At the extreme rear there is a customers' vestibule (with room for six persons), separated from the remainder by a railing with a wide counter on the top.

"Leading forward from the counter to the partition dividing the grocery and driver's compartments there are two narrow shelves, one on each side, with bins above

and below in which various kinds of package goods are carried. At the extreme rear, at the right is a top-lift ice-box, which forms a part of the counter when the top is down. In it are carried meats, butter, milk and other perishable goods.

"Outside of the body under the rear are two chicken-coops with hinged swingback bottoms. Two tanks are also carried at the rear for kerosene and gasoline.

"The truck is equipped with an electric starting and lighting system, the current being used to light three electric ceiling lights in the body and to operate the bell used to announce the arrival of the truck so that the housewife has time to get her list of purchases and purse ready. The body is heated in the cold months by a utilization of the engine exhaust."—From the *Literary Digest*.



LOOKING INTO THE MOTOR-STORE

The reader's view is that of the customer standing in the rear vestibule. The opening at the farther end leads to the driver's seat. The right-hand part of the counter contains the lid of the ice-box. The equipment is described on the opposite page.

THE WAY OUT

By Frederick Engels

WITH the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity-production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken thru, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. It became apparent that the production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy grew to greater and greater height.

But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of socialized production, was the exact opposite of anarchy. It was the increasing organization of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old, peaceful, stable condition of things was ended. Wherever this organization of production was introduced into a branch of industry, it brooked no other method of production by its side. The field of labor became a battleground. The great geographical discoveries and the colonization following upon them, multiplied markets and quickened the transformation of handicraft into manufacture. The war did not simply break out between the individual producers of particular localities. The local struggles begat in their turn national conflicts, the commercial wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Finally, modern industry and the opening of the world-market made the struggle universal, and at the same time gave it an unheard-of virulence. Advantages in natural or artificial conditions of production now decide the existence or non-existence of individual capitalists, as well as of whole industries and countries. He that falls is remorselessly cast aside. It is the Darwinian struggle of the individual for existence transferred from Nature to society with intensified violence. The conditions of existence natural to the animal appear as the final term of human development. The con-

tradiction between socialized production and capitalistic appropriation now presents itself as *an antagonism between the organization of production in the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in society generally.*

The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism imminent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that "vicious circle," which Fourier had already discovered. What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time is, that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more a spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the center.

It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

But the perfecting of machinery is the making of human labor superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual, by a few machine-workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage-workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845, available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working-class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital.

Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that

machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working-class; that the instruments of labor constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the laborers; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation. Thus it comes about that the economizing of the instruments of labor becomes at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labor-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labor functions; that machinery, "the most powerful instrument for shortening labor-time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the laborer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital."

Thus it comes about that over-work of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home down to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market.

"The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time, accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, *i. e.*, on the side of the class that produces *its own product in the form of capital.*" And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose acidulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him

into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws, that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets can not keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another "vicious circle."

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turn grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone thru this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going thru it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them off, when he described the first as "*crise pléthorique*," a crisis from plethora.

In these crises, the contradiction between

socialized production and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its apogee. *The mode of production is in rebellion against the mode of exchange.*

The fact that the socialized organization of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, thru the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small, capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow, and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow.

Means of production, means of subsistence, available laborers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier), because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labor-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live.

On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the *practical recognition of their character as social productive forces.*

This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognized, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalist conditions. The period of industrial high pressure, with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialization of great masses of means of production, which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies.

Many of these means of production and of distribution are, from the outset, so colossal that, like the railroads, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust," a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind, as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and on this very account compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English *alkali* production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend-mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalistic society the State—will ultimately have to undertake

the direction of production.* This necessity for conversion into state property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the postoffice, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crisis demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts, and state property, show how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose.

All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the stock exchange, where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, altho not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into state ownership does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern state, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is

* I say "have to." For only when the means of production and distribution have *actually* outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become *economically* inevitable, only then—even if it is the State of today that effects this—is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for State-ownership of industrial establishments, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares *all* State-ownership, even of the Bismarckian sort, to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians.

The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But, brought to a head, it topples over. State ownership of the productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in the harmonizing the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialized character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products today reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilized by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces; blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to

us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man.

With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into state property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. *The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into state property.*

But in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was *pro tempore* the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage labor). The state was the offi-

cial representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only insofar as it was the state of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times the state of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie.

When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence, based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a state, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of the whole of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state.

State interference in social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished." *It dies out.* This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free state," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency; and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the state out of hand.

Since the historical appearance of the capitalist mode of production, the appropriation by society of all the means of production has often been dreamed of, more or less vaguely, by individuals, as well as by sects, as the ideal of the future. But it could become possible, could become a historical necessity, only when the actual conditions for its realization were there. Like every other social advance, it becomes practicable, not by men understanding that the existence of classes is in contradiction to justice, equality, etc., not by the mere willingness to abolish these classes, but by virtue of certain new economic conditions. The separation of society into an exploiting and an exploited class, a ruling and an oppressed

class, was the necessary consequence of the deficient and restricted development of production in former times.

So long as the total social labor only yields a produce which but slightly exceeds that barely necessary for the existence of all; so long, therefore, as labor engages all or almost all the time of the great majority of the members of society—so long, of necessity, this society is divided into classes. Side by side with the great majority, exclusively bond slaves to labor, arises a class freed from directly productive labor, which looks after the general affairs of society; the direction of labor, state business, law, science, art, etc. It is, therefore, the law of division of labor that lies at the basis of the division into classes. But this does not prevent this division into classes from being carried out by means of violence and robbery, trickery and fraud. It does not prevent the ruling class, once having the upper hand, from consolidating its power at the expense of the working class, from turning their social leadership into an intensified exploitation of the masses.

But if, upon this showing, division into classes has a certain historical justification, it has this only for a given period, only under given social conditions. It was based upon the insufficiency of production. It will be swept away by the complete development of modern productive forces. And, in fact, the abolition of classes in society presupposes a degree of historical evolution, at which the existence, not simply of this or that particular ruling class, but of any ruling class at all, and, therefore, the existence of class distinction itself has become an obsolete anachronism. It presupposes, therefore, the development of production carried out to a degree at which appropriation of the means of production and of the products, and, with this, of political domination, of the monopoly of culture, and of intellectual leadership by a particular class of society, has become not only superfluous, but economically, politically, intellectually a hindrance to development.

This point is now reached. Their political and intellectual bankruptcy is scarcely any longer a secret to the bourgeoisie themselves. Their economic bankruptcy recurs regularly every ten years. In every crisis, society is suffocated beneath the weight of its own productive forces and products,

which it cannot use, and stands helpless, face to face with the absurd contradiction that the producers have nothing to consume, because consumers are wanting. The expansive force of the means of production bursts the bonds that the capitalist mode of production had imposed upon them. Their deliverance from these bonds is the one precondition for an unbroken, constantly accelerated development of the productive forces, and therewith for a practically unlimited increase of production itself.

Nor is this all. The socialized appropriation of the means of production does away, not only with the present artificial restrictions upon production, but also with the positive waste and devastation of productive forces and products that are at the present time the inevitable concomitants of production, and that reach their height in the crises. Further, it sets free for the community at large a mass of means of production and of products, by doing away with the senseless extravagance of the ruling classes of today, and their political representatives. The possibility of securing for every member of our society, by means of socialized production, an existence not only fully sufficient materially, and becoming day by day more full, but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties—this possibility is now for the first time here, but *it is here.*

With the seizing of the means of production by society, production of commodities is done away with, and, simultaneously, the mastery of the product over the producer. Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for an individual existence disappears. Then for the first time, man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into really human ones.

The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man, and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of man, who for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating, him, will then be used with

full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him, as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history—only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom.

Let us briefly sum up our sketch of historical evolution.

I. *Medieval Society*.—Individual production on a small scale. Means of production adapted for individual use; hence primitive, ungainly, petty, dwarfed in action. Production for immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only where an excess of production over this consumption occurs is such excess offered for sale, enters into exchange. Production of commodities, therefore, only in its infancy. But already it contains within itself, in embryo, *anarchy in the production of society at large*.

II. *Capitalist Revolution*.—Transformation of industry, at first by means of simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the means of production, hitherto scattered, into great workshops. As a consequence, their transformation from individual to social means of production—a transformation which does not, on the whole, affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The capitalist appears. In his capacity as owner of the means of production, he also appropriates the products and turns them into commodities. Production has become a social act. Exchange and appropriation continue to be *individual* acts, the acts of individuals. *The social product is appropriated by the individual capitalist*. Fundamental contradiction, whence arise all the contradictions in which our present day society moves, and which modern industry brings to light.

A. Severance of the producer from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to wage-labor for life. *Antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie*.

B. Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws governing the production of commodities. Unbridled competition. *Contradiction between socialized organization in the individual factory and social anarchy in production as a whole*.

C. On the one hand, perfecting of machinery, made by competition compulsory for each individual manufacturer, and complemented by a constantly growing displacement of laborers. *Industrial reserve-army*. On the other hand, unlimited extension of production, also compulsory under competition, for every manufacturer. On both sides, unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, crises every ten years, the vicious circle: excess here, of means of production and products—excess there, of laborers, without employment and without means of existence. But these two levers of production and of social well-being are unable to work together, because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive forces from working and the products from circulating, unless they are first turned into capital—which their very superabundance prevents. The contradiction has grown into an absurdity. *The mode of production rises in rebellion against the form of exchange*. The bourgeoisie are convicted of incapacity further to manage their own social productive forces.

D. Partial recognition of the social character of the productive forces forced upon the capitalists themselves. Taking over of the great institutions for production and communication, first by joint-stock companies, later on by trusts, then by the State. The bourgeoisie demonstrated to be a superfluous class. All its social functions are now performed by salaried employees.

III. *Proletarian Revolution*.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and by means of this transforms the socialized means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. By this act, the proletariat frees the means of production from the character of capital they have thus far borne, and gives their socialized character complete freedom to work itself out. Socialized production upon a predetermined plan becomes henceforth possible. The development of production makes the

existence of different classes of society thenceforth an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies out, Man, at last the master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time the lord over Nature, his own master—free.

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the mod-

ern proletariat. To thoroly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific Socialism.—*From Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.*)

What Socialism Is—(Continued from page 200)

Let us take a look at the forces ranged on each side. The capitalists would have you believe that the battle is between hand workers on one side and brain workers on the other. But such an assumption is wholly untrue, and it is in direct conflict with the Marxian ideas that we are studying.

We have seen that classes of men are mainly moved by the economic conditions under which they get their bread. Now apart from begging and the various illegal methods of stealing there are just two ways to get bread and the other necessities of life under our present society. One way is to work with hand and brain. The other way is to own things and by this ownership to get hold of the wealth made by someone else. It is, of course, possible for one person to do both. It used to be more common than it is. It will soon be less common than it is. The lines are being drawn more and more clearly between those who live by working and those who live by owning.

Once the employer was a laborer who worked in a little shop along with the other laborers to whom he paid wages.

Later, he was a superintendent who did not work with his own hands, but day by day directed the labor of the others to make it more efficient.

Still later, he hired a workman to do the superintending, while he went into the market to buy the raw material and sell the product.

Lastly he has sold his factory to a trust and has received in payment a block of dividend-paying stock or a bunch of interest-drawing bonds. Now he never needs go near the factory; he may live where he likes and spend his income as he pleases. All the buying and selling, all the account-keeping and planning, all the brain work as well as all the hand work is done by hired wage-laborers. And the income he draws and spends without working is made possible only by the fact that those who are doing the work are getting for it less than they really earn.

So when the battle lines are drawn for the

final contest between the capitalist and the laborer, there will be on the side of the capitalist only those who live by owning and those who can be fooled, or bribed, into voting against the interests of the class to which they really belong.

On the other side will be those who live by their labor. The distinction between bodily and mental labor is really an outgrown distinction like that between body and "soul." There is no bodily labor without mental labor. If a ditch-digger were to put no intelligence into his work he could not hold his job. And there is no mental labor without bodily labor. No matter how sharp or unscrupulous a corporation attorney may be, he cannot earn his big fee without the bodily labor of dictating his legal papers and then examining them.

Again, it is absurd to attempt to draw a line between useful work and useless work under capitalism and to count those who do useless work on the side of capital. Useful work is that which satisfies the desires of somebody that has the price, and under our present system, when each member of the working class must find a purchaser for his labor power if he is to stay on the earth, it is foolish to count a man as being on the capitalist side because he has to earn his week's pay by setting jewels in a poodle dog's collar or adding up columns of figures in a bank.

And not all workers are employed on a weekly wage. When the railroad corporations received from their government millions of acres of fertile lands, they did not hire wage-workers to go on those lands and raise crops for them. That was because they found that by selling the land to farmers who thought they were going to become wealthy by their labor they could get a great deal more out of each farm in interest and freight charges than by hiring laborers to work it. And these Western farmers are working longer hours for smaller pay than the average city laborer. What is more, they are as ready to rebel.

The small shopkeeper is also in the same

boat. If he is stupid, he many think of himself as a capitalist, but if he is at all bright he is coming to see that his "profit" is mostly wages, and usually very low wages, for the labor he expends in taking care of his shop and selling goods. So his material interests really lead him to favor the social revolution that will bring him better pay for shorter hours of labor.

Thus we see that in the class struggle that is daily growing more intense, only those who live by owning, less than ten per cent of the people, have anything to gain by upholding the present social system, while those who live by working, more than ninety per cent, have, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, nothing to lose but their chains, and all the world to gain.

The classic book on this subject is "The Class Struggle," by Karl Kautsky, translated by William E. Bohn from the German work entitled "Das Erfurter Program." The book is a general exposition of Socialism, but its closing chapter, pages 159-217, deals specifically with the war between the classes. **Industrial Socialism**, by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, is a most valuable pamphlet which deals specifically with present industrial conditions in America, showing the need of industrial union and of working class party in harmony with them. **Socialism Made Easy**, by James Connolly, is a simple and readable booklet for beginners, which is well suited to start wage-workers on the right track.

IV.—THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

The class struggle between workers and owners can have only one possible ending. The end may be near or far, but sooner or later the great mass of the people who do the work will see that their own separate interests are bound up with the interests of their class. They will see that it is folly for them to support in luxury a class of do-nothing owners. They will unite to overthrow the capitalistic system under which we are living, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

By this we mean a society in which the good things of life shall not be produced for the profit of a part of the people, but for the use of all the people, and where no one who is able to work shall have the privilege of living on the labor of others. We mean a society in which there shall not be a class of rulers with a class of workers under them, but in which all shall work and all shall rule—in which human equality shall be not a phrase, but a fact.

When I say equality, I do not mean that all the money or all the wealth of the country will be "divided up." That is something never

advocated by a Socialist. It is one of ridiculous lies told by our opponents to scare the laborer who has \$98 in the savings bank or who has a \$1,200 cottage with a \$900 mortgage on it.

No, we don't need the money nor the houses nor the automobiles that the capitalists have today. We want the use of the earth and of the machinery, and our labor will every year produce all the good things we need.

Again, it is no part of the Socialist program to make wages exactly equal for all kinds of labor. When the Socialist party comes into power it will find industry being carried on and wages being paid. It will find some workers being paid good wages and others very low wages. It will find many unable to get work. It will find many children at work who ought to be in school. It will find that a large proportion of the earnings of those who work have been used to pay incomes to idlers.

Now, I do not know, nor does anyone know, just what will be the first act of a Socialist administration, but assuming that it comes into power with the general industrial conditions as I have described them, I think it pretty safe to make a few predictions as to what it would do.

It would stop paying rent, interest and dividends to capitalists.

It would take the children out of the factories and send them to school, and would at least double the force of teachers within a short time.

It would give at once to the least-skilled laborers enough of the comforts of life in return for their labor to let them live like human beings.

It would at once reduce the hours of labor to not more than eight, to be followed by further reductions as soon as a plentiful supply of the necessities and comforts of life have been accumulated.

It would, no matter whether "money" were continued or abolished, sell the products of labor back to the laborers at actual cost, allowing for a percentage to pay for public services, furnished free, which would take the place of our present taxes.

When the Co-operative Commonwealth is in operation the rewards of the various kinds of labor will tend to adjust themselves automatically. If it is hard to find street cleaners and easy to find bookkeepers when collectivism begins, it will be a simple matter to increase the rewards and reduce the hours of the street cleaners until a balance is reached.

It is very certain that a Socialist administration would not control all industry from one central point. The Socialist party always and everywhere leaves the control in the hands of the smallest groups that can manage things

efficiently. Again, it would not take away the artist's brushes, nor the farmer's little farm. We hold that tools so complex that they have to be used in common, should be owned in common, but if a man choose to work with his own tools, there would be nothing in the world to prevent him doing so, except the probable fact that as machinery improves it will be possible to earn more by working-co-operatively than by working alone.

Finally, Socialists do not want to set up a government to control people's actions. They believe that when everyone has an equal chance to earn a living there will be little temptation to steal. We may have to keep a few policemen a few years, but their work will be mostly in taking care of those whose lives have already been wrecked by capitalism. When alcoholic drinks are no longer sold for profit, when cheating is no longer the road to social prominence, when every woman can be sure of a living, without selling herself—then we may safely leave all questions of morals to the individual, while society attends to the production of the things the people need.

Socialists do not want to do away with the freedom of the individual. On the contrary, they realize that today it is only a few here and there who have any freedom worth speaking of. What they mean to do is to make individual freedom a real thing for all.

There is no Socialist Utopia. In other words, there is no picture of the future collectivist society on which all Socialists agree. All who know anything of International Socialism realize that ideas and institutions are not eternal and do not fall from heaven; neither do they take shape because a few individuals wish them to take shape in a particular way. New ideas and institutions are the outgrowth of industrial and economic changes, and since we cannot tell what industrial and economic changes the next few years may bring, we cannot tell how the laborers, when once victorious over the capitalists, will modify their ideas or adjust their institutions.

Consequently most clear-headed Socialists are extremely cautious about making predictions. There are, however, two books by a European writer of unquestioned standing in the Socialist movement which answer in some detail the questions constantly asked as to how things might be adjusted under the Co-operative Commonwealth. These are "The Class Struggle" and "The Social Revolution," both by Karl Kautsky. The one book to avoid if you want to get a clear idea of the Socialist republic of the future is Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Bellamy had not, when he wrote this book, the faintest conception of the principles of Socialism; on the other hand his mind

was saturated with middle-class ideas about regulating people's conduct. Naturally, his book pictures a society in which poverty is indeed abolished, but in which the "best people" of Boston as they were in 1887 have laid down elaborate regulations as to how each individual in the United States shall spend both his working and his leisure hours. Any one who enters the Socialist movement with his head filled with the ideas in this book will be a nuisance in it until he learns better. This is because the ideas of "Looking Backward" are a character to attract the complacent little capitalists who are an unimportant survival from a by-gone age, and to repel the rebellious wage-workers by whom the social revolution must be accomplished.

V. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

We have seen that men's ideas and institutions grow out of the methods by which they make a living. Also that American wage-workers make a living by producing "surplus value" for the capitalists, who in their turn get a very luxurious living by taking what the workers earn. We have seen also that this class division leads to a class struggle, which must end in the overthrow of the Capitalists and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth by the workers.

We come now to the means by which the Co-operative Commonwealth is to be brought about; whether by reform or by revolution; and if by revolution, then whether this is to be effected by political action, or direct action, or both. And in this discussion we shall become hopelessly entangled unless we define our terms.

Reforms are not necessarily peaceful; revolutions are not necessarily violent. The real difference between them is this. Reforms are changes made in laws or institutions by the same economic class which had all the time been in control. A revolution is a change in laws or institutions made by a new economic class which overthrows the former rulers and takes control of the political and economic structure of society.

The SOCIALIST PARTY, in America and elsewhere, stands not for reform but for revolution, since it holds that the rule of the capitalist class must come to an end, and that the workers must become the rulers.

As to the means by which the revolution shall be brought about, the only important question is as to what means will prove most effective.

The methods generally advocated by Socialists are known as political action and direct action. By political action we mean the election of Socialists to legislative, executive

and judicial positions, and thus indirectly, through the action of these elected officers, taking possession of the means of production. By direct action, we refer to the collective efforts of wage-workers, exerted not thru officials elected to political office, but thru their own economic organizations, the industrial unions.

Clear-headed Socialists in all countries advocate both direct action and political action. Direct action alone will almost inevitably be suppressed by force, since if the capitalists are left in undisputed possession of all the powers of government, they will not hesitate to use those powers to crush the labor unions. On the other hand, political action alone can never overthrow capitalism, for in every country the ruling class is so entrenched in power that they could successfully defy even a united working class, if the struggle were confined to the political field alone. In Germany the Socialists cast a large plurality at the last election, but they have no voice in the administration of the government, and they might remain equally powerless if they were to increase their plurality to a majority unless they supplemented their political action by direct action. Here in America the senate and the courts might hold a Socialist majority in check for years were we to do nothing but vote.

Moreover, government ownership is a very different thing from Socialism. The United States government already employs more wage-workers than even the largest trust, and with few exceptions they are exploited for the benefit of the capitalist class like other wage-workers. Certain sections of the capitalist class are enthusiastic for more government ownership of industry, and rapid progress in this direction is more than probable.

The great war has hastened ten-fold the progress toward government ownership of industry in all the warring countries, and as we go to press with the present edition of this booklet (September, 1917), the process is fairly under way in the United States. Much that we have urged in our propaganda regarding the useless wastes of competition is now out of date, not because there was anything wrong with our arguments, but because the capitalist class has itself applied the remedy. Even many of the so-called "immediate demands" which the Socialist Party has incorporated in former platforms are out of date, since the capitalist class has already taken control of the distribution of food and coal, and has forced the private owners of the railroads to run them under a unified administration which is virtually controlled by the government. And this is probably only the beginning. More

startling changes in the same direction may be looked for any day.

International trade has practically passed out of the hands of private capitalists and into the hands of the allied governments, working together so as to buy on the best possible terms. England, which until the war began was the greatest investor in the stocks and bonds of corporations, has now practically prohibited any new investment except in government bonds. Production in the United States is increasing by leaps and bounds; the wage-workers are still getting a living and nothing more, and the title to most of the new wealth that is being produced is passing to the owners of the "Liberty Bonds."

When the smoke of the great war finally blows away, it will probably be found that production in America, England, France, Germany, Italy and Austria is too firmly organized under government control to be "unscrambled," and that a new era has set in, the era of state capitalism. This means that a great and increasing number of wage-workers in all the most essential industries will be under one powerful group of bosses, who will exercise a double control, thru the power of hiring and firing in the shops, and the power of the policeman's club and the soldier's bayonet in the streets.

What then will the Socialist Party do? It is becoming more and more evident that only one course is possible, and that is why the members of the party are drawing closer together and forgetting past controversies over tactics. What we must do is to stand together for the right to organize in the shops and to have a controlling voice over the conditions under which we are to work. Craft unions will be helpless to meet the new conditions. Industrial unions enrolling all the workers in each industry will be the only kind that can make headway against the concentrated power of the capitalist government. The Socialist Party must, in its propaganda and educational work, urge the need of such organization. And on the political field we must stand firm for the right of the workers to control the conditions under which they work. The old-party officials will represent the bond holders, who will be the most obviously parasitic class in the whole history of the world. Their claim to a share in the annual product of American workers will rest on ownership and nothing else, for they as bond holders will be performing no useful function whatever. And yet the interest on bonds can only be paid out of the wealth created by the workers. Never were class lines so clearly drawn. Ours is the party of the workers, and if we stand together we shall win.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

An Independent Finland

It was seven years ago that we chronicled in the REVIEW how Russia robbed Finland of independence. That ancient people was crushed. Its parliament was placed under the heel of a Russian grand duke. No law went into effect before it had been approved by the Czar.

When the revolution occurred the Finns naturally thought they had seen the end of all that. No doubt the difficulties between the governments can all be straightened out in time. But at present the Finns are still waiting for evidence of good faith at Petrograd.

In July the Finnish parliament approved a constitutional amendment giving Finland absolute independence. The Russian provisional government sent a committee headed by Tcheidze to postpone the crisis. The Russian cabinet assures the people of Finland that they have nothing to fear in a democratic Russia. The Finns, for their part, demand the approval of laws passed long years ago—laws which are still waiting for the sanction of the Russian government. It is now six months since the revolution. They want some of the proofs of freedom.

This problem of subject peoples is one with which former revolutions have not had to deal. It presents a tremendous difficulty. The provisional government cannot possibly deny either the Finns or the Ukrainians the right of self-government. But freedom does not exclude cooperation. A voluntary federation of free peoples should be stronger than any empire. But the building of a constitution for such a great federation demands statesmanship of a higher order than empire-making. It means the placing of the whole civilization on a higher level. The Finns' first impulse is toward independence, for they have sought independence these many years. Let us hope their strongest impulse will be toward loyal cooperation with their Russian comrades.

Dividing Up the Land in Russia

Outside of America everybody is coming to believe in dividing up the land. The English are planning for it, but being a

"practical" people, they will spend a long time planning. The Russians, being impractical theorists, have already set about doing it.

In June there was held in Russia a great convention of peasants. The following resolution was passed: "All the lands of the government, the monasteries, the church and of great proprietors should be placed at the disposal of the land-working peasants without price or indemnity of any sort."

These peasants gave proof of fine powers of self-government. In March, during the first days of the revolution, the peasants in some regions siezed whatever land they could lay hold of. This proceeding was condemned by the congress. The claims of these persons will not be allowed. The whole thing is to be gone about systematically, so that no great estates may escape and the real workers may get the soil. No land-owner is to be allowed to dispose of his estates before the division is made. In the meantime local committees are to take charge of the land and see to it that the peasants have a chance to cultivate them.

The method of final division is to be left to the Constitutional Convention. It will have to be considered in connection with the whole problem of labor and property.

Election at Petrograd

Early in September Petrograd had its second election since the revolution. In the June election 700,000 votes were cast. The Socialists secured 530,000 of these, the non-Socialists 180,000. In the more recent contest the Socialists numbered 350,000, the other groups 100,000. Within the Socialist movement the Social Revolutionists, the party of Kerensky, seems to have gained in numbers. In June it secured 66,000 votes out of 700,000; in September, 182,000 out of 450,000.

Little Change in Germany

Richard von Kühlmann, the new German foreign secretary, is trying hard to earn for Germany a new reputation. "A policy based on might alone," he says, "and not on right, is doomed to failure from the beginning."

The fact that the imperial government is trying to come to terms with Argentina is another proof of a change of heart.

It is more and more evident that there is a reason for the new Catholic devotion to peace. The Centrists are good politicians. They have now got the Pope registered against war. This party voted in favor of ending it. They would never have done this if the minds of many were not forcing them to do it. Peace is gaining popularity and they want to rob the Socialists of some of their glory.

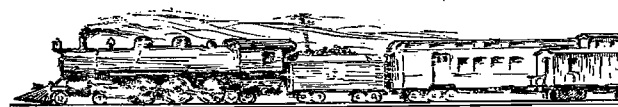
German statesmen and newspapers pretend to be very angry over President Wilson's answer to the Pope. "Wilson is the greatest despot in the war," they say. And it is true that the American government is doing very well. But when the Germans come to prove their own democracy they made a poor showing. The Kaiser promised Prussia a new franchise law and he has promised to form an unofficial cabinet of parliamentary leaders. But that is about all. Their democracy consists largely of promises.

The majority Socialists held a conference of supporters in Berlin. It was decided that Philip Scheidemann and his friends should be allowed to enter the new cabinet

if they are asked. The process of reasoning by which this conclusion was reached is an interesting one. This is a revolutionary party, they said, so we have a perfect right to have a revolution in our minds. A revolution, of course, means turning round. So they are quite right in turning round on Marx. They probably know perfectly well that the revolution in their minds took place years ago.

English Capitalists Alarmed Said a well-known English Liberal about a month ago: "If we don't help the people to the land, they will help themselves to it." The same person said that men who had been conscripted into the trenches could not be expected to come home and live on twenty-five shillings a week.

So they have a Ministry of Reconstruction in England. Its business is to make life tolerable for the working classes. A preliminary program has just been given out. It includes a land reform project and a scheme for giving labor a hand in the direction of industry. In fact, England is advancing rapidly toward guild Socialism—that is what they call it over there. It is really state capitalism modified by recognition of the unions.



NEWS AND VIEWS

A Law-Abiding Governor—That one state executive recognizes and deprecates the mob violence which has been used upon striking miners in Arizona and Montana and upon the Agricultural Workers in South Dakota and other states and that he will tolerate no lawlessness on the part of the capitalist class in North Dakota if he can prevent it, is shown by the following which we quote from the *Fargo Daily Courier-News*:

"Governor Frazier speaks a special word of caution against permitting mob action such as has been taken against the I. W. W. in various states in the west, but tells officers of the law that he will hold them responsible for the protection of law and property.

"If there should be any who so far forget their duty to the state and to their official position and oath of office as to assist or countenance violence, I shall not hesitate to cause their prompt removal from office," says the governor.

* * * *

"According to reports mob violence is prevalent in many parts of our country. Within the last few days most deplorable reports have come from South Dakota and Montana. It is charged that the constitutional rights of individuals have been trampled under foot by mobs in the guise of so-called safety committees, defense leagues, vigilant committees, labor organizations and even by peace officers.

"To some of these misguided mobs and officers it seems to be a crime to be seeking work and not to possess money. Men have been illegally searched, beaten, deported and otherwise mistreated contrary to all law and in direct violation of the inalienable rights of every citizen.

"I wish it distinctly understood that no such unwarranted actions against the rights of any individual will be tolerated in this state while I am governor. No official has a legal right to search any man, without a search warrant. He has no right to beat any man. He has no right to deport any man, because he is without money, or because he demands higher wages. The federal and state constitutions guarantee to individuals certain rights. These rights must be respected. The surest way to lose our liberties and constitutional rights is to take them away from those who are less fortunate. Abuse of official power is but to weaken all respect for law and order. Officials must protect the weak as well as the strong. I call upon you to sustain me in making North Dakota a model state of law and order.

Deal Firmly With Crime

"In conclusion, let me urge upon you again the necessity of dealing with firmness and determination with any man who is guilty of burning, attempting or threatening to burn crops or destroy farm machinery, or any other property, or committing any offense against

the peace and order of the state. Such a man must be promptly arrested, tried and punished in accordance with the law. Let us use the strong arm of the law, but not the strong arm of a mad mob, or of a bullying official.

"I trust that all officers of the state will sustain me in enforcing and observing the laws, and thus protecting the rights of all people, but if there should be any who so far forget their duty to the state and their official position and oath of office as to assist or countenance violence, I shall not hesitate to cause their prompt removal from office. Nothing does more to destroy respect for government and to cause disloyalty than violation of the law by those entrusted with its enforcement. I urge your earnest co-operation that our government may have the united support of all its people.

"Respectfully submitted,

"LYNN J. FRAZIER, Governor."

Russia's "Democratic Republic"—Russia has been proclaimed a republic by the Kerensky government and possibly some advantage will come from this since the "indefiniteness of the state's organization" is supposed to have encouraged reactionaries in their hopes of restoring the monarchy. Fundamentally, however, the coup settles nothing. A few men, backed by a self-constituted council of workmen and soldiers, cannot determine the constitution of Russia. The constituent assembly, which is to be elected in November and to be convened November 28—or December 11, according to the reckoning of western nations—will undoubtedly claim full freedom of action as regards the form of Russia's government.

The Kerensky ministry does not expect to retain power even until the constituent assembly comes into existence. A congress is to be called one week from today—to be made up "largely if not wholly of soldiers, workmen and peasants"—and this congress will name a ministry responsible for itself. Evidently the provisional government feels the need of wider and more direct popular support than it now enjoys.

The chief trouble in Russia has been the extreme radicals' ignorance of the essential spirit of democracy. They have talked much about democratic rule, but their actions have betrayed an intolerant and tyrannical spirit, a rule or ruin temper. The fact that democracy is based on discussion and compromise, they do not appear to understand.

The platform just adopted by the maximalist members of the Petrograd council of deputies illustrates this ignorance. It declares for the abolition of private property, for working class control of industry, confiscation of war profits and so on. This is wild enough, but the climax is reached in a declaration for "the exclusion from power of the representa-

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Of Internationalist Socialist Review, published monthly at Chicago, Ill., for October 1, 1917.

STATE OF ILLINOIS,
COUNTY OF COOK—SS.

Before me, a notary public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Charles H. Kerr, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the International Socialist Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher, Charles H. Kerr & Company, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Editor, Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.
Managing Editor, Mary E. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

Business Manager, Leslie H. Marcy, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individuals owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock):
Charles H. Kerr, 341 East Ohio street, Chicago.
(All others hold less than 1 per cent each.)

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (if there are none, so state):
None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association or corporation has any interest, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

CHARLES H. KERR, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1917.

MICHAEL J. O'MALLEY.

(My commission expires March 8, 1920.)

tives of property owning classes." This is mobocracy, not democracy. Such a policy, if persisted in, must inevitably lead to civil war, to terror and so to counter-revolution.

These extremists may never recover their sanity, but the common sense of the masses of the Russian population should make short work of syndicalist and anarchist programs and effectually prevent any attempt at forestalling the decisions on all vital questions of a properly elected and truly national democratic assembly which can speak for all Russia. It is safe to say that no such assembly will decree the exclusion of owners of property from power or the abolition of private property and the establishment of a syndicalist commune.—*Chicago Daily News.*

Verdict Without Evidence—The *New York Evening Post* makes the claim that the treason accusations against socialist and industrial union organizations are absurd. It makes the following editorial comment on the manner in which recent raids of the department of justice upon the Socialist and I. W. W. offices were "press agented" by the papers:

"But there are newspaper commentators who have the power of knowing that the reasonable evidence is there without searching for it, and if the evidence isn't there, why so much greater the degree of guilt.

"One contemporary on the very day of the raids was convinced that the past history of the Socialist party and the I. W. W. warrants the surmise that they have been acting in the pay of Germany.

"Another neighbor recognizes that it is conjectural how much evidence can be found against the I. W. W. and deplores the fact that the 'loose and shifting character of the organization adds to the difficulty of fixing responsibility.'

"How a loose and shifting organization, maintaining formidable expense accounts to the amount of \$375.50 in one striking instance, could turn into a shrewd and well-organized conspiracy against the government is not made clear. We repeat, Mr. Wilson must envy these commentators the clairvoyant war powers which need not wait for an actual show of evidence, but automatically detect treason and conspiracy, whether they exist or not."

Czech Workingmen Demand Independent Republic—In Prague, the capital of Bohemia, a big strike of 80,000 workingmen has broken out. More than 80,000 Czech workingmen have walked out in protest against the systematic governmental measures, aimed at the starving of the Bohemian people and against the systematic depletion of the food supply in Bohemian lands in favor of Germany. It seems that almost everything grown in the Bohemian lands is exported into the German Empire. The strike culminated in bloody riots in Prague and some of the provincial towns. German and Magyar troops intervened. The rioters were dispersed at the point of bayonets

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and in some cases were fired at. The strike, organized by radical nationalists, in the end assumed an almost wholly political character. The striking workmen, among whom are representatives of all shades of political opinion, social democrats, national socialists and Catholics, in large mass meetings adopted resolutions demanding the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak republic. — *Slav Press*.

The 'Frisco Frame-Up—The news has just leaked out that President Wilson intervened to save Tom Mooney's life on May 11th of this year, or six days before the day fixed for his murder. The President's intervention was probably dictated by the demonstration of the workers of Petrograd in front of the American embassy a short time after Mooney was railroaded on the glaring perjury of the infamous Oxman.

The news of President Wilson's intervention was kept very secret, probably because its publication would have helped in the exposure of the frame-up. Its publication now is more accidental than anything else, and is bound to have a good moral effect. The President would not have taken such a stand unless he thought there was good justification for it. It is, therefore, heartily welcomed by the defense.

Of almost equal importance was the declaration of Mayor James J. Curley, of Boston, that he was convinced that the whole prosecution was a frame-up of the worst kind and that all the defendants were absolutely innocent. The declaration was made at a meeting of ten thousand men and women held on the historic Boston Commons, on Sunday, September 2d, and was received with wild applause.

"I am satisfied," said the noted speaker, "that Thomas J. Mooney and all the other defendants are the victims of a frame-up, and I will do all in my power to expose the injustice."

At the conclusion of the meeting a committee was appointed to draft a letter to Mayor James H. Rolph, of San Francisco, asking him to assist in saving the lives of the victims of the Chamber of Commerce.

Among late press comments on the cases are *The New York Nation*, *The Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, *The New York Evening Globe* and *The (New York) Public*.

"The case against all the defendants is un-

der a cloud of impeachable testimony," says *The Nation*. "It is a matter of satisfaction that the way should be open to a review of the previous convictions in a spirit different from that which marked the original trials."

"Indications have not been lacking," says *The Springfield Republican*, "that an effort was made to manufacture a case against Mr. and Mrs. Mooney."

"No reason existed for even suspecting Mooney," says *The New York Globe*. "He was indicted, one may assume, not because he had anything to do with the throwing of the bomb, but because he had some time before called a strike on the San Francisco street railways."

"The public utility corporations, against which Mooney had been conducting strikes, are holding up Fickert's hand," says *The Public*. "That is requiring an increasing amount of audacity and willingness to blink incontestable proof of appalling unscrupulousness on the part of the prosecution."

The appeals of Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney have been heard. The District Court of Appeals denied Billings' appeal, despite the fact that every one knows he was convicted on palpably perjured testimony. An appeal will be taken to a higher court, with some show of success.

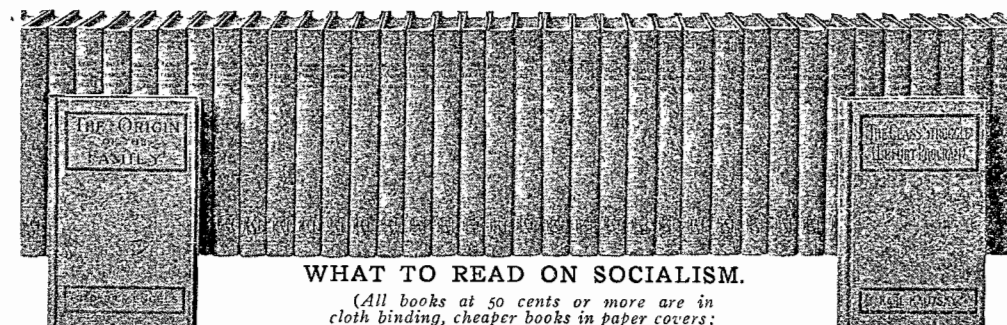
The decision has not yet been handed down in Mooney's case. Though Attorney-General Webb backed up Mooney's counsel, an unusual procedure, indications do not seem entirely favorable. The judges hold that the appeal is based on Oxman's perjury and that, as they can find no error in the record, they can't see their way clear to grant the appeal.

We have an uproaring farce in San Francisco now. It's none other than the spectacle of District Attorney Fickert "prosecuting" his brother criminal, Frank C. Oxman. Of course, the result is a foregone conclusion. Fickert won't accept any juror that looks in any way honest. Fickert's own liberty and reputation are dependent upon Oxman's acquittal. So it's going to be a funny prosecution. But, then, that's "law and order"!

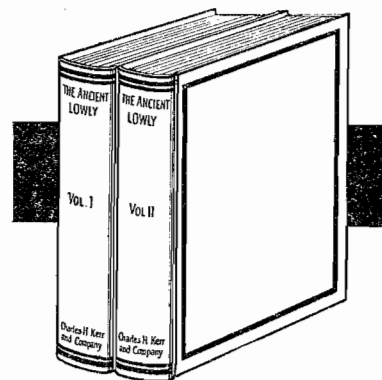
Fickert's recall is going ahead by degrees. But we can't depend on that. WE MUST HAVE FUNDS to prosecute two appeals and fight another trial in the next few weeks. Send those funds NOW to Henry Hagelstein, Secretary-Treasurer, International Workers' Defense League, 210 Russ Building, San Francisco.

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The Changing Order. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. A study of Democracy, of the coming revolution, and of the ways in which the future self-rule of the working class will react upon literature and art, upon philosophy and religion, upon work and play. \$1.00.

The Class Struggle. By Karl Kautsky. Kautsky was the literary executor of Marx and Engels, and is the foremost Socialist writer in Germany. This work, otherwise known as the Erfurt Program, is divided into five parts, The Passing of Small Production, The Proletariat, The Capitalist Class, The Commonwealth of the Future, The Class Struggle. 50 cents.

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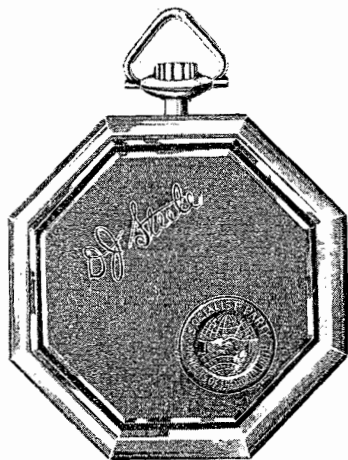
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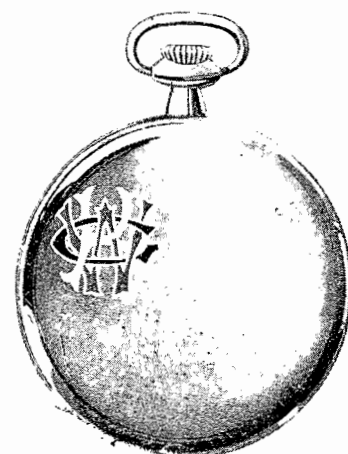
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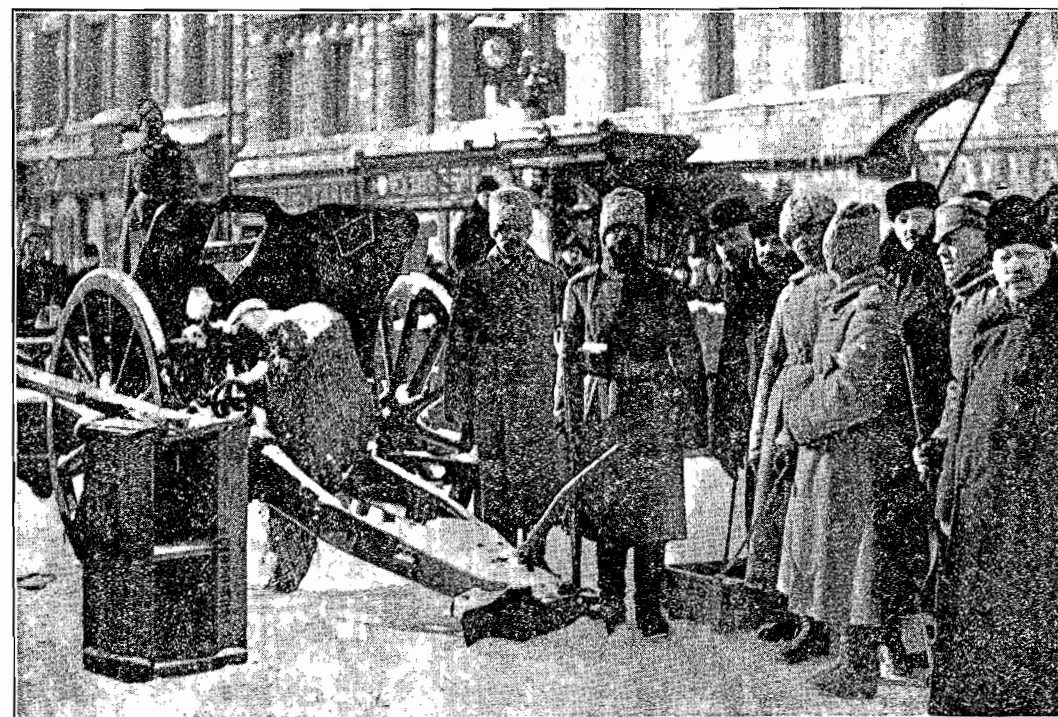
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LISTENING TO ORATORS IN FRONT OF THE DUMA

New Russia in the Making

By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

(Note.—Most American socialists do all they can to prevent war. Some of you may not agree with Mr. Russell in his attitude in the present war. Never mind. Mr. Russell has, in this article, given us the most wonderful story we have read on the greatest event in human history. Read it. Hitherto we socialists have been called theorists. People have said our dreams could never come true. But Mr. Russell shows how some of them have come true in Russia. Here our goods are in the show case, our samples are on the table. Never again need we talk of theories only. We may point to the facts and conditions in Russia where "the Man With the Hoe has come into his own at last.")

RUSSIA: A vast, dimly lighted stage whereon we know some tremendous new drama is being enacted, but where all the actors seem to be running about inconsequentially as in a maze without plan or meaning.

Something like this, I suppose, if we were to speak up with delectable candor, is about the impression most of us have had about this wonderful country ever since it tumbled the last of the Romanoffs from his ancient seat.

Yet the keys to the play are, after all, simple, and to be found in simple events, and when we have found them, behold the most fascinating and moving drama ever played in human affairs!

There is a place on the Trans-Siberian Railroad called Passing Point Number 37, a brown little speck on the illimitable emptiness of the Siberian plains. On the 23d of May there came marching up to it a procession of farmers—about forty of them, I think—carrying red flags. They tramped solemnly along what in Siberia, by a violence of speech, is called a road, and is in fact not otherwise than a trail of ruts in black-gumbo mud.

A passenger-train was coming from the east, from Vladivostok. At Passing Point Number 37 it took the sidetrack to wait for the train it was to meet. According to Russian railroad practice (which you might think a precept of religion punctiliously observed) the operation of getting these two trains past each other was to consume one half-hour, liberally inundated with swift and cheerful conversation.

Some of the passengers got out and swelled the verbal freshets. They talked with the peasants of the procession; the peasants responded with undiluted pleasure on their brows. It was after the Revolution; more than two men could talk together without being prodded by a super-active gendarmerie; and the springs of speech, frozen for three hundred years in Russian breasts, burst forth into grateful and tireless fountains.

Of a sudden the processionists were seen to line up in front of the baggage car, to fall upon their knees there, to lift their hands in attitudes of prayer, the while they uttered strange, wailing cries and many wept.

What were they crying about? They had learned that in that baggage car were the ashes of a Russian revolutionist, an old-time hero of the long, long struggle. He had been condemned by the Czar to one of the worst prisons of coldest Siberia; he had managed to escape and in the end to get to America. There he died, and his body was cremated. Now his ashes in a draped memorial urn were being carried in state back to that free Russia he had dreamed of and suffered for. But note:

Of the peasants that fell on their knees before that handful of dust that day, about one-half could not read. All of them, you might think, lived in a region farther from the world and its affairs than is Cape Nome from the Bowery. Yet all of them knew well enough the name of this dead hero and all his deeds, and instinctively all knelt before his ashes that they might testify at once to their reverence for him and the fervor of their own revolutionary faith.

After which there were speeches. If you know Russia, the New Russia, Russia of the unchained tongue, the information is superfluous. To know that there was any kind of a meeting anywhere at any time is to know that there were speeches.

But what did that procession mean, wandering red-flagged along the black ruts of lonely Siberia? It meant that the peasants were making a "demonstration." Demonstration about what? Why, if you will believe me, against the Austrian Government's sentence of death against Frederick Adler, slayer of the Austrian prime minister!

And there you are; that is Russia. I offer you herewith the keys to the play.

Because you find in this one little incident these things, perfectly typical, truly fundamental:

The Russian temperament and character, emotional, sympathetic, altruistic, generous, and quite indifferent to conventionalities;

The passion for "demonstrating," the tremendous impulse to let go with the feelings brutally suppressed so long by the monarchy now dead and gone, thank God for his infinite mercies;

The passion for oratory;

The warm, naive and somewhat dreamy feeling for the universal brotherhood and the sense of a world-wide cause.

That there was anything incongruous about a demonstration in Russia by Russians against Austria's execution of the death penalty upon an Austrian in Austria at a time when Russia and Austria are at war would never occur to them. Are not the workers of Russia, Austria, and all other countries brothers? Is not a wrong done to a member of the proletariat in Austria the affair of members of the proletariat everywhere? Assuredly, comrades. Then let us demonstrate—even in

remote Siberia, where nobody will ever know anything about it.

Also, you may see in this incident how deep in the heart of every peasant and toiler are at least the rudiments of the Revolution's creed, how widespread a fair understanding of the Revolution's history and meaning—spread even to the uttermost parts of this prodigious country, spread when there were no modern means of communication, when there were no public schools, no right of assembly, no free press and very little reading, and yet spread competently. Is not that a marvel?

Therefore, be of good cheer, O Timid Heart! The old order will never come back to Russia. Let be what will, the black shadow of that blight will never return. The Czar will never be again anything more than Citizen Romanoff. Whatever other peoples may do, these will never have kings nor kinglets, but only democracy, absolute, invincible, wherever democracy may lead. The people may rule well or rule ill, but by the ever-living soul of Liberty, in Russia they will rule! And of that you may be sure.

But, perhaps it is no wonder that the world, sitting at such an unprecedented play, blinks and is doubtful. There was one day the imposing great structure of the most powerful autocracy on earth, centuries old, rock-rooted, imperial and irresistible, cloud-compelling and remorseless. At a touch it crumbled together like the unsubstantial figment of a dream; vanishing without a trace, as if it had never been. Intricate, great systems of government, of police, of spies, of punishments, erected with long care and skill to keep the people down, all, all dried up and blown away like a mist, and behold these same kept-down people instantly and easily taking seats in a new machine, untried, just from the shops, and throwing the controlling levers—with aplomb, and with success.

No wonder, I say, some spectators gasp and are puzzled. To the rigid, rectangular English mind, to the American mind that tries hard to be like the English, all this is not in nature. It is so different from Chelmsford Abbey and St. Johnsbury, Vermont, that it must surely be bad. After all, and truth to tell, we have



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RUSSIAN WOMEN DO PRACTICALLY ALL RAILROAD WORK IN RUSSIA NOW, PARTICULARLY AT THE FRONT

At the time this picture was taken these work women had stopped to take a look at the American mission.

not much faith in the popular intelligence; no Anglo-Saxon has. What there is of it, we feel, must be the product of long education, or training and of reading—much reading. But here is a country where only a few years ago 80 per cent of the population could not read at all; where the few newspapers were frankly corrupted and fiercely censored by the monarchy. Yet out of all this, lo, a people, by our narrow creed called unenlightened, that alone are steering the government, and on the whole steering it well.

Plain, everyday working people, farmers right from the plow, laborers from the factories, producers and toilers, the "base mechanicals" of Elizabeth's famous sneer, the "common workingmen" of our own beautiful snobbery. The nobles, the wealthy, the middle class, the Intelligentia, the propertied, the financial geniuses, the merchant princes, the employers and all of that element so influential elsewhere, here cowed, silent or displaced. The Man with the Hoe has come into his own at last. He rules Russia.

This is the fact that most observers of all other nations, and particularly of our own, find so indigestible; it is for this reason that the great Russian drama seems to them a tarantelle or a delirious dream.

Yet, whatever you may read, or whatever you may hear about Russia, you may with entire confidence tie up to this—that what is done will be done by the Russian toilers and by them alone. Here democracy has been taken literally and without compromise. Here the conditions that exist in other countries with political freedom and the ballot-box have been turned the other way about. Here Labor doesn't take orders but gives them. And here Labor, being in an absolute majority, has taken charge and so far nobody else has had a look in. All there is of government in Russia today is strictly working-class government, animated by about such impulses and convictions as caused the Siberian peasants to demonstrate against the killing of Frederick Adler and to fall on their knees before the ashes of a revolutionist.

Under the red flag!

I don't know but that the flag is the hardest fact for the conservative American and Englishman to swallow. With us it has always signified detestable anarchy, violence,

blood, riot and ruin. Here in Russia it is flying everywhere over the most peace-loving and orderly people on earth. From Vladivostok to the Baltic and from Turkestan to the Arctic Circle, the simple red flag, without device or ornament, on land, the only flag you see. It has become the national flag of Russia.

It is flying this moment over the famous Winter Palace of the Czars, where I am writing, over the most sumptuous royal quarters in Europe, over these windows that looked down on Bloody Monday. In the great square in front of me five thousand men and women who asked for bread and freedom were shot to death with machine guns from these roofs, and now the red flag flies over it and a band that used to play "God Save the Czar" now plays the new national anthem. And what is that? The once-proscribed "Marseillaise!"

On Sunday, July 1, 300,000 people marched in this square with band after band that played nothing else; all day the strains of that revolutionary anthem echoed through the suites where Czars used to sit and condemn to the living death of Siberia men that had said a few words in favor of human liberty. Three hundred thousand free men and women tramped to that tune over the stones that in 1905 had been soaked in the people's blood. If that you like texts for your quiet meditations, here be a plenty, or call me naught!

It is revolution in full swing and come to stay, the dream of the prophets come true, democracy absolute and unlimited, naked and unashamed.

When we begin to absorb that fact the drama ceases to look like inebriated chaos and begins to appear as it really is, a totally new experiment in government—momentous, perilous, if you like, but wholly reasonable and wholly logical.

What they mean by democracy here is direct government by the people, the great majority of whom are the toilers on the farms and in the factories; no "checks and balances," no artificial barriers to defeat the popular will and ensure government by property; exact political equality for all, universal suffrage, women at last free from the surviving disabilities of the jungle, men freed from the political relics of feudalism. At one leap democracy goes far beyond all its previous achievements. A new country

is launched with new ideals and new purposes and the world must rub its eyes and awake to the new birth.

It is so; I do not exaggerate. Snobbery is in the bones of us; that is why we do not appreciate the wonderful things done in Russia. But if the New Day lives and is suppressed not of Old Night, another generation will think us strangely blind and dull that we did not hail with joy so great a victory for the faith we profess.

We have not only failed to see it, but by some trick of legerdemain some of us have been able to fool ourselves into believing we have a call to be the patient instructors in democracy to these well-meaning but deluded creatures.

Nobody who has ever been to Cadetsky Corpus has any such phantasms, believe me. Sitting in that famous place nothing else in the world seems so comical as the notion of instructing these people.

Take a trip down there with me and see what you think of it. The Cadetsky Corpus—that means the West Point of Russia: the vast, wandering pile that used to be the officers' training school for the Russian army. In the great hall of this institution now meets the National Council of Workmen's, Soldiers and Peasants' Delegates, the only source of government and authority, and so far the only organized expression of the popular will in Russia.

It is, in effect and for the time being, the National Congress. On the basis of population the country was divided into districts, and each district elected a delegate.

The low, plain white building has a street frontage of a quarter of a mile; all public buildings in Russia have spacious ground-plans. They take you through an entrance crowded with working people and with soldiers of the ranks, and then down one long corridor after another by the side of the old parade ground of the cadets. The first thing you notice is that you are passing an enormous room filled with plain iron cot beds. What are they? The beds of the delegates to the Council. To save time and money they sleep in the building—on the old beds of the cadets.

Next, they take you into the basement and show you crude pine tables, rough benches and men being served thereon with the simplest of food. What is this? It is the delegates' dining-room. To save time

again—as well as to save money—they eat in the building.

They mean business; they are not here for amusement. They have need of all the time they can save. Sometimes the sessions begin at 11 o'clock of one morning and last (with brief recess) until 3 o'clock of the next.

In the language of Baedeker, we now return to the first floor, where we find at twenty stands busy and comely young women selling great piles of books, pamphlets, leaflets, propaganda literature. What is all this? The works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky, Unknown This and Unknown That, an astounding variety of names the most of which you never heard of, but all preaching revolution and radicalism, political, social, industrial.

At the top of the stairs is the long, long hall, one of the longest a man ever spoke in, where the delegates meet. Once these walls were adorned with the portraits of dead Czars and the flags of Imperial Russia. All are vanished now; ripped down with joyous acclaim on the day of the Revolution. In their place appears everywhere the red flag as the only decoration; except on the wall at the entrance end, where you read this motto, done in white upon red banners:

"Workingmen of the World Unite! You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains!"

It seems to me I have heard something like that before, but few American readers of the literature of sociology ever expected to find that quotation emblazoned on the walls of any national legislature of our times.

The rear one-third of the hall is for the public. Delegates occupy the rest, 830 of them, seated at the transported old desks of the recent cadets. On the high, red-flagged platform at the extreme end sit the guests of the Council and its officers, including that redoubtable Tschaidse, the chairman, of whom the world is to hear further. At his left is the rostrum, a plain reading-desk for the speakers. Sit up there and look judiciously over this historic gathering. These men represent all the organized power of Russia; they have its fate in their hands. At their will ministers resign, governments rise or fall, armies move, policies are shapen, the fate of the race is decided. Observe them well.

It is the most extraordinary legislative

body in the world, or that ever was in the world. The National Assembly of Revolutionary France? Nay, that was, after all, a middle-class affair; advocates like Robespierre, journalists like Desmoulins. American congresses and legislatures are all lawyers; British are chiefly landowners and the sacred white fatted calves of the ancient families. But this national legislature of Russia is composed exclusively of persons that work with their hands or so closely in touch and sympathy with labor that they are a part of it. No lawyers need apply. Also, no business men, employers, captains of industry or members of the better classes.

It is not easy to realize all this, but try—try hard. Strong is the medicine, but in the end it will do you good. It will enable you to understand New Russia, for instance, and to get the hang of this, its colossal drama, which you may be sure is worth your while, if anything is.

"But how about the Duma?" say you. Oh, yes; of course—the Duma. The Duma for some reason, sticks in every American mind as the grand old Russian parliament, admirable, safe, and that sort of thing. Well, there isn't any more Duma.

The grand old Duma of the American newspaper is in the discard forever—for a reason truly beautiful and truly Russian. Soon after the Revolution struck town the Duma ceased to do any good anyway. It never was anything but a body chosen by a few of the more fortunate landowners; better than nothing in an autocracy, but never filling the bill for a government by and of the people. So the other day the question came up in the Council whether the Duma ought not formally to be abolished, since it no longer had any function in Russian affairs. But the proposal to abolish was stoutly opposed.

"This is a free country," delegates argued. "Any assembly ought to be allowed to meet as much as it pleases and discuss anything that suits its fancy. But since the Duma is no longer the national legislature, we are in favor of cutting off all its salaries and all its expense list." Which is exactly what was done—with the utmost gravity. If the Russians are shy of a sense of humor anywhere it is in regard to their public affairs.

But about our observations from the platform. Three in four of the delegates, you notice, wear the uniform of the Russian

soldier, the seemly, well-fitting tunic that makes our army coat look like something cut out with an axe; the belt, the high black boots; even in the breathless hot days of July, the high black boots. Seeing the overplus of these uniforms before us you jump to the conclusion that this is a military body; all first-timers here get that notion. It isn't military. But military service in Russia is universal and compulsory. These uniformed men are not only soldiers; they are farmers, factory workers, day-laborers, carpenters, stonemasons, who had been called to the colors and were wearing the uniform of the service when they were elected to the Council as workers and by workers.

There is another common delusion to the effect that the Council represents only Petrograd and the district thereabout. In truth, it represents every part of Russia, even far-away Asiatic Russia. Only thirty of the 830 delegates come from the Petrograd district. Amongst the rest are fishermen from the Lena River, swarthy cattlemen from the Crimea, and everything between.

Five of the delegates are women. Suffrage is universal in Russia. I mention this fact once more in the hope (probably vain) that I may gain some attention for it. I don't know why the world has elected to dwell forever on Russian anarchy that never existed and calmly ignore the Russian congress that has been so great and so veritable. The moment the wormy old structure of imperialism fell over there was but one thought in the mind of everybody, and that was universal adult suffrage. Nobody opposed it; everybody was for it—instinctively. The worst old troglodyte in all Russia had not a single growl in him about home as the place for women, about the degrading influence of the ballot, or the terrors of the ignorant vote.

Compare, then, our own exalted achievements on these lines. After fifty years of ceaseless campaigning we have won in America full suffrage for women in nine States and part suffrage for women in three or four others. After sixty years of argument and five years of what was really civil war, the English suffragists have won too a sight of a part of the justice they demanded. In Russia suffrage for women was achieved in a moment and without discussion. It was taken as a matter of course. To the Russian mind democracy meant de-

mocracy; it didn't mean a fake arrangement under which one-half of the population was denied any share in the government that governed them. Contemplate that little fact for a time, O self-righteous American or Briton, and then see if your divine call to be a tutor in democracy to these lowly ones doesn't need considerable repairing.

Democracy in Russia is neither a dream nor a joke; it is the real thing. Behold, then, Russia as it is. Under the old savage despotism the democratic faith grew in the hearts of the people as a creed of living faith. They mean to have it in all of their affairs—seriously and completely. Here in Petrograd the other day the Petrograd Yacht Club received applications for membership from two women. I hardly need to say that in the old days such a thing, if conceivable at all, would have caused strong hearts to faint and police spies to discover new candidates for Siberia's chilly wilds. But now the point was raised at once that since the Revolution men and women in Russia are upon a level of exact equality, and that automatically women had become eligible for any organization that admitted men. The point was held to be well and truly taken and the women were voted in.

They know what democracy is and they know how to operate it. A few days ago they had an election in Petrograd—an election for the new City Council. There was universal suffrage; about seven hundred thousand people for the first time in their lives used a ballot-box. I went out to see it and had a great show. The whole thing moved like clock-work; you would have thought the people had been voting all their lives.

There was a registration list, a committee composed of soldiers, workingmen and householders to manage the polling-places and scrutinize the voter's right; there was no disorder and no confusion and no discoverable chance for fraud. They did some things better than we ever did them. The polling place was invariably some public building; no basement poolroom or pickle-shop. Frequently it was on the ground floor of some old Grand Duke's palace, put at last to a reasonable use. There was no electioneering and no crowd of Red Leary's Toughs. Women went in and voted with ease, dignity, and, methought, a quiet but ineffable satisfaction. There were seven different tickets in the field. Each voter

was provided at his house with a copy of each ticket, duly certified. The end of the ticket was perforated. At the ballot box the voter was checked upon the registry list, the perforated end of his folded ticket was torn off, officially stamped and spiked, and he put the rest into the box.

There were cast in the city 722,000 votes; total population a little more than 2,000,000. Of the 722,000 all but about 140,000 were cast for the candidates of parties that propose the most sweeping changes in the whole social structure and the downfall of the last remaining castle of the old order. The *bourgeoisie* had practically disappeared.

But to come back once more, to the National Council. It is, as you plainly see, of workingmen and workingwomen. All the spectators are workingmen and working women. You are one of perhaps seven persons in the huge hall that wear starched collars. The other six are among the correspondents and reporters that sit right and left of the platform. Look over these thousands of serious, intent faces gazing hard at the dais, drinking in every word that falls from any speaker. They sit silent; they will not miss anything. Those at a distance make ear-trumpets of rolled-up newspapers; they are intolerant of the least movement or noise that causes them to lose any precious crumb of the proceedings. Well, I told you—here is the proletariat of Russia, hands upon the levers. No man can despise them now; with a breath they blow ministers in or out. In the hall where long lines of gorgeous dead Czars used to look down from the walls, and gorgeous living Czars used to watch military training of gracious youth of the governing classes, and all things seemed comfortably settled forever, plowmen and teamsters sit and debate whether Nicholas Romanoff, late of the Gorgeous Ones, now a prisoner of state, shall be allowed to vote like other plain, common citizens. Some change, some change, O my brethren! It may be that we are commissioned to teach something to these people, but what do you think it ought to be?

On the floor the delegates are ranged from left to right, according to their politics; which means, according to the intensity of their revolutionary fervor. It makes you think of Bitter Creek. All the men on the Left are Up-Rooters and Come-Outers and

(Continued on page 310)

INSIDE

AFTER twenty-three days of arduous work on the part of the Grand Jury, indictments were returned containing five counts. Upon these indictments, one hundred and sixty-six members of the I. W. W. have been or will be arrested. At headquarters, every man in the general office, hall, editorial rooms and publishing bureau were arrested without warrant, be it understood, hustled into waiting autos and rushed to the federal bldg., where, after some delay and a perfunctory introduction to U. S. Marshall Bradley, the warrants were then read.

We were handcuffed together two by two and marched down to a waiting patrol wagon; nine of us started for Cook county jail.

Clang, clang, a bell rang out, big iron doors slid back, the auto patrol wheeled up to the rear entrance of the Cook county jail, nine of us, federal prisoners, piled out thru a barred gate past the fumigator where clothes and mattresses are cleaned of vermin and disease.

Thru another iron door which was noisily locked behind, we stood in the receiving room of the prison, where thousands of culprits that enter this institution of capitalism are examined and decorated.

The guard removed the handcuffs from our wrists; we were placed in small detention cells. From a runner we ordered and paid for our first meal in this jail; sandwiches, pie and coffee were the menu which were later, with the evening papers, slipped thru the bars of the cells which were assigned to us.

Before we had the opportunity of eating our delayed supper we filed out one at a time, seated before the clerk who took our names, were recorded atheists, agnostics; these replies have been a protection from the Sunday invasion of preachers and Salvation army scouts.

After being carefully searched, receipts were made out for personal property taken, to be held until our release,

then, to the shower baths with skimpy towels and brown soap furnished. We put on our clothes without the process of fumigation.

This is the old jail; a room about 60 by 60 with a double row of cells four tiers high; our cells face the alley to the west. Cells are 6 by 8, about 8 feet high with ceilings slightly sloping to the rear.

This cell is parlor, bedroom, dining room and lavatory all in one. Decorations black and white. That is—the interior is painted solid black on two walls, black half way on the other two walls, the rest is white. Wash bowl, toilet, water pipe, small bench, a narrow double decked iron bunk, flat springs, straw mattresses, sheet and pillow case of rough material, blanket, two spoons and two tin cups constitute the furniture of our temporary homes, where we spend twenty hours out of every twenty-four in involuntary idleness—parasites—doing no more service for ourselves or society than the swell guys who loll around clubs or attend the functions at fashionable resorts. Our needs, limited to be sure, are attended by the “runner,” a prisoner ordered to do this task, and his only recompense is small tips.

* * *

“See our numbers still increasing;
Hear the bugle blow.
By our union we shall triumph
Over every foe.”

And triumph we will, while victims at present of the most infamous outrage ever perpetrated in American history. Charged with having printed the Preamble of the I. W. W., our prosecutors have made that document as historic as the declaration of Independence. The Preamble is still nailed to our masthead.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
WM. D. HAYWOOD.



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*Yours for Industrial Freedom.
Wm. D. Haywood.*

Names of Those Arrested To-date

George Andreychine, Chicago.
 Richard Brazier, Chicago.
 Ralph H. Chaplin, Chicago.
 Edward Hamilton, Chicago.
 Clyde Hough, Chicago.
 William D. Haywood, Chicago.
 Vladimir Lossieff, Chicago.
 Bert Lorton, Chicago.
 Herbert Mahler, Chicago.
 Paul Pika, Chicago.
 Charles Plahn, Chicago.
 Charles Rothfisher, Chicago.
 John Pancner, Waukegan.
 Harrison Haight, Rockford.
 Fred Nelson, Rockford.
 Joe Usapiet, Springfield.
 Aurelio Vincente Azuara, Los Angeles.
 James Elliott, Los Angeles.
 Charles McWhirt, Los Angeles.
 Glen Roberts, Los Angeles.
 Charles Jacobson, Duluth.
 Fred Jaakkola, Duluth.
 Carl Ahlteen, Minneapolis.
 Daniel Buckley, Minneapolis.
 Forrest Edwards, Minneapolis.
 Ted Frazier, Minneapolis.
 Ragner Johannsen, Minneapolis.
 Charles L. Lambert, Minneapolis.
 Geo. Speed, San Francisco.
 Luigi Parenti, San Francisco.
 Peter McEvoy, San Jose.
 Wm. Weyh, Stockton.
 Sigfried Stemberg, Minneapolis.
 Archie Sinclair, Bemidji.
 Peter Dailey, St. Paul.
 Charles Bennett, Portland.
 Peter R. Green, Portland.
 Alton E. Soper, Astoria.
 John Baldazzi, New York City.
 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, New York City.
 Arturo Giovannitti, New York City.
 Carlo Tresca, New York City.
 Manuel Rey, Buffalo.
 Alexander Cournos, Huron.
 Arthur C. Christ, Detroit.
 Otto Just, Detroit.
 Edward F. Doree, Philadelphia.
 Walter T. Nef, Philadelphia.
 Joe Graber, Scranton.
 Albert B. Prashner, Scranton.
 Salvatore Zumpano, Scranton.
 Harrison George, Pittsburg.
 Jack Law, Pittsburg.
 Meyer Friedkin, Denver.
 Ray S. Fanning, Boston.
 H. A. Giltner, Salt Lake City.
 Chas. H. MacKinnon, Salt Lake City.
 Fred C. Ritter, Salt Lake City.
 Grover H. Perry, Salt Lake City.
 H. Huhphrey, Spokane.
 William Moran, Spokane.
 James Rowan, Spokane.
 Don Sheridan, Spokane.
 Harry Lloyd, Seattle.
 J. A. MacDonald, Seattle.
 Walter Smith, Bellingham.
 J. T. Doran, Tacoma.
 James P. Thompson, Raymond.
 Geo. Hardy, Cleveland.
 Dave Ingar, Youngstown.
 James C. Slovick, Cleveland.
 Samuel Scarlett, Akron.
 Peter Kerkenon, Butte.
 Francis Miller, Providence.
 John Avila, Paterson.
 Arthur Boose, Tulsa.
 H. H. Munson, Muskogee.
 Walter Reeder, Enid.
 Stanley J. Clark, Jacksonville.
 Charles Ashleigh
 R. J. Bobba
 G. J. Bourg
 J. H. Beyer
 Pedro Cori
 Ray Cordes
 Stanley Dembrick
 Jos. J. Ettor, Philadelphia.
 John M. Foss
 Charles R. Jacobs
 Leo Laukki
 W. H. Lewis
 N. G. Marlatt
 Pietro Nigra
 Jos. A. Oates
 James Phillips
 Glen Roberts
 Walter Smith
 Ben Schraeger
 Wm. Tanner

From the I. W. W. Indictments

THE grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that before said period of time there existed, and throughout said period there has existed, a certain organization of persons under the name of Industrial Workers of the World, commonly called "I. W. W.'s," the "One Big Union," and "O. B. U.," that said organization, during said period, has been composed of a large number of persons, to wit, two hundred thousand persons, distributed in all parts of the United States, being almost exclusively laborers in the many branches of industry necessary to the existence and welfare of the people of the United States and of their government, among others the transportation, mining, meat-packing, canning, lumbering and farming industries, and the live-stock, fruit, vegetable and cotton raising industries; that said defendants, during said period have been members of said organization and among those known in said organization as "militant members of the working class" and "rebels," holding various offices, employments and agencies therein; and that, in their said membership, offices, employments and agencies, said defendants, during said period of time, with the special purpose of preventing, hindering and delaying the execution of said laws, severally have been actively engaged in managing and conducting the affairs of said association, propagating its principles by written, printed, and verbal exhortations, and accomplishing its objects, which are now here explained, and thereby and in so doing, during said period, throughout the United States and in said division and district, have engaged in, and have attempted to accomplish, and in part have accomplished, the objects of the unlawful and felonious conspiracy aforesaid.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that said organization, before and during said period of time, has been one for supposedly advancing the interests of laborers as a class (by members of said organization called "the workers" and "the proletariat"), and giving them complete

control and ownership of all property, and of the means of producing and distributing property through the abolition of all other classes of society (by the members of said organization designated as "capitalists", "the capitalistic class", "the master class", "the ruling class", "exploiters of the workers", "bourgeois", and "parasites"); such abolition to be accomplished not by political action or with any regard for right or wrong but by the continual and persistent use and employment of unlawful, tortious and forcible means and methods, involving threats, assaults, injuries, intimidations and murders upon the persons, and the injury and destruction (known in said organization as "sabotage", "direct action", "working on the job", "wearing the wooden shoes", "working the sab-cat", and "slowing-down tactics"), of the property of such other classes, the forcible resistance to the execution of all laws and finally the forcible revolutionary overthrow of all existing governmental authority, in the United States; use of which said first-mentioned means and methods was principally to accompany local strikes, industrial strikes, and general strikes of such laborers, and use of all of which said means and methods was to be made in reckless and utter disregard of the rights of all persons not members of said organization, and especially of the right of the United States to execute its above-enumerated laws, and with especial and particular design on the part of said defendants of seizing the opportunity presented by the desire and necessity of the United States expeditiously and successfully to carry on its said war, and by the consequent necessity for all laborers throughout the United States in said branches of industry to continue at and faithfully to perform their work, for putting said unlawful, tortious and forcible methods for accomplishing said object of said organization into practice, said defendants well knowing, as they have, during said period, well known and intended, that the necessary effect of their so doing would be, as it in fact has been, to hinder and delay and in

part to prevent the execution of said laws above enumerated, through interference with the production and manufacture of divers articles, to wit, munitions, ships, fuel, subsistence supplies, clothing, shelter and equipment, required and necessary for the military and naval forces of the United States in carrying on said war, and of the materials necessary for such manufacture, and through interference with the procurement of such articles and materials, by the United States, through purchases, and through orders and contracts for immediate and future delivery thereof, between the United States and persons, firms and corporations too numerous to be here named (if their names were known to said grand jurors), and through interference with and the prevention of the transportation of such articles and of said military and naval forces; and that said organization, as said defendants during said period of time have well known and intended, has also been one for discouraging, obstructing and preventing the prosecution by the United States of said war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, and preventing, hindering and delaying the execution of said laws above enumerated, by requiring the members of said organization available for duty in said military and naval forces to fail to register, and to refuse to submit to registration and draft, for service in said military and naval forces, and to fail and refuse to enlist for service therein, and by inciting others so to do, notwithstanding the requirements of said laws in that behalf and notwithstanding the patriotic duty of such members and others so to register and submit to registration and draft, and so to enlist, for service in said military and naval forces, and notwithstanding the cowardice involved in such failure and refusal; which last-mentioned object of said organization was also to be accomplished by the use of all the means and methods aforesaid as a protest against, and as a forcible means of preventing, hindering and delaying, the execution of said laws of the United States, as well as by the forcible rescue and concealment of such of said members as should be proceeded against under those laws for such failure and refusal on their part, or sought for service

or for enlistment and service in said military and naval forces.

Overt Acts

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement, certain of said defendants, at the several times and places in that behalf hereinafter mentioned in connection with their names, have done certain acts; that is to say:

1. Said William D. Haywood, Ralph H. Chaplin, Francis Miller, Charles L. Lambert, Richard Brazier and William Wiertola, on April 7, 1917, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, caused to be printed, in the issue of the newspaper *Solidarity* of that date the following:

Preamble

Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair's day's wage for a fair day's work,"

we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

4. Said William D. Haywood, Ralph H. Chaplin, Francis Miller, Charles L. Lambert, Richard Brazier and William Wiertola, on August 11, 1917, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, caused to be printed, in the issue of the newspaper *Solidarity*, of that date, among other things, the following matters, to wit:

Page 5, column 1. "But the I. W. W. is more than a labor organization. It is a revolutionary union and the very word revolutionary presupposes something radically different from former concepts of what constitutes labor unions.

We Are Dissatisfied

A revolutionary body testifies to complete dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. And this is the first reason and main reason for the existence of the I. W. W. We are absolutely and irrevocably dissatisfied with the present system of society. We consider it a useless system and we mean to destroy it."

Conclusion

And so the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do say, that time, at the place, and in manner and form, aforesaid, unlawfully and feloniously have conspired by force to prevent, hinder and delay the execution of laws of the United States; against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Second Count

(Section 19 of the Criminal Code.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that said defendants named in the first count of this indictment, thruout the period of time from April 6, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of

this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, unlawfully and feloniously have conspired together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate a great number of citizens of the United States in the free exercise and enjoyment by them respectively of a certain right and privilege secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States, the names and the number of which said citizens are to said grand jurors unknown, but which said citizens can only be and are by said grand jurors generally described as being the class of persons, mentioned in the first count of this indictment, who during said period of time have been furnishing and endeavoring to furnish, to the United States, in pursuance of sales, orders and contracts between them and the United States, munitions, ships, fuel, subsistence supplies, clothing, shelter and equipment, necessary for the military and naval forces of the United States in carrying on its war with the Imperial German Government in said first count referred to, materials necessary for the manufacture of those articles, and transportation of said articles and materials and of said military and naval forces, all required and authorized to be procured by the United States from such persons and citizens under the several laws of the United States specifically mentioned in said first count as being the laws of which said defendants are charged in said count with conspiring to prevent, hinder and delay the execution; that is to say, the right and privilege of furnishing, to said United States, without interference, hinderance or obstruction by others, said articles, materials and transportation; which said conspiracy in this count mentioned has been one for injuring, oppressing, threatening and intimidating said citizens by interfering with, hindering and obstructing them in the free exercise and enjoyment of said right and privilege by and thru the continued and persistent use and employment, by said defendants, under the circumstances and conditions in said first count described, of the unlawful and tortious means and methods in that count

set forth as the means and methods of accomplishing the objects of the unlawful and felonious conspiracy in that count charged against said defendants; the allegations of which said count in that behalf and concerning the existence, character and objects of the organization, called "Industrial Workers of the World" and "I. W. W.'s," in said count mentioned, concerning the membership, offices, employment and agencies of said defendants in that organization, and concerning said unlawful and tortious means and methods, are incorporated in this count of this indictment by reference to said first count as fully as if they were here repeated.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy in this count charged, certain of said defendants have done the several acts described in said first count under the heading of "Overt Acts," at the several times and places there stated.

Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Third Count

(Section 37 of the Criminal Code in connection with Section 332 of the Criminal Code, Section 5 of the Act of May 18, 1917, and Article 58 of the Articles of War in the Act of August 29, 1916.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that thruout the period of time from May 18, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, the United States has been at war with the Imperial German Government; and that continuously thruout said period of time said defendants named in the first count of this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, then being members of the organization described in said first count, and called "Industrial Workers of the World," "I. W. W.'s," the "One Big Union" and "O. B. U.'s," unlawfully and feloniously have conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers

other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to commit divers, to wit, ten thousand, offenses against the United States; that is to say, ten thousand offenses each to consist in unlawfully aiding, abetting, counseling, commanding, inducing and procuring one of the ten thousand male persons, other members of said organization, who on June 5, 1917, respectively attained their twenty-first birthday and who did not on that day attain their thirty-first birthday, and who have been required by the Proclamation of the President of the United States dated May 18, 1917, to present themselves for and submit to registration, under the Act of Congress approved May 18, 1917, and entitled "An Act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States," at the divers registration places in the divers precincts in said Eastern Division of the Northern District of Illinois, and in the divers other precincts in other states of the United States, wherein said persons have by law respectively been required to present themselves for and submit to such registration, whose names, and the designation, of which said precincts, are to said grand jurors unknown, unlawfully and willfully to fail and refuse so to present himself for registration and so to submit thereto; none of such persons being an officer or an enlisted man of the Regular Army, of the Navy, of the Marine Corps or of the National Guard or Naval Militia in the Service of the United States, or an officer in the Reserve Corps or an enlisted man in the Enlisted Reserve Corps in active service; and divers, to wit, five thousand, other offenses against the United States, that is to say, five thousand offenses each to consist in unlawfully and feloniously aiding, abetting, counseling, commanding, inducing and procuring one of the five thousand persons, still other members of said organization, who should become subject to the military law of the United States under and thru the enforcement of the provisions of the Act of Congress in this count of this indictment above mentioned, and The Proclamations, Rules and Regulations of the President of the United States made in pursuance of said Act of Congress, and

whose names are also unknown to said grand jurors, unlawfully and feloniously to desert the service of the United States in time of war; said defendants not then being themselves subject to military law of the United States.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement in this count of this indictment charged, certain of said defendants, at the several times and places in that behalf mentioned in connection with their names under the heading "Overt Acts" in the first count of this indictment, have done certain acts; that is to say, the several acts mentioned in said first count under said heading: Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Fourth Count

(Section 4 of the "Espionage Act" of June 15, 1917, in connection with Section 3 of that Act.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that thruout the period of time from June 15, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, the United States has been at war with the Imperial German Government; and that continuously thruout said period of time said defendants named in the first count of this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, then being members of the organization described in said first count and called "Industrial Workers of the World," "I. W. W.'s," the "One Big Union," and "O. B. U.'s," unlawfully and feloniously have conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to commit a certain offense against the United States, to wit, the offense of unlawfully, feloniously and willfully causing and attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, when the United States was at war; and

this thru and by means of personal solicitation, of public speeches, of articles printed in certain newspapers called *Solidarity*, *Industrial Worker*, *A Bermunkas*, *Darbinku Balsas*, *Il Proletario*, *Industrial Unionist*, *Rabochy*, *El Rebelde*, *A. Luz*, *Alarm*, *Solidarnosc* and *Australian Administration*, circulating thruout the United States, and of the public distribution of certain pamphlets entitled "War and the Workers," "Patriotism and the Workers," and "Preamble and Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World," the same being solicitations, speeches, articles and pamphlets persistently urging insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in said military and naval forces and failure and refusal on the part of available persons to enlist therein; and another offense against the United States, to wit, the offense of unlawfully, feloniously and willfully, by and thru the means last aforesaid, obstructing the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States, when the United States was at war, to the injury of that service and of the United States.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement in this count of this indictment charged, certain of said defendants, at the several times and places in that behalf mentioned in connection with their names under the heading "Overt Acts" in the first count of this indictment, have done certain acts; that is to say, the several acts mentioned in said first count under said heading: Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Fifth Count

(Section 37 of the Criminal Code in connection with Section 215 of the Criminal Code.)

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present, that the defendants in the first count of this indictment named, thruout the period of time from April 6, 1917, to the day of the finding and presentation of this indictment, at said City of Chicago, in said Eastern Division of said Northern District of Illinois, unlawfully and felon-

iously have conspired, combined, confederated and agreed together, and with one Frank H. Little, now deceased, and with divers other persons to said grand jurors unknown, to commit divers, to wit, twenty, offenses against the United States, that is to say twenty offenses each to consist in placing, and causing to be placed on Saturday of each week, in the postoffice of the United States at Chicago aforesaid, to be sent and delivered by the postoffice establishment of the United States, a large number, to wit, fifteen thousand, copies of a certain newspaper called *Solidarity*, and one thousand other offenses each to consist in placing, and causing to be placed, in said postoffice to be sent and delivered by said postoffice establishment, a large number, to wit, one hundred and fifty, "stickerettes" and one thousand other offenses each to consist in placing, and causing to be placed, in said postoffice establishment, a copy of some one of the following books, to wit, "Sabotage" by Emile Pouget, and "Sabotage" by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, all of which publications contained information and advice advocating the commission of the fraudulent practices hereinafter set forth and all of which were for the purpose of executing a certain scheme and artifice to defraud the employers of labor hereinafter mentioned but whose names are to the grand jurors unknown; which was theretofore devised by said defendants:

That said defendants would cheat and defraud out of money, employers of labor thruout the United States, and particularly those employers of labor engaged in the manufacture of munitions and supplies for the United States Army and Navy, and those engaged in furnishing the raw materials out of which said munitions and supplies are made, and those engaged in the transportation of said munitions and supplies and raw materials, by entering or staying in the employ of said employers and receiving and accepting money from said employers for working for them and by procuring other members of the Industrial Workers of the World so to do, when, in fact, said defendants while accepting and receiving said money would secretly and covertly work against said employers and to their

injury and detriment and would induce and persuade said other members so to do; that said defendants would demand stated wages under agreements binding them respectively to give their services to their employers in good faith, and would pretend to said employers that they would render efficient services, assist said employers in producing good products and render their services free from intentional injury to their employers, and would induce and persuade said other members so to do; that they would hold said employments and accept said employments with the secret purpose and intention not to render efficient service to said employers and not to produce good products but secretly and covertly to render inefficient service, and to purposely assist in producing bad and unmarketable products and intentionally to retard, slacken and reduce production wherever employed, and intentionally to restrict and decrease the profits of said employers and interfere with and injure their trade and business, and secretly and covertly to injure, break up and destroy the property of said employers; and that they would teach, incite, induce, aid and abet said other members so to do. That as a part of said scheme and artifice, said defendants were to send and deliver by the postoffice establishment of the United States the newspapers, stickerettes and books aforesaid.

And the grand jurors aforesaid, upon their oaths aforesaid, do further present, that in and for executing said unlawful and felonious conspiracy, combination, confederation and agreement, said defendants at the several times and places hereinafter mentioned in their behalf, have done certain acts, that is to say:

(1) Said defendants, on Saturday of each week during said period of time, caused to be printed, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, fifteen thousand copies of said newspaper called *Solidarity*.

(2) Said William D. Haywood, on May 25, 1917, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, gave an order to Cahill-Carberry & Company, of Chicago, to print and deliver to said William D. Haywood one million of said stickerettes.

(3) Said defendants, on July 25, 1917,

caused to be printed, at Chicago aforesaid, in said division and district, one thousand copies of said book called "Sabotage," by said Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Against the peace and dignity of the United States, and contrary to the form of the statute of the same in such case made and provided.

Charles F. Clyne,
United States Attorney.
William C. Fitts,
Assistant Attorney General.
Frank K. Nebeker,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General.
Frank C. Dailey,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Oliver E. Pagan,
Attorney, Department of Justice.
(Endorsed): No. 6125 United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division. The United States of America vs. William D. Haywood et al. Indictment on Sections 6, 19 and 37 of the Criminal Code of the United States, and Section 4 of the "Espionage Act" of June 15, 1917. A true bill. William H. Rose, Foreman. Filed in open court this 28th day of Sept., A. D. 1917.
T. C. MacMillan,
Clerk.

HAYWOOD LONGS FOR "OTHER BOYS" IN JAIL

Wants All I. W. W. Prisoners Brought Here—"It Will Be so Homelike"

By Carl Sandburg

Thru a steel cage door of the Cook county jail, Big Bill Haywood today spoke the defiance of the Industrial Workers of the World to its enemies and captors.

Bill didn't pound on the door, shake the iron clamps nor ask for pity nor make any kind of a play as a hero. He peered thru the square holes of the steel slats and talked in the even voice of a poker player who may or may not hold a winning hand. It was the voice of a man who sleeps well, digests what he eats, and requires neither sedatives to soothe him nor stimulants to stir him up.

The man accused of participation in 10,000 separate and distinct crimes lifted a face checkered by the steel lattice work and said with a slow smile:

"Hello, I'm glad to see you. Do you know when they're going to bring the rest of the boys here? We'd like to have them from all over the country together here. It would be homelike for us all to be together."

Smile at Charge of 10,000 Crimes

He was asked about the 10,000 crim-

inal offenses of which the I. W. W. is accused.

"I don't see where they can scrape up 10,000 offenses unless they claim that we circulated 10,000 copies of Pouget's book on sabotage." This with a half smile, and then more intensely:

"Ten thousand crimes! If they can make the American public or any fair minded jury believe that, I don't see how they'll do it. Why, they can't put their fingers on one single place where we have hampered the government in carrying on the war.

"The I. W. W. has done nothing on the war one way or another. It is true we have called strikes, but they were not aimed at stopping the war. Look! In one industry where a strike was called they could have paid workmen \$10 a day and then made fat profits. The I. W. W. has been fighting and will keep on fighting for higher wages to pay for a higher cost of living.

"Eggs awhile ago were two for a nickel. Now they're a nickel apiece. A pork-chop costs double what it used to. It takes a week's pay of a lumberjack to buy a wool shirt.

Conditions, Not Philosophy

"Thousands of married men with families belong to the I. W. W. Milk has gone up for them. At 13 cents a quart they can't buy milk for their babies unless they get more money as wages. Read the testimony federal investigators took up in the Mesaba range. It's conditions

and not philosophy that makes the I. W. W."

The checkered face in the steel slats and electric light kept a perfect calm. Where LaFollette is explosive and Mayor Thompson overplausible and grievous, Haywood takes it easy. He discusses the alleged 10,000 crimes with the massive leisure of Hippo Vaughn pitching a shut-out.

"You are charged with burning wheat fields," he was reminded.

"I deny it absolutely. Why should workmen burn up their own employment? They would be fools."

THE I. W. W. BOYS

NEARLY 160 of the best known members of the I. W. W. have been indicted on a charge of seditious conspiracy and many have already been arrested. Among these are Secretary-Treasurer William D. Haywood and Ralph Chaplin, editor of *Solidarity*. Organizers, editors, officials, the active ones among these are nearly all at present incarcerated. Few are out on bonds. When Haywood was asked about securing bail he said that he did not want the hard-earned dollar of the working class to be spent for anything except for Organization, Education and Defense.

With all the evidence secured in the Government raids, the Prosecuting Attorneys must know that not one cent has been contributed to the I. W. W. by the Kaiser. They must know that the purposes of that organization are perfectly open for all to see. The I. W. W. boys on strike in the copper and lumber districts have not been whipped because a few organizers and officials have been thrown into jail. The only persons who can call off these strikes are the workers on the jobs, themselves.

The great crime of the I. W. W. seems to be that its members dared to go on strike to secure safety in the mines, better sanitary conditions in the lumber camps and the eight-hour day.

At this writing over 100,000 coal miners are on strike and the newspapers are crying that unless these miners go back to work, the people will be without water, gas, fuel. Does anybody arrest the coal miners on a charge of seditious conspiracy? Has any-

"You are accused of driving spikes into spruce trees needed for war airplanes."

"Deny it absolutely. And get this, boy: Not a dirty German dollar has ever come into our hands that we know of. Go back thru our speeches and literature and you will find that a year ago, two years ago and before the war ever started we were in favor of slashing the kaiser's throat. Every dollar we've got now and every dollar the organization will get comes from workingmen." — *Chicago Daily News*.

body arrested the men in the ship-yards for striking? The newspapers are full of strike stories every day in the week and nobody thinks of saying "German money;" nobody thinks of arresting the officials of the unions or their organizers.

It may be that some people thought all strikes against inhuman conditions, all strikes for sufficient wages to keep up with the aeroplaning cost of living would cease with the members of the I. W. W. in jail. But it is the desperate condition of the workers and the colossal greed of the profiteers that drive men out of the mines and mills, not any leaders or group of men.

Evidently the I. W. W. has been signaled out for punishment because it seeks to organize all the workers as a class; because it will not "sell out" and could not if it would; and because its ultimate goal is the aim of all socialists—the abolition of working class exploitation.

At a Defense Meeting held in Chicago, October 13th, the speaker quoted an old saying from Haywood:

"The Treasury of the I. W. W. is in the pockets of the working class. Dig up all you can to defend our fellow workers who are in jail."

Some of the boys are donating one day's wages every week. What will you do? Our comrades shall not spend the rest of their lives in prison because they have fought for the interests of their class—the working class.

Make money orders payable to General Defense Committee, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill., I. W. W., and they will be readily cashed by headquarters.



HOLD the FORT GRAND ENTERTAINMENT

Given By
CLASS WAR PRISONERS
Cook Co. Jail
SUNDAY, OCT. 28th 1.30, P.M.
1917

PROGRAM

- ✓ 1. I. W. W. Chorus - "Hold the Fort!"
- ✓ 2. Recitation, Coumours
- ✓ 3. Song, Harrison George
- ✓ 4. Recitation, Archie Sinclair
- ✓ 5. Song, Sam Scarlett
- ✓ 6. Stunt, Bill Haywood
- ✓ 7. Song, A. E. Saper
- ✓ 8. Swedish Chorus
- ✓ 9. Recitation, Chapelin
- ✓ 10. Song, Dave Inger
- ✓ 11. Recitation, Dick Brazier
- ✓ 12. Recitation, Ragnar Johnson
- ✓ 13. Song, Peter N. N. N.
- ✓ 14. I. W. W. Chorus, The Red Flag

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EVERYBODY WELCOME

Industrial Unrest in Great Britain

By LAURENCE WELSH

Passed by the British Censor.

THE spring of this year was a period of industrial and political unrest over most of the world, and in England this uneasiness found its main expression in the great engineers' strike. After a slight attempt at coercion the Government was forced to yield, and, on consideration of the men's returning to work, promised a full enquiry into their grievances. That enquiry has taken place and the new Munitions Bill, which will be based on the fruits of the enquiry, will probably go far to justify the men in defying the Munitions and Defence of the Realm Acts and striking in war time.

Simultaneously with the special enquiries into the trouble in the engineering industry, there were appointed by Mr. Lloyd George eight Commissions into Industrial Unrest in general, the terms of whose reference were simply "To enquire into and report upon Industrial Unrest, and to make recommendations to the Government at the earliest practicable date."

The reports of the Commissions are now before us, and in our view the labor and money spent might well have been saved. Thruout the eight reports there is no new fact brought to light, and the Government will learn nothing that was not common knowledge amongst all who are acquainted with industrial conditions here. The only consolation the nation can derive for this foolish waste of its money is the fact that the Government can no longer have any excuse for failing to remedy the evils so plainly set forth by its own Commissioners.

The causes of unrest and the recommendations for their removal are closely similar in all the reports.

Prominently to the front in each case is the high cost of living, the failure of wages to keep pace with the rise in prices, and the universal impression that excessive profits are still being made from dealings in the vital necessities of the nation. The report for the North Western area quotes the following figures

from the Board of Trade Labour Gazette of June, 1917:—

Increased cost of

food as compared with July, 1914,	102%
living —do.—	70/75%
food on —do.—	70%
economical basis.	

The view is widely expressed that an effective treatment of this question would settle by far the greater part of the current unrest, and on general grounds we suppose this is a true view. The Labor Movement generally is, we fear, largely preoccupied with questions of wages, and leaves to a few pioneers the problems of proletarian emancipation and the ending of the wage system. It must be admitted, however, that the resentment is not merely against the actual high prices, but against the very fact that profits are being made at all. This fact may perhaps indicate an abstract hatred of economic injustice as well as a concrete dislike of parting with money!

The common experience of the Commission is that the laboring classes even now support the conduct of the war and any resentment is directed against methods rather than aims in the national policy. In the South Wales report mention is made of a fairly general dislike of the police and military methods in connection with pacifist and other unpopular meetings. The love of freedom, even for the minority and the oppressed, has fled from England, but it may still be found in Wales. There is no doubt that the feeling is spreading that any high-handed Governmental interference with, for instance, the arrangements for the Stockholm Conference, would have a most disquieting effect. The foolish allegations that industrial unrest is in part due to enemy propaganda are dismissed as frivolous and baseless by the one Commission which considers the matter worth mentioning.

The Military Service Acts have constituted a grave source of dissatisfaction, especially in regard to the question of exemptions from military service on grounds

of technical indispensability. Various schemes were established and all failed to supply the army with the exorbitant numbers it demanded. The task of selecting men in the Engineering industry for military service as and when they could be spared from their civil occupations was then handed over by agreement to various Trade Unions, who were empowered to issue a certificate of exemption called a "Trade Card." The Unions to whom this power was granted were all "skilled" Unions, and the general labor unions soon found cause to object to the procedure. Charges of unjustifiable exemption were also brought against the Unions, and the Government broke their agreement and suddenly withdrew the scheme without any preliminary consultation with the Unions. This arbitrary withdrawal was one of the main causes of the Engineers' strike and of the general unrest. It is only one illustration of the high-handed and capricious conduct of the Government departments when dealing with labor questions, and all confidence in Government schemes and promises has been destroyed by this arrogant officialism.

The new arrangements for the enlistment of men engaged on munition work have not yet been sufficiently tried for judgment to be passed on their efficiency. Numerous complaints have been received of the usual blunders and lack of tact on the part of the official administrators.

Thruout the history of the Military Service Acts cases have arisen of victimisation of prominent Trade Unionists: especial resentment is felt that the Munitions Act prevents men from leaving their employment, while the Military Service Acts give employers the practical power to force men into the army.

The conduct of the "dilution" plans—the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled men or women for fully skilled mechanics—has been tainted with the same abuses. Mechanics so "released" are sometimes sent into the army and sometimes to other civil work. In any case, the power of the employer to remove an active employee whose views are too "independent" is considerable, and has been widely used.

The Commissioners report unanimously in favor of abolishing the Leaving

Certificate required by the Munitions Act, whereby an employee is not allowed to change his work without the sanction of the employer. The Government has announced its intention of conceding this point in the new Munitions Bill shortly to be introduced. The penal clauses of the Act, under which fines may be imposed for bad-timekeeping and kindred offences, are strongly disliked, and undoubtedly hinder production far more than they aid it.

Considerable uneasiness is manifested on the subject of the restoration of Trade Union Rules after the war in accordance with the Government pledges. The Munitions Act decrees that a record of all departures from pre-war customs shall be made and preserved. Several witnesses before the Commissions declared that this was not being done. In many cases, no doubt, this is the fault largely of the Trade Unionists themselves who have taken no pains to enforce the registration; in other cases attempts have been made to force employers to fulfil the conditions of the Act, and the latter have wilfully neglected their duty in the matter.

Various other important grounds of dissatisfaction exist, including the following: The long delay which frequently occurs in securing official attention to industrial grievances. The men are forbidden by law to strike, and without this power they are unable to secure speedy redress of their grievances. The lack of decent housing accommodation is, of course, a chronic complaint, but it has been seriously increased by the migration of munition workers into industrial areas. The conditions described by the Commissioners in the neighborhood of Vickers' Factory at Barrow-in-Furness are unutterably ghastly. The Report significantly says "But for the fact that Barrow lies in a very isolated position and that it is considered inadvisable to inform the public thru the medium of the press of many of the evils of industrial life, we cannot believe that the facts we propose to set down could so have remained actual conditions of domestic life in England in the Twentieth century." What a criticism of the Government's secretive and deceptive methods!

Another chronic complaint is ex-

pressed in the phrase "inequality of sacrifice." All classes alike have contributed their sons to the national cause and most have contributed their best energies. But, as usual, the economic sacrifices of labor have been the heaviest. Never far removed from the border-line of starvation, the workers are now feeling most acutely the pinch of the increased cost of living, the heavy and annoying restrictions on personal liberty and freedom of thought, and the divorce from any control over national policy and destiny. Till Labor perfects its economic weapons and assumes control of industry, these sacrifices will be increasingly its lot.

Is it possible to bring together under one head, the causes of all these various sources of unrest? The one general cause is the lack of control by the workers themselves over the conditions of their industrial lives. A complaint which appears in each of the Reports is the extreme centralization of the national industrial life; the whole direction of policy is too much in the hands of officials in London often far away geographically and always far away in their outlook on life, from labor's activities. All government is "from above" and in deciding policy and methods the men have no say.

The famous Shop Stewards' movement is a significant commentary on this condition of affairs. This is an "unofficial" movement from the Trade Union point of view, that is, altho the personnel of the Shops Committees consists entirely of Unionists, there is no connection between the official Union Executives on the one hand and the Stewards and members on the other. The aim of the movement is to secure a closer grip on local conditions and a stronger measure of local control than the orthodox Trade Union structure has afforded. The effect of the Stewards' activities has been to "ginger up" the Executives and even to

initiate and conduct important Trade movements without the sanction of Executives. It must be said in fairness to the Executives that a regulation under the Defence of the Realm Act made it an offence in any way to hinder the production of munitions; any support given to a strike movement would have rendered the Union funds liable to confiscation. In general, the work of Shop Stewards is well summarized in the Report for Yorkshire:

"The aims and methods of the Shop Stewards acting unconstitutionally are condemned, but the feeling is widespread that the machinery they have created, if based on constitutional lines, would assist Trade Unions to live up to the demands of those who are employed in modern specialized workshops."

The remedy for these evils lies largely with the Unions themselves. The Government has set up bureaucratic machinery in industry because Labor made no effective protest, and because, if it had, there was no effective alternative to hand. If the Unions had spent their energies less on sectional quarrels and purely monetary aims, and more on crushing out the blackleg, and perfecting their economic weapons on the lines of Industrial Unionism, there would have been another tale to tell.

Even now it is not too late. The dangers of war are trivial compared with those awaiting Labor on the outbreak of peace. Let Labor's Reconstruction begin at home; if the Unions see to it that they are strongly organized on industrial lines, then all things shall be added unto them. When they have the economic power which such a reconstruction will give them, they can effectively demand as a right the control of industry and the establishment of self-governing National Guilds.

London, August, 1917.

SOCIALISTS ACQUITTED

THE trial of thirteen socialists which took place in Grand Rapids, Michigan, resulted in an acquittal for all.

Those on trial were Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party; Rev. Daniel Roy Freeman, pastor of the All Souls Church of Grand Rapids; Rev. Klaas Oosterhuis, pastor of the Holland Unitarian Church; Charles G. Taylor, former Socialist member of the Grand Rapids school board; Miss Viva Flaherty, Socialist, social worker and writer, and members of the local Socialist party including Dr. Martin H. Elzinga, James W. Clement, Sr., Charles J. Callaghan, Benjamin Blumenberg, Glen H. Pangborn, Glen G. Fleser, Vernon Kilpatrick and Benjamin A. Faulkner.

The charge against them is that they circulated about 2,000 copies of the St. Louis Socialist Convention War Proclamation; 15,000 copies of the leaflet, "The Price We Pay," and 15,000 copies of a leaflet prepared by Miss Flaherty, containing extracts from speeches made in congress, and closing with the statement, "Repeal the Conscription Law."

In his opening statement to the jury, Prosecuting Attorney Walker merely stated that the government would show that the alleged objectionable literature had been issued by the National Socialist Party, published and advertised in *The American Socialist*, ordered and distributed by the Grand Rapids, Michigan, Socialist Local. No effort was made to show that anyone had committed any illegal act as the result of reading this literature. The war proclamation was read to the jury in full by Prosecuting Attorney Walker.

Prosecuting Attorney Walker laid great stress on the fact that the St. Louis party convention met and organized the day after war was declared. He insisted on emphasizing that the main purpose of the convention was to declare the party's anti-war position after war had been declared. He read in full the lengthy report submitted to the convention by John Spargo, which was overwhelmingly rejected. He also read the minority report that was submitted to referendum. Considerable emphasis was also placed by the government attorney on the

fact that the majority, after its adoption by the convention, was sent out in leaflet form, as was ordered by the convention. Judge Sessions sustained an objection to introducing the opinions of Winfield Gaylord and others that the sending out of the majority report in leaflet form was treasonable. Attorney Seymour Stedman, for the defense, declared this was merely opinion and that it would only force the introduction of opinions on the other side.

On cross examination by the government, Germer declared that the War Proclamation leaflet was sent out to spread the propaganda of Socialism, to give the Socialist position on the war, and not in the hope of materially changing the attitude or effecting any action on the part of the people as a whole.

Judge Sessions declared that the fact that the nation is at war should make no difference in interpreting the evidence and reaching a verdict.

"It is necessary for the government," he said, "before it can ask for a verdict of conviction, to have established by evidence, beyond a reasonable doubt, the charges contained in the indictment—in this case, an unlawful conspiracy; that is an agreement either implied or expressed to do an unlawful act, a concert of action with a common purpose known to each of the defendants who is guilty."

"The question is, what was the purpose or intent? May it have been fair from the evidence that the purpose was to discourage or prevent registration, to induce persons not to register. We must consider the time of the distribution, the contents of the literature, the composition of it and the quantity of it. We must consider the time with relation to Registration Day. What was the purpose of distributing 15,000 copies of 'The Price We Pay' just before registration day? It is the duty of the court to submit these questions to the jury."

On October 18th a jury in the United States district court acquitted Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, and thirteen other socialists of the charge of conspiracy against the government.

A Talk With Mr. Burleson

By GEORGE P. WEST

[From The Public.]

THE views of Albert S. Burleson of Texas on political and economic subjects have suddenly become of the greatest importance. For Mr. Burleson as Postmaster General has been clothed with the power to suppress any newspaper or periodical that, in his judgment, is indulging in illegitimate criticism of the Government and the war, or saying things "that will interfere with enlistments or that will hamper and obstruct the Government in the prosecution of the war." Nor may any newspaper say that the Government is the tool of Wall Street and the munitions makers. This is Mr. Burleson's own interpretation of the clause in the espionage act under which his new authority is being exercised. It is the language of an authorized statement issued by him after Congress had adopted a rider to the Trading-with-the-Enemy act which makes it unlawful to transport or sell publications that have lost their mailing privileges.

When I met Mr. Burleson by appointment at his office I had some difficulty in making it clear to him that *The Public* was in no fear of suppression, and that I had come, not as an apologist or suppliant, but merely as a reporter.

"You needn't have the slightest fear provided you stay within the limits," he assured me again and again. "But the instant you print anything calculated to dishearten the boys in the army or to make them think this is not a just and righteous war—that instant you will be suppressed, and no amount of influence will save you."

Mr. Burleson brought his fist down on his desk by way of emphasis, and I almost looked to see the mangled form of some pacifist editor lying there as he removed it. When this happened for about the third time, I lost my patience and told him sharply I didn't need him nor anyone else to tell me to be a good American.

I finally explained to him that I wanted to raise questions that had nothing to do with *The Public's* status. The first was as to the wisdom of suppressing pacifist papers as a practical political problem. Would it

not be better, in the Government's own interests, to let them have their say and trust to the rightness of the Government's course to counteract and nullify any influence they might have? Mr. Burleson said Congress had answered in the negative, and that as an executive officer he had nothing to do with it. I suggested that the administrative departments had great influence with Congress, and that it was said William Lamar, solicitor for his department, had written the clause in the Trading-with-the-Enemy act which closes every other avenue of circulation to publications under the department's ban. I mentioned *The Masses* as an example of a pacifist publication that is open-minded and sincere. In his last issue Max Eastman had in effect given an enthusiastic endorsement to the President's policy, and it would have great influence with just the elements that the Government most needed.

"I regard Max Eastman as no better than a traitor, and the stuff he has been printing as rank treason," thundered Mr. Burleson. "I myself showed the President where he said it was the People's Council, another vile, traitorous organization, that had forced him to write his note to the Pope."

"Eastman is absolutely sincere and has the best interests of the people of this country at heart," I said.

"Traitors all look alike to me," said the Postmaster General; "I don't care whether they are sincere or not."

"What some of us fear," I said, "is that officials of this department will let a class prejudice against radical publications influence them, and that the movement for economic democracy will suffer because of it. What I should like to see is for you to suppress Colonel's Roosevelt's articles charging broomstick preparedness. They certainly give aid and comfort to the enemy."

"What he says is not true," said Mr. Burleson, "but I don't think it would affect the morale or fighting spirit of our soldiers. As for the others, we shall not permit them to say that this war was brought on by Wall Street and that the President is a tool of the interests. This administration has done

more for labor than any other. We have given them all they ought to have. Mind you, I don't think they have got anything they weren't entitled to, except that we should have enacted a compulsory arbitration law. I believe in compulsory arbitration.

"No man has any more sympathy than I have for the poor fellow bent over working with a pick for \$1.50 a day. I'll do all I can to lighten that man's burdens. But when he takes up the torch or the bomb—"

Again Mr. Burleson's fist came down on the table.

"Give him a show for his white alley and he'll have no inclination to," I suggested.

"Mr. West," said the Postmaster General, kindly, "do you know why that man can't make more money? It's up here," and he pointed to his forehead. "It's the shape of his brain. It's fatality. God Almighty did that, and you can't change it. You're challenging Providence. Distribute all the wealth in the country with absolute equality, and what would happen within a year? It would all be back in the same hands."

"Let's waive the question of grown up men," I said, "and take children. They at least ought to have equal opportunity."

"Do you mean to tell me," said Mr. Burleson, "that the child of the poorest farmer or the poorest factory hand in New England hasn't just as good a chance to go to school and get an education and become a bank director or a railroad president as J. P. Morgan?"

"I certainly do," I said. "Very few finish grammar school. Take your Bureau of Labor statistics. Take the report of your Public Health Service, which shows that less than half of the adult male wage earners in this country were earning enough to support their families in decency and comfort."

"It's their own fault," said Mr. Burleson. "It's their own fault. This is the freest and finest country God ever made. Your quarrel is with God. You have a perverted view of these things. If that's the stuff you're preaching, I think you're probably doing more harm than good."

"God never intended that man should be allowed to grow rich just from the ownership of land that others worked," I suggested.

Mr. Burleson chuckled.

"As a land owner, you can't expect me to believe that," he said.

"Take your own State of Texas," I said. "The hearings and reports of the Walsh Commission on tenant farming—"

"That was the most vicious and untrue document ever published," said Mr. Burleson, very much aroused. "If the rest of that report was like that part of it, the whole thing was vicious. The people don't get on the land because they like to stay in town where the lights are bright and they can go to the movies. Take two twin brothers. One succeeds and the other doesn't. One saves his money and works hard—the other must go to the movies every night and the opera every week, and at 50 has nothing. It's a difference in people that you can't change. It's fatality."

"But don't think I'm going to interfere with any publication because it may preach these ideas. Take Socialism. I don't care about Socialism. As a political party it's insignificant; its views are not making any headway. During the war it has a little importance, but that will end with the war. I'll not interfere with any publication that stays within the limits laid down by the law."

I asked Mr. Burleson about methods, and whether a publication would have its day in court.

"Every editor is his own censor," he said. "The lines are clearly laid down, and no editor will have any difficulty in keeping out of trouble if he wishes to do so. And the courts are open to them. Judge Hough supported my contention."

"But he said that to take away *The Masses'* mailing privilege because it had been denied continuity of publication by your department was like a policeman knocking a man down and then arresting him for obstructing the sidewalk."

"You've been reading only one side of that," said Mr. Burleson. "That was not the reason. It was because *The Masses* had been printing unmailable matter. What these editors want is a chance to spew out all their poison and do all the mischief they are capable of before we can reach them. They won't succeed."

Mr. Burleson at the end referred me to Mr. Lamar, solicitor for the department,

for a copy of his authorized statement. Mr. Lamar is the official who initiates proceedings against periodicals and who press the case against them. He is devoting all his time to the work. I talked with him for a few minutes and found him in much the

same frame of mind as his chief. He asked me if I had read *The Masses* for a few months back, and when I told him I'd read it for several years with enjoyment, if not always with full agreement, he lost interest in me.

SOCIALISTS WIN IN SWEDEN

The Chicago Socialist

FOOD!

That was the issue!
"We demand bread!"
That was the cry!

With this issue in mind and with this cry on their lips, the voters of Sweden have just elected 98 Socialists to the lower chamber of their parliament.

That is more than were elected by any other political party. The once proud Conservatives lost 28 members, electing only 58. The Liberals managed to hold their own, getting 62, while the remaining 12 seats were taken by the Agrarians (farmers).

"A Socialist premier of Sweden!" is the present demand of the Swedish workers, as they call for the overthrow of the conservative government, repudiated by the voters.

The rising tide of Socialism, that has put the Socialists in control of Russia and established a Socialist government in Finland, has now crossed the Baltic Sea and swept all before it in Sweden.

The Russian revolution started a hunger riot.

The Swedish Socialist victory is due to conscienceless profiteering in food.

Ever since the war started the "neutral" food profiteers of Sweden have been selling the food of Sweden, food that ought to have been kept at home, to the warring nations.

The pro-German Swedish capitalists sold the nation's substance to Germany at prices higher than the workers at home were able to pay. They were upheld by the Swedish Conservative government, the political wing of Swedish capitalism.

When one hundred thousand workers demonstrated for "FOOD" before the parliament houses in Stockholm recently, they were addressed by the Socialist spokesman,

Hjalmar Branting, while the Conservative statesmen ordered them dispersed before the hoofs of charging cavalry and the bayonets of heavily armed infantry.

But the daily reckoning has come. All during the month of September, under a complicated system of proportional representation, the workers of Sweden have been marching in solid phalanx to the polls and casting their ballots for Socialism—for peace and plenty.

Look at the figures again: Out of the 230 members of the lower house of the Swedish parliament the Socialists have 98; Liberals, 62; Conservatives, 58; Agrarians, 12.

Stockholm, the nation's capital, was the last hope of the Conservatives. Many persons here have become rich during the war. But here, too, the Socialists gained heavily. In Upsala, Engberg, a member of the executive committee of the international Socialist Peace Conference, that was to have been held last month in Stockholm, was elected.

The last plea of the Conservatives in Stockholm was an hysterical summoning of the people to "gather round the King." The King's aide-de-camp promised to be present at a mass meeting called for this purpose but failed to appear. So a resolution was adopted requesting the King to reject all doctrines directed at limiting his right and duty to represent national unity. The workers came back at the King business by sweeping the Socialist candidates to victory.

Thruout all of Sweden the Socialists are jubilant, while the enthusiasm and joy permeates all of Scandinavia, the Swedish Socialists being profusely congratulated by their comrades in Norway and Denmark. The Socialists of America join with the So-

cialists in every other land the world over in extending their comradely greetings to the victors in Sweden in the world-wide struggle for universal brotherhood.

The Conservative cabinet, the present political power in the nation, is expected to resign almost any day. Then a new cabinet will immediately come into existence.

The Socialists expect to have a complete majority in parliament by forcing the Liberals to act with them.

Hjalmar Branting, the Socialist spokesman, is today the most popular man in Sweden. It is said that he can certainly have the premiership if he wants it. He is already being extensively cartooned as the new premier.

Just as soon as it became evident that the Socialists had scored their greatest triumph, the forces of reaction set to work to save themselves if possible.

At first it was urged that the Conservative cabinet be allowed to remain in power—that it was not desirable to make a change at this time. It was soon admitted that this position was not tenable under the heavy attack of working class objections.

Then the Conservatives set about campaigning for a coalition cabinet. Many overtures have been made to the Liberals to enter a cabinet with the Conservatives, it being shown that a Conservative-Liberal coalition would have control of parliament.

But the Conservatives are so discredited in the eyes of all the people that even the Liberals refuse to co-operate with them and they will certainly get no support from the Socialists. The Agrarians, formerly represented by the Conservatives, broke away from them because they never carried out their promises to the farming population. Even the support of King Gustaf has not aided the Conservatives in their efforts of coalition. The new government, therefore, according to every prophecy, will be either

completely Socialist or a Socialist-Liberal coalition.

The first duty of the new cabinet will be the drafting of a budget for the opening of the new parliament Jan. 15.

It looks as if an early task of the new parliament will be consideration of the modification or abolition of the present scheme by which large incomes carry numerous votes and small incomes only one.

Approximately half a million of the kingdom's popular vote was cast for and a quarter of a million against the proposal for a democratic revision of the Swedish constitution, abolishing plural voting in municipalities, and giving women the franchise.

The regime of Hammarskjöld, former premier, was largely responsible for the swing of the political pendulum. In 1915 and 1916 120,000,000 kronen (\$30,000,000) was spent for the military budget before parliament was asked about it. The Socialists and Liberals saw no necessity for this burden of expenditures and began to be very restive. Last winter Hammarskjöld asked for an additional 100,000,000 kronen (\$25,000,000), but parliament gave only 8,000,000 kronen (\$2,000,000). Hammarskjöld then realized that he could not work with parliament any longer.

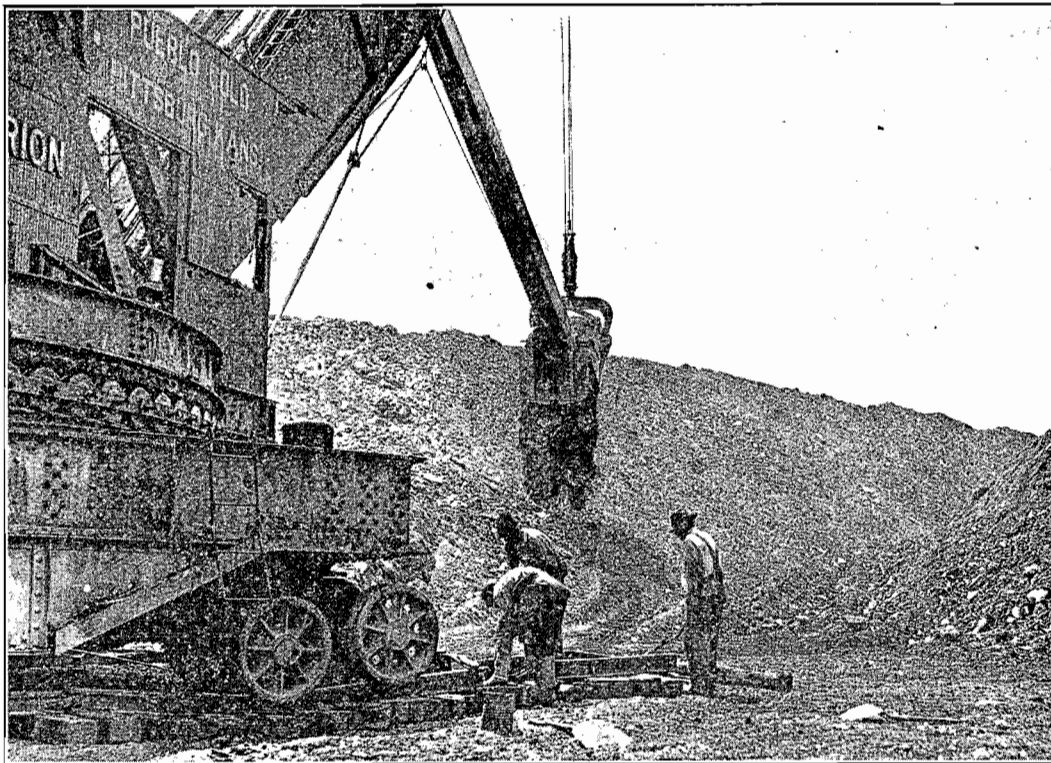
The Socialists were asked to form a cabinet, but they refused, saying that the Conservatives had made a mess of things and now must clear it up themselves.

It is well to note that one of the cries against the Socialists was that of anti-patriotism. The people were not deceived by this false issue coming from the profiteering capitalists and the newly made millionaires. The Socialists were endorsed as the only real patriots.

Socialism, the hope of the world, is coming into its own.

It is coming fast, but it cannot come too soon.





THIS MAMMOTH STEEL MONSTER PICKS UP FIVE TONS OF EARTH AND STONE AS EASILY AS A MAN PICKS UP FIVE POUNDS

Coal Mining by Machine and the Changes It Has Brought

By GLENN WARREN

IN the southeast part of Kansas and the southwest part of Missouri are thousands of acres of coal lands where the coal is from ten to forty feet below the surface. Up until five or six years ago this coal was mined from the earth by two methods. The coal near the surface—that is, from ten to twelve feet deep—was reached by “stripping” or “daylight mining,” as it is called. All this digging had to be done by teams or hand and it was necessarily a costly process. The coal at a greater depth was obtained by underground mining. Both of these methods required skilled labor more or less, either experienced teamsters and teams or skilled miners. As one old

timer expressed it, “Them days a man could make a real day’s wage,” it being easy for a good miner to make from five to seven dollars per day, and flourishing mining towns and camps dotted the country everywhere.

Today, however, all is changed. The streets of the one-time populous, prosperous mining towns of this region are almost deserted, the stores have mostly been closed up and camps have disappeared. The men and laborers are of a different class and the majority of them are now paid from two and a half to two dollars and eighty cents per day. Yet with all this more coal is being shipped out of this section than ever

before. Where formerly one man in an underground mine could load about nine cars, eight men in one of the daylight mines a few days ago loaded two hundred cars in eight hours.

This enormous change has been entirely due to the introduction of monster steam shovels. Machines, larger than any of their kind in the world, that takes several tons of earth and rock out of the ground and move it to a spot two hundred feet away with as much speed and ease as a man can take a shovelful and move it ten feet, are now used.

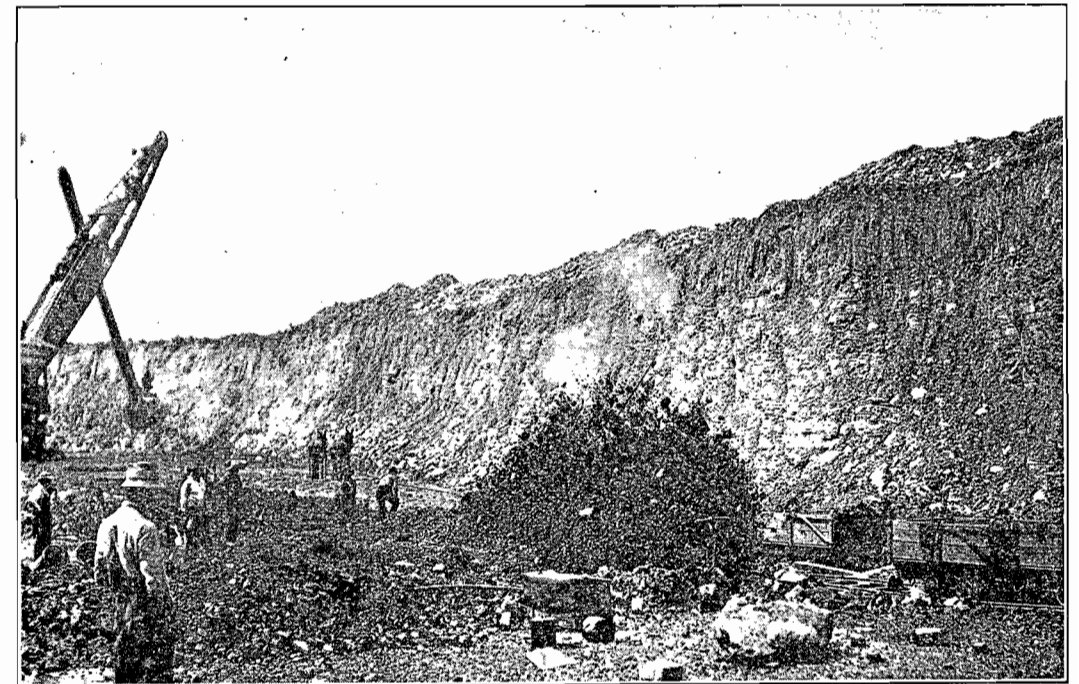
When a vein of coal is to be worked a railroad spur is first built to one edge of the deposit, as near as can be determined. Here a tippie or loading station is built, having shakers to sort the coal into different sizes and drop it into the proper railroad car. A hoisting engine is also provided to draw the small cars from the pit up an incline where they can be dumped onto the shakers.

The steam shovel then starts work, making a trench as wide as the shovel will permit, generally about seventy-five feet wide at the bottom and about a hundred and twenty-five feet at the top and deep enough to uncover the vein of coal. The

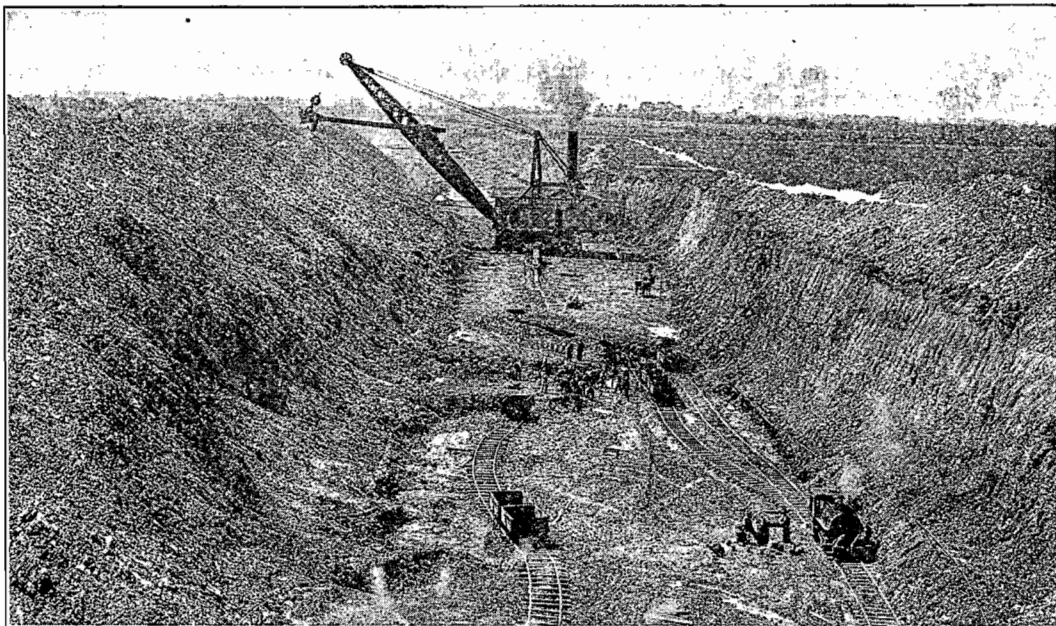
shovel is moved forward six feet at a time under its own power on a track that is laid in front and taken up in the rear as the shovel progresses. Nearly thirty feet are covered in eight hours. This, of course, depends upon the condition of the earth and the depth.

About a hundred feet back of the shovel small blasts are put in, in order to loosen the coal, which is shoveled into small cars, holding about a ton each. These cars run on narrow gauge tracks which are laid as the work progresses and they are hauled back to the incline by a small donkey engine. After the width of the vein has been traversed, or after the shovel is too far from the loading station to make it profitable to go farther in this direction, a lateral is started nearly at right angles to the main trench. When, because of the two limiting conditions stated above, or others, it is necessary to discontinue in this direction, the shovel is brought back to the main trench and started again in the same direction parallel to the first lateral. The earth dug out this time is dropped back into the old lateral, thus filling it up as the work advances.

By this method the labor necessary to



BLASTING IN THE STRIP PITS
At the cry of fire the miners run to safety, but are back on the job as soon as the shot is fired.



LOOKING DOWN ONE OF THE LATERALS FROM THE TOP OF ONE OF THE EARTH PILES.
The part beyond the shovel has been worked out from the other end.

shovel the coal into the cars is considerably less than in the underground mines, as well as less dangerous, and shot-firing here is little more dangerous than shoveling coal, while in underground work all shots must be fired when the men are out of the mine and the shot-firer is one of the highest priced men on the payroll. The men who shovel the coal into the cars receive about two dollars and a half per day. In some strip pits smaller steam shovels follow up the large ones and load the cars.

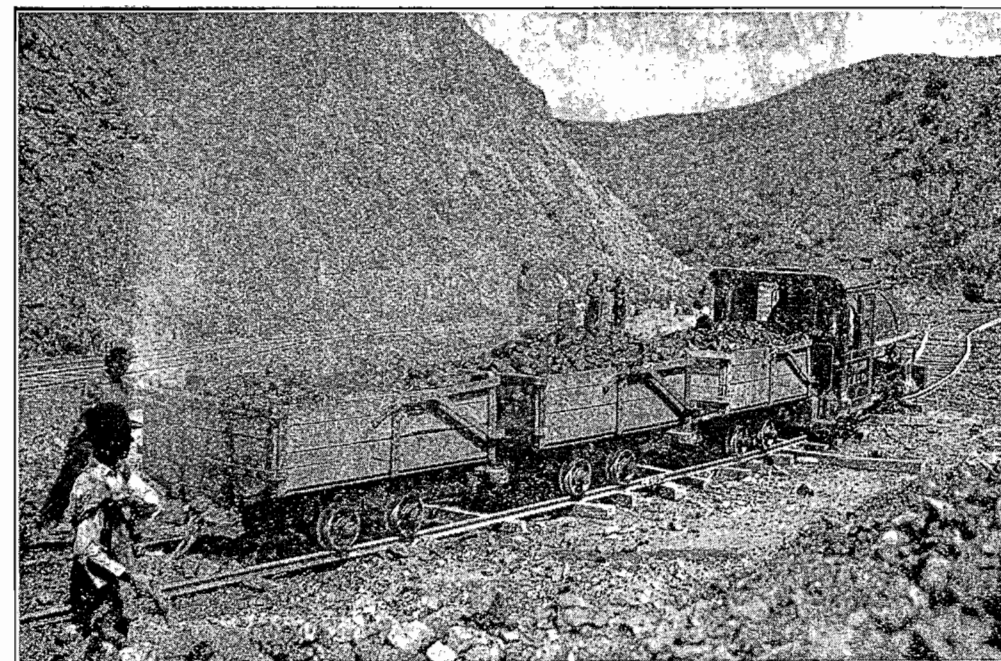
Altho it is difficult to get accurate figures on the exact ration between the cost of mining coal in open mines and the cost in the underground mines, it is pretty certain that the cost in the open mines is little more than half. This is not only due to the fact that the labor required in the open mines is less, and lower priced, but also to the fact that the insurance which the mine owners must carry on their men is much lower, and this is no small item.

In addition to this the coal is much better for many purposes, especially for smelting, than coal from deeper veins, and in the month of August was selling at from two fifty to three dollars a ton.

With the rapid extension of electric transmission lines from central plants in

Pittsburg and other places, it is probable that the cost of production will be considerably lessened, because electricity will be used in place of steam. This is due to the fact that a pound of coal burned under stoker-fed boilers and generating electricity by means of turbo generators will yield far more power at the mine than when burned there in inefficient boilers, and the steam then used in inefficient single-expansion hoisting engines or piped hundreds of feet to run pumping engines. This change has been made in the big underground shafts a few miles west of the strip pits just as fast as the transmission lines can be built, and there is no reason to believe that it will not be made here soon.

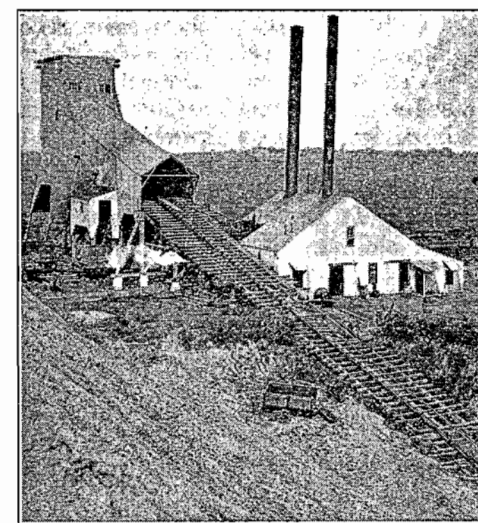
One tremendous disadvantage of this system of mining is that, unless some radical change is made in the process, these lands, formerly fertile and productive, will, for generations, be absolutely useless as far as agriculture is concerned. An abandoned strip pit looks much like a miniature mountain system with the main trench and the last lateral resembling a canyon. These, however, have an outlet so they become lakes in the spring during the wet weather, and the pools of stagnant water in the late



THE LOADED CARS ARE HAULED BACK TO THE TIPPLE BY SMALL DONKEY ENGINES, AND ON THE RETURN THE EMPTIES OF THE PREVIOUS TRIP ARE BROUGHT BACK

summer breed mosquitoes and ruin the health of the inhabitants for miles around.

Thus it can be seen that a machine which under a correct organization of society would raise the standard of living and shorten the hours of labor of the people as a whole, at the present merely displaces thousands of skilled men and fills their places with a few unskilled laborers working at much lower wages. In addition to this, the people do not get the advantage of the increased efficiency, for the price of coal has only been lowered sufficiently to drive the underground mines out of business. The gains go to swell the dividends of the coal operators.



THE "TIPPLE" OR LOADING STATION

WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL

What are Wages, and How are They Determined?

By KARL MARX

IF WE were to ask the laborers "How much wages do you get?" one would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer"; another, "I get half-a-crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers, either for working for a certain length of time or for performing a certain piece of work; for example, either for weaving a yard of cloth, or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements there is one point in which they would all agree; their wages are the amount of money which their employer pays them, either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work done.

Thus their employer, it would seem, buys their labor for money. For money they *sell* their labor to him. But this is mere appearance. What they really sell to the employer for money, is their labor-power. This labor-power the employer buys for a day, week, month, etc. And having bought it, he uses it by making the laborer work during a stipulated period of time. . . . With the same sum for which the employer has bought their labor-power, as for instance, with a couple of shillings, he might have bought four pounds of sugar, or a proportionate amount of any other wares. The two shillings with which he buys the four pounds of sugar, are the *price* of four pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he buys the use of labor-power for twelve hours, are the price of twelve hours' labor. Labor-power is therefore as much a commodity as sugar, neither more nor less, only they measure the former by the clock, the latter by the scale.

The laborers exchange their own commodity for their employers' commodity, labor-power for money; and this exchange takes place according to a fixed proportion. So much money for so long a use of labor-

power. For twelve hours' weaving, two shillings. And do not these two shillings represent all other commodities which I may buy for two shillings? Thus the laborer has, in fact, exchanged his own commodity, labor-power, for all kinds of other commodities, and that in a fixed proportion. His employer in giving him two shillings has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, and so on, in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings, therefore, express the proportion in which his labor-power is exchanged for other commodities—the *exchange-value* of his labor-power; and the exchange value of any commodity expressed in *money* is called its *price*. *Wage* is therefore only another name for the price of labor-power, for the price of this peculiar commodity which can have no local habitation at all except in human flesh and blood.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a *share* in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not, therefore, pay his wages with the money he will get for the cloth, but with money previously provided.

Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his own commodity, or, in other words, for his work. It is possible that the employer finds no purchaser for his cloth. It may be that by its sale he does not recover the wages he has paid. It may be that in comparison with the weaver's wages he made a great bargain by its sale. But all this has nothing whatever to do with the weaver. The

employer purchases the weaver's labor with a part of his available property—of his capital—in exactly the same way as he has with another part of his property bought the raw material—the thread—and the instrument of labor—the loom. As soon as he has made these purchases—and he reckons among them the purchase of the labor necessary to the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last is, of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has as little share in the product, or in the price of the product, as the loom itself.

Wages, therefore, are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced, with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor-power.

Labor-power is, therefore, a commodity which its owner, the wage worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But the expenditure of the labor-power, labor, is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer's life. And this energy he sells to another party in order to secure for himself the means of living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but the means of ensuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather is it a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is its product the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk he weaves, nor the palace that he builds, nor the gold that he digs from out the mine. What he produces for himself is his *wage*; and silk, gold, and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, bores, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling, and stone-breaking represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary. Life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him

as weaving, spinning, boring, etc., but only as *earnings* whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage worker.

Labor-power was not always a commodity. Labor was not always wage labor that is free labor. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave owner. The slave, along with his labor, is sold once for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He *himself* is a commodity, but his labor is not *his* commodity. The *serf* sells only a portion of his labor. He does not receive his wages from the owner of the soil; rather the owner of the soil receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil, and to the lord of the soil he brings its fruits. The *free laborer*, on the other hand, sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life; that is, to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them. The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases; and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him or fails to get as high a profit as he requires. But the laborer, whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor-power cannot leave *the whole class of its purchasers*, that is, the *capitalist class*, without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the *capitalist class*; and more than that; it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this capitalist class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser.

Before going more closely into the relations between capital and wage-labor, it will be well to give a brief survey of those general relations which are taken into consideration in determining the amount of wages.

As we have seen, *wages* are the price of a certain commodity, labor-power. Wages

are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

Thereupon the question arises, how is the price of a commodity determined?

By what means is the price of a commodity determined?

By means of competition between buyers and sellers and the relations between supply and demand—offer and desire. And this competition by which the price of an article is fixed is threefold.

The same commodity is offered in the market by various sellers. Whoever offers the greatest advantage to purchasers is certain to drive the other sellers off the field, and secure for himself the greatest sale. The sellers, therefore, fight for the sale and the market among themselves. Every one of them wants to sell, and does his best to sell much, and if possible to become the only seller. Therefore, each outbids the other in cheapness, and a competition takes place among the sellers which lowers the price of the goods they offer.

But a competition also goes on among the purchasers, which on their side raises the price of the goods offered.

Finally competition is going on between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheap as possible, the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations of the two previous aspects of the competition; that is, upon whether the competition in the ranks of the buyers or that in those of the sellers is the keener. Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them again presents the aspect of a battle in its own ranks among its own soldiers. That army whose troops are least mauled by one another carries off the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose that there are a hundred bales of cotton in the market, and at the same time buyers in want of a thousand bales. In this case the demand is greater than the supply. The competition between the buyers will therefore be intense; each of them will do his best to get hold of all the hundred bales of cotton. This example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of the trade we have experienced periods of failure of the cotton plant, when particular companies of capitalists have endeavored to purchase, not only a hundred

bales of cotton, but the whole stock of cotton in the world.

Therefore, in the case supposed each buyer will try to beat the others out of the field by offering a proportionately higher price for the cotton. The cotton sellers, perceiving the troops of the hostile host in violent combat with one another, and being perfectly secure as to the sale of all their hundred bales, will take very good care not to begin squabbling among themselves in order to depress the price at the very moment when their adversaries are emulating each other in the process of screwing it higher up. Peace is, therefore, suddenly proclaimed in the army of the sellers. They present a united front to the purchaser, and fold their arms in philosophic content; and their claims would be absolutely boundless if it were not that the offers of even the most pressing and eager of the buyers must always have some definite limit.

Thus if the supply of a commodity is not so great as the demand for it, the competition between the buyers is keen, but there is none, or hardly any, among the sellers. Result: A more or less important rise in the price of goods.

As a rule the converse case is of much more frequent occurrence, producing an opposite result. Large excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; dearth of purchasers; forced sale of goods dirt cheap.

But what is the meaning of the rise and fall in prices? What is the meaning of higher price or lower price? A grain of sand is high when compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between supply and demand, how is the relation between supply and demand itself determined?

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not take an instant to consider, but like a second Alexander the Great will cut the metaphysical knot by the help of his multiplication table. "If the production of the goods which I sell," he will tell us, "has cost me £100, and I get £110 by their sale—within the year, you understand—that's what I call a sound, honest, reasonable profit. But if I make £120 or £130 by the sale, that is a higher profit; and if I were to get a good £200, that would be an exceptional, an enormous

profit." What is it then that serves our citizen as the *measure* of his profit? The *cost of production* of his goods. If he receives in exchange for them an amount of other goods whose production has cost less, he has lost by his bargain. If he receives an amount whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the rise and fall of his profit by the number of degrees at which it stands with reference to his zero—the *cost of production*.

We have now seen how the changing proportion between supply and demand produces the rise and fall of prices, making them at one time high, at another low. If thru failure in the supply, or exceptional increase in the demand, an important rise in the price of a commodity takes place, then the price of another commodity must have fallen; for, of course, the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities can be exchanged with it. For instance, if the price of a yard of silk rises from five to six shillings, the price of silver has fallen in comparison with silk; and in the same way the price of all other commodities which remain at their old prices has fallen if compared with silk. We have to give a larger quantity of them in exchange in order to obtain the same quantity of silk. And what is the result of a rise in the price of a commodity? A mass of capital is thrown into that flourishing branch of business, and this immigration of capital into the province of the privileged business will last until the ordinary level of profits is attained; or rather, until the price of the products sinks, below the cost of production, thru overproduction.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below the cost of its production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete, and is therefore doomed to disappear, the result of this flight of capital will be that the production of this commodity, and therefore its supply, will continually dwindle until it corresponds to the demand; and thus its price rises again to the level of the cost of its production; or rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand; that is, until its price has again risen above its cost of production; for *the price of any commodity is always either above or below its cost of production*.

We see, then, how it is that capital is always immigrating and emigrating, from the province of one industry into that of another. High prices bring about an excessive immigration, and low prices, an excessive emigration.

We might show from another point of view how not only the supply, but also the demand, is determined by the cost of production; but this would lead us too far from our present subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand always reduce the price of a commodity to its cost of production. It is true that *the precise price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production; but the rise and fall reciprocally balance each other*, so within a certain period, if the ebb and flow of the business are reckoned up together, commodities are exchanged with one another in accordance with their cost of production; and thus their cost of production determines their price.

The determination of price by cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the economists. The economists declare that the *average price* of commodities is equal to the cost of production; this, according to them, is a *law*. The anarchical movements in which the rise is compensated by the fall, and the fall by the rise, they ascribe to chance. With just as good a right, we might consider, like some other economists, the fluctuations as the law, and ascribe the fixing of price by cost of production to chance. But if we look closely, we see that it is precisely these fluctuations, altho they bring the most terrible desolation in their train, and shake the fabric of bourgeois society like earthquakes, it is precisely these fluctuations which in their course determine price by cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its order. Thruout these alternating movements in the course of this industrial anarchy, competition, as it were, cancels one excess by means of another.

We gather, therefore, that the price of production, in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below this cost, and conversely. Of course this does not hold good for one particular single particular product of an industry, but only

for that entire branch of industry. So also it does not hold good for a particular manufacturer, but only for the entire industrial class.

The determination of price by cost of production is the same thing as its determination by the duration of the labor which is required for the manufacture of a commodity; for cost of production may be divided into (1) raw material and implements; that is, products of industry whose manufacture has cost a certain number of days' work, and which therefore represent a certain amount of work-time, and (2) actual labor, which is measured by its duration.

Now, the same general laws, which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, *wages, the price of labor.*

Wages will rise and fall in accordance with the proportion between demand and supply; that is, in accordance with the conditions of the competition between capitalists as buyers and laborers as sellers of labor. The fluctuations of wages correspond in general with the fluctuations in the price of commodities. *Within these fluctuations the price of labor is regulated by its cost of production, that is, by the duration of labor which is required in order to produce this commodity, labor-power.*

Now what is the cost of production of labor-power?

It is the cost required for the production of a laborer and for his maintenance as a laborer.

The shorter the time requisite for instruction in any labor, the less is the laborer's cost of production, and the lower are his wages, the price of his work. In those branches of industry which scarcely require any period of apprenticeship, and where the mere bodily existence of the laborer is sufficient, the requisite cost of his production and maintenance are almost limited to the cost of the commodities which are requisite to keep him alive and fit for work. *The price of his labor is therefore determined by the price of the bare necessities of his existence.*

Here, however, another consideration comes in. The manufacturer, who reckons up his expenses of production and determines accordingly the price of the product, takes into account the wear and tear of the machinery. If a machine costs him £200

and wears itself out in ten years, he adds £10 a year to the price of his goods, in order to replace the worn out machine by a new one when the ten years are up. In the same way we must reckon in the cost of production of simple labor the cost of its propagation; so that the race of laborers may be put in a position to multiply and to replace the worn out workers by new ones. Thus the wear and tear of the laborer must be taken into account just as much as the wear and tear of the machine.

The cost of production of simple labor amounts then to *the cost of the laborer's subsistence and propagation*, and the price of this cost determines his wages. When we speak of wages we mean *the minimum of wages*. This minimum of wages holds good, just as does the determination by the cost of production of the price of commodities in general, not for the particular individual, but for the species. Individual laborers, indeed millions of them, do not receive enough to enable them to subsist and propagate; but the *wages of the working class* with all their fluctuations are nicely adjusted to this minimum.

Now, that we are grounded on these general laws which govern wages just as much as the price of any other commodity, we can examine our subject more exactly.

"Capital consists of raw material, implements of labor, and all kinds of means of subsistence, which are used for the production of new implements and new means of subsistence. All these factors of capital are created by labor, are products of labor, are stored-up labor. Stored-up labor which serves as the means of new production is capital.

So say the economists.

What is a negro slave? A human creature of the black race. The one definition is just as valuable as the other.

A negro is a negro. In certain conditions he is transformed into a slave. A spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain circumstances does it become capital. Outside these circumstances it is no more capital than gold is intrinsically money, or sugar is the price of sugar. In the work of production men do not stand in relation to nature alone, but also to each other. They only produce when they work together in a certain way and mutually enter upon certain relations and

conditions, and it is only within these relations and conditions that their relation to nature is defined, and production becomes possible.

These social relations upon which the producers mutually enter, the terms upon which they exchange their energies and take their share in the collective act of production, will of course differ according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of firearms as implements of warfare the whole organization of the army was of necessity altered; and with the alterations in the relations thru which individuals form an army, and are enabled to work together as an army, there was a simultaneous alteration in the relations of armies to one another.

Thus with an alteration and development of the material means of production, i. e., the powers of production, there will also take place a transformation of the social relations within which individuals produce, that is of the social relations of production. The relations of production collectively form these social relations which we call a society, and a society with definite degrees of historical development, a society with an appropriate and distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society, are instances of these sums total of the relations of production, each of which also marks out an important step in the historical development of mankind.

Now capital also is a social relation of production. It is a bourgeois relation of production, a condition of the production of a bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the implements of labor, and the raw material, of which capital consists, the results of definite social relations; were they not produced and stored up under certain social conditions? Will they not be used for further production under certain social conditions within definite social relations? And is it not just this definite social character that transforms into capital that product which serves for further production?

Capital does not consist of means of subsistence, implements of labor, and raw material alone, nor only of material products; it consists just as much of *exchange-values*. All the products of which it consists are commodities. Thus capital is not merely the sum of material products; it is a sum productive capital. The rapid increase of

commodities, of exchange values, of *social quantities*.

Capital remains unchanged if we substitute cotton for wool, rice for corn, and steamers for railways; provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamers—the bodily form of capital—have the same exchange value, the same price, as the wool, the corn, the railways, in which it formerly embodied itself. The bodily form of capital may change continually, while the capital itself undergoes not the slightest alteration.

Every sum of exchange-values is an exchange value and inversely, each exchange value is a sum of exchange-value. For instance, a house worth a thousand pounds is an exchange-value of a thousand pounds. A penny-worth of paper is the sum of the exchange-values of a hundred-hundredths of a penny. Products which may be mutually exchanged are *commodities*. The definite proportion in which they are exchangeable form their *exchange value*, or expressed in money, their *price*. The amount of these products can do nothing to alter their definition as being *commodities*, or as representing an *exchange value*, or as having a certain *price*. Whether a tree be large or small, it remains a tree. Whether we exchange iron for other wares in ounces or in hundredweights that makes no difference in its character as a commodity possessing exchange-value. According to its amount it is a commodity of more or less value, with a higher or lower price.

How, then, can a sum of commodities, of exchange-values, become capital?

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power of a portion of society, by means of its exchange for direct, living labor-power. Capital necessarily presupposes the existence of a class which possesses nothing but labor force.

It is the lordship of past, stored-up, realized labor over actual, living labor that transforms the stored-up labor into capital.

Capital does not consist in the fact that stored-up labor is used by living labor as a means to further production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves as the means whereby stored-up labor may maintain and multiply its own exchange-value.

What is it that takes place in the exchange between capital and wage-labor?

The laborer receives in exchange for his labor-power the means of subsistence; but

the capitalist receives in exchange for the means of subsistence—labor, the productive energy of the laborer, the creative force whereby the laborer not only replaces what he consumes, but also *gives to the stored-up labor a greater value than it had before*. The laborer receives from the capitalist a share of the previously provided means of subsistence. To what use does he put these means of subsistence? He uses them for immediate consumption. But as soon as I consume my means of subsistence, they disappear and are irrecoverably lost to me; it therefore becomes necessary that I should employ the time during which these means keep me alive in order to produce new means of subsistence, so that during their consumption I may provide for my labor new value in the place of that which thus disappears. But it is just this noble reproductive power which the laborer has to bargain away to capital in exchange for the means of subsistence which he receives. To him, therefore, it is entirely lost.

Let us take an example. A farmer gives his day laborer two shillings a day. For this two shillings the latter works throughout the day on the farmer's field, and so secures him a return of four shillings. The farmer does not merely receive back the value which he had advanced to the day laborer; he doubles it. He has spent or consumed the two shillings which he gave to the day laborer in a fruitful and productive fashion. He has bought for two shillings just that labor and force of the day laborer which produces fruits of the earth of twice the value, and turns two shillings into four. The day laborer, on the other hand, receives in place of his productive force, whose effects he has just bargained away to the farmer, two shillings; and these he exchanges for means of subsistence; which means of subsistence he proceeds with more or less speed to consume. The two shillings have thus been consumed in double fashion; productively for capital, since they have been exchanged for the labor force which produced the four shillings; unproductively for the laborer, since they have been exchanged for means of subsistence which have disappeared for ever, and whose value he can only recover by repeating the same bargain with the farmer. *Thus capital presupposes wage-labor and wage-labor presupposes*

capital; one is a necessary condition to the existence of the other; they mutually call each other into existence.

Does an operator in a cotton factory produce merely cotton goods? No. He produces capital. He produces values which give fresh command over his labor, and which, by means of such command, create fresh values.

Capital can only increase when it is exchanged for labor—when it calls wage-labor into existence. Wage-labor can only be exchanged for capital by augmenting capital and strengthening the power whose slave it is. *An increase of capital is therefore an increase of the proletariat, that is, of the laboring class.*

The interests of the capitalist and the laborer are therefore identical, assert the bourgeoisie and their economists. And, in fact, so they are! The laborer perishes if capital does not employ him. Capital perishes if it does not exploit labor, and in order to exploit it, it must buy it. The faster the capital devoted to production—the productive capital—increases, and the more successfully the industry is carried on, the richer do the bourgeoisie become, the better does business go, the more laborers does the capitalist require, and the dearer does the laborer sell himself.

Thus the indispensable condition of the laborer's securing a tolerable position is the *speediest possible growth of productive capital*.

But what is the meaning of the increase of productive capital? The increase of the power of stored-up labor over living labor. The increase of the dominion of the bourgeoisie over the laboring class. As fast as wage-labor creates its own antagonist and its own master in the dominating power of capital, the means of employment, that is, of subsistence, flow back to it from its antagonist; but only on condition that it convert itself anew into a portion of capital, and thus become the lever whereby the increase of capital may be again hugely accelerated.

Thus the statement that the interests of capital and labor are identical comes to mean merely this: Capital and wage-labor are the two sides of one and the same relation. The one conditions the other, just in the same way that the usurer and the borrower condition each other mutually.

So long as the wage laborer remains a wage laborer, his lot in life is dependent upon capital. That is the exact meaning of the famous community of interests between capital and labor.

The increase of capital is attended by an increase in the amount of wage-labor and in the number of wage laborers; or, in other words, the dominion of capital is spread over a larger number of individuals. And, to assume even the most favorable case, with the increase of productive capital there is an increase in the demand for labor. And thus wages, the price of labor, will rise.

A house may be large or small, but as long as the surrounding houses are equally small, it satisfies all social requirements of a dwelling place. But let a palace arise by the side of this small house, and it shrinks from a house into a hut. The smallness of the house now indicates that its occupant is permitted to have either very few claims or none at all; and however high it may shoot up with the progress of civilization, if the neighboring palace shoots up also in the same or in greater proportion, the occupant of the comparatively small house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more discontented, confined within his four walls.

A notable advance in the amount paid as wages presupposes a rapid increase of productive capital calls forth just as rapid an increase in wealth, luxury, social wants, and social comforts. Therefore, although the comforts of the laborer have risen, the social satisfaction which they give has fallen in comparison with these augmented comforts of the capitalists, which are unattainable for the laborer, and in comparison with the scale of general development society has reached. Our wants and their satisfaction have their origin in society; we therefore measure them in their relation to society, and not in relation to the objects which satisfy them. Since their nature is social, it is therefore relative.

As a matter of fact, wages are determined not merely by the amount of commodities for which they may be exchanged. They depend upon various relations.

What the laborer receives in the first place for his labor is a certain sum of money. Are wages determined merely by this money price?

In the sixteenth century the gold and silver in circulation in Europe was augmented in consequence of the discovery in America of mines which were relatively rich and could easily be worked. The value of gold and silver fell, therefore, in proportion to other commodities. The laborers received for their labor the same amount of silver coin as before. The money price of their labor remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same sum of silver they obtained a smaller quantity of other commodities. This was one of the circumstances which furthered the increase of capital and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, in consequence of a failure of the crops, there was a notable increase in the price of the indispensable means of subsistence, as corn, meat, butter, cheese, and so on. We will suppose that the laborers still received the same sum of money for their labor-power as before. Had not their wages fallen then? Of course they had. For the same amount of money they received in exchange less bread, meat, etc.; and their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Let us finally suppose that the money price of labor remains the same, while in consequence of the employment of new machinery, or on account of a good season, or for some similar reason, there is a fall in the price of all agricultural and manufactured goods. For the same amount of money the laborers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages have therefore risen, just because their money-value has not changed.

The money price of labor, the nominal amount of wages, does not therefore coincide with the real wages—that is, with the amount of commodities that may practically be obtained in exchange for the wages. Thus, if we speak of the rise and fall of wages, the money price of labor, or the nominal wage, is not the only thing which we must keep in view.

But neither the nominal wages—that is, the amount of money for which the laborer sells himself to the employer, nor yet the real wage; that is, the amount of commodities which he can buy for this money, ex-

haust the relations which are comprehended in the term of wages.

But wages are above all determined by their relation to the gain or profit of the capitalist. It is in this connection that we speak of *relative* wages.

The real wage expresses the price of labor in relation to the price of other commodities; the relative wage, on the contrary, expresses the proportionate share which living labor gets of the new values created by it, as compared to that which is appropriated by stored-up labor capital.

We said above, on another page: "Wages are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor-power." But the amount of these wages the capitalist has to take out from the price which he realizes for the product created by the workman, and, as a rule, there remains yet for him a profit that is an excess over and above the cost of production, advanced by him. For the capitalist, then, the selling price of the commodity produced by the workman becomes divided into three parts: *the 1st*, to make up for the price of the advanced raw material and also for the wear and tear of the tools, machinery and other instruments of labor also advanced by him; *the 2d*, to make up for the wages advanced by him; *the 3rd*, the excess over and above these two parts, constitutes the profit of the capitalist. Whereas, the first part merely replaces values which had a *previous existence*, that part which goes to replace wages as well as the excess, which constitutes profits, are, as a rule, clearly taken out of *the new value created by the labor of the workman* and added to the raw material. And in *this sense* we may regard both wages and profits for the sake of comparison as shares of the product of the workman.

Real wages may remain the same, or they may even rise, and yet the relative wages may none the less have fallen. Let us assume, for example, that the price of all the means of subsistence has fallen by two-thirds, while a day's wages have only fallen one-third, as, for instance, from three shillings to two. Although the laborer has a larger amount of commodities at his disposal for two shillings than he had before for three, yet his wages are nevertheless

diminished in proportion to the capitalist's gain. The capitalist's profit—the manufacturer's, for instance—has been augmented by a shilling, since for the smaller sum of exchange-values which he pays to the laborer, the laborer has to produce a larger sum of exchange-values than he did before. The share of capital is raised in proportion to the share of labor. The division of social wealth between capital and labor has become more disproportionate. The capitalist commands a larger amount of labor with the same amount of capital. The power of the capitalist class over the laboring class is increased; the social position of the laborer has deteriorated and is depressed another degree below that of the capitalist.

What, then, is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation?

They stand in inverse proportion to one another. The share of capital, profit, rises in the same proportion in which the share of labor, wages, sinks; and inversely. The rise in profit is exactly measured by the fall in wages and the fall in profit by the rise in wages.

The objection may perhaps be made that the capitalist may have gained a profit by advantageous exchange of his products with other capitalists, or by a rise in the demand for his goods, whether in consequence of the opening of new markets, or of a greater demand in the old markets; that the profit of the capitalist may thus increase by means of over-reaching another capitalist, independently of the rise and fall of wages and the exchange-value of labor-power, or that the profit of the capitalist may also rise through an improvement in the implements of labor, a new application of natural forces, and so on.

But it must nevertheless be admitted that the result remains the same, although it is brought about in a different way. To be sure, profits have not risen for the reason that wages have fallen, but wages have fallen all the same for the reason that profits have risen. The capitalist has acquired a larger amount of exchange-value with the same amount of labor, without having had to pay a higher price for the labor on that account; that is to say, a lower price has been paid for the labor in proportion to the net profit which it yields to the capitalist.

Besides, we must remember that, in spite

of the fluctuations in the price of commodities, the average price of each commodity—the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities—is determined by its *cost of production*. The over-reaching and tricks that go on within the capitalist class therefore necessarily cancel one another. Improvements in machinery and new applications of natural forces to the service of production enable them to turn out in a given time with the same amount of labor and capital a larger quantity of exchange-values. If, by the application of the spinning-jenny, I can turn out twice as much thread in an hour as I could before its invention, for instance, a hundred pounds instead of fifty, then the consequence in the long run will be that I will receive in exchange for them no more commodities than before for fifty, because the cost of production has been halved, or because at the same cost I can turn out double the amount of products.

Finally, in whatsoever proportion the capitalist class—the bourgeoisie—whether of one country or of the world's market—share among themselves the net profits of production, the total amount of these net profits always consists merely of the amount by which, taking all in all, stored-up labor has been increased by means of living labor. This sum total increases, therefore in the proportion in which labor augments capital; that is, in the proportion in which profit rises as compared with wages.

Thus, we see that, even *if we confine ourselves to the relation between capital and wage-labor, the interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor*.

A rapid increase of capital is equal to a rapid increase of profits. Profits can only make a rapid increase if the exchange-value of labor—the relative wage—makes an equally rapid decline.

Relative wages may decline, altho the real wages rise together with nominal wages, or the money price of labor; if only it does not rise in the same proportion as profit. For instance, if when trade is good, wages rise five per cent., and profits on the other hand thirty per cent., then the proportional or relative wage has not *increased* but *declined*.

Thus, if the receipt of the laborer increases with the rapid growth of capital, yet at the same time there is a widening of the

social gulf which separates the laborer from the capitalist, and also an increase in the power of capital over labor and in the dependence of labor upon capital.

The meaning of the statement that the laborer has an interest in the rapid increase of capital is merely this: the faster the laborer increases his master's dominion, the richer will be the crumbs that he will get from his table; and the greater the number of laborers that can be employed and called into existence, the greater will be the number of slaves dependent upon capital.

We have thus seen that even *the most fortunate situation* for the working class, *the speediest possible increase of capital*, however much it may improve the material condition of the laborer, cannot abolish the opposition between his interests and those of the bourgeoisie or capitalist class. *Profit and wages* remain just as much as ever in *inverse proportion*.

When capital is increasing fast, wages may rise, but the profit of capital will rise much faster. The material position of the laborer has improved, but it is at the expense of his social position. The social gulf which separates him from the capitalist has widened.

Finally, the meaning of the most favorable condition of wage-labor, that is the quickest possible increase of productive capital, is merely this: The faster the working classes enlarge and extend the hostile power that dominates over them the better will be the conditions under which they will be allowed to labor for the further increase of bourgeois wealth and for the wider extension of the power of capital, and thus contentedly to forge for themselves the golden chains by which the bourgeoisie drags them into its train.

But are the increase of productive capital and the rise of wages so indissolubly connected as the bourgeois economists assert? We can hardly believe that the fatter capital becomes the more will its slave be pampered. The bourgeoisie is too enlightened and keeps its accounts much too carefully to care for that privilege of the feudal nobility, the ostentation of splendor among its retinue. The very conditions of bourgeois existence compel it to keep careful accounts.

We must therefore inquire more closely into the effect which the increase of productive capital has upon wages.

With the general increase of the productive capital of a bourgeois society a more manifold accumulation of labor takes place. The capitalists increase in number and size. The increase in the amount of capital increases the competition among capitalists. The increased size of individual capital gives the means of leading into the industrial battle-field mightier armies of laborers furnished with more gigantic implements of war.

The one capitalist can only succeed in driving the other off the field and taking possession of his capital by selling his wares at a cheaper rate. In order to sell more cheaply without ruining himself he must produce more cheaply—that is, he must increase as much as possible the productivity of labor. But the most effective way of making labor more productive is by means of a more complete division of labor, by the more extended use and continual improvement of machinery. The larger the army of workmen, among whom the labor is divided, and the more gigantic the scale on which machinery is introduced, the more does the relative cost of production decline, and the more fruitful is the labor. Thus arises a universal rivalry among capitalists with the object of increasing the division of labor and machinery, and keeping up the utmost possible progressive rate of exploitation.

Now, if by means of a greater subdivision of labor, by the employment and improvement of new machines, or by the more skillful and profitable use of the forces of nature, a capitalist has discovered the means of producing a larger amount of commodities than his competitors with the same amount of labor, whether it be stored-up labor or direct—if he can, for instance, spin a complete yard of cotton in the time which it takes his competitor to spin half a yard—how will this capitalist proceed to act?

He might go on selling half a yard at its former market price; but that would not have the effect of driving his opponents out of the field and increasing his own sale. But the need of increasing his sale has increased in the same proportion as his production. The more effective and more expensive means of production which he has called into existence *enable* him, to be sure, to sell his wares cheaper, but they also *compel* him to *sell more wares* and to secure a *much larger market* for them. Our capitalist will

therefore proceed to sell his half a yard of cotton cheaper than his competitors.

The capitalist will not, however, sell his complete yard as cheaply as his competitors sell the half, altho its entire production does not cost him more than the production of half costs the others. For in this case he would gain nothing, but would only get back the cost of its production. The contingent increase in his receipts would result from his having set in motion a larger capital, but not from having made his capital more profitable than that of the others. Besides, he gains the ends he is aiming at if he prices his goods only a slight percentage lower than his competitors. He drives them off the field, and wrests from them, at any rate, a portion of their sale, if only he *undersells* them.

And, finally, we must remember that the price current always stands *either above or below the cost of production*, according as the sale of a commodity is transacted at a favorable or unfavorable period of business. According as the market price of a yard of cloth is above or below its former cost of production, the percentage will vary by which the capitalist, who has employed the new and more productive means of production, sells above his actual cost of production.

But our capitalist does not find his *privilege* very lasting. Other rival capitalists introduce, with more or less rapidity, the same machines and the same division of labor on the same or even more extended scale; and this introduction becomes general, until the price of the yard of cloth is reduced, not only below *its old*, but below *its new*, cost of production.

Thus the capitalists find themselves relatively in the same position in which they stood *before* the introduction of the new means of production; and if they are by these means enabled to offer twice the amount of products for the same price, they now find themselves compelled to offer double the amount for less than the old price. Starting from the new scale of production the old game begins anew. There is greater subdivision of labor, more machinery, and more rapid progress in the exploitation of both. Whereupon competition brings about the same reaction against this result.

Thus we see how the mode and means of production are continually transformed

and revolutionized, and how the division of labor necessarily brings in its train a greater division of labor; the introduction of machinery a still larger introduction; and production on a large scale—production on a still larger scale.

This is the law which continually drives bourgeois production out of its old track and compels capital to intensify the productive powers of labor for the very reason that it has already intensified them—the law that allows it no rest, but for ever whispers in its ear the word “Quick march!”

This is no other law than that which, canceling the periodical fluctuations of business, necessarily identifies the price of a commodity with its cost of production.

However powerful the means of production which a particular capitalist may bring into the field, competition will make their adoption general; and the moment it becomes general the sole result of the greater fruitfulness of his capital is that he must now, *for the same price*, offer ten, twenty, a hundred times as much as before. But as he must dispose of perhaps a thousand times as much in order to outweigh the decrease in the selling price by the larger amount of the products sold, since a larger sale has now become necessary, not only to gain a larger profit, but also to replace the cost of production—and the implements of production, as we have seen, always get more expensive—and since this larger sale has become a vital question, not only for him, but also for his rivals, the old strife continues, with *all the greater violence, the more fruitful the previously discovered means of production are. Thus the subdivision of labor and the employment of new machinery take a fresh start and proceed with still greater rapidity.*

And thus, whatever the power of the means of production employed, competition does its best to rob capital of the golden fruit which it produces by reducing the price of commodities to their cost of production—and as fast as their production is cheapened, compelling, as if by a despotic law, a continually larger supply of cheaper products to be offered at lower prices. Thus the capitalist will have nothing for his exertions beyond the obligation to produce during the same time an amount larger than before, and an enhancement of the difficulty of employing his capital to advantage.

While competition continually persecutes him with its law of the cost of production, and turns against himself every weapon which he forges against his rivals, the capitalist continually tries to cheat competition by incessantly introducing further subdivision of labor and replacing the old machines by new ones, which, tho more expensive, produce more cheaply, instead of waiting till competition has rendered them obsolete.

Let us now look at this feverish agitation as it affects the markets of the whole world, and we shall understand how the increase, accumulation and concentration of capital bring in their train an uninterrupted and extreme subdivision of labor, always advancing with gigantic strides of progress, and a continual employment of new machinery, together with improvement of the old.

But how do these circumstances, inseparable as they are from the increase of productive capital, affect the determination of the amount of wages?

The greater division of labor enables one laborer to do the work of five, ten, twenty; it therefore multiplies the competition among laborers, five, ten, or twenty times. The laborers do not only compete when one sells himself cheaper than another, they also compete when *one* does the work of five, ten, or twenty; and the *division of labor* which capital introduces and *continually increases*, compels the laborers to enter into this kind of competition with one another.

Further, in the same proportion in which the *division of labor* is increased, the labor itself is *simplified*. The special skill of the laborer becomes worthless. It is changed into a monotonous and uniform power of production, which gives play neither to bodily nor to intellectual elasticity. His labor becomes accessible to everybody. Competitors, therefore, crowd around him from all sides; and besides, we must remember that the more simple and easily learnt the labor is, and the less it costs a man to make himself master of it, so much the lower must its wages sink, since they are determined, like the price of every other commodity, by its cost of production.

Therefore, *exactly as the labor becomes more unsatisfactory and unpleasant, in that very proportion competition increases and wages decline.* The laborer does his best to maintain the rate of wages by performing more labor, whether by working for a

greater number of hours, or by working harder in the same time. Thus, driven by necessity, he himself increases the evil consequences of the subdivision of labor. So the result is this: *the more he labors the less reward he receives for it*; and that for the simple reason—that he competes against his fellow-workmen, and thus compels them to compete against him, and to offer their labor on as wretched conditions as he does; and that he thus, in the last result, competes against himself as a member of the working class.

Machinery has the same effect, but on a much larger scale. It supplants skilled laborers by unskilled, men by women, adults by children; where it is newly introduced it throws the hand-laborers upon the streets in crowds; and where it is perfected, improved or replaced by more powerful machines, discards them in slightly smaller numbers. We have sketched above, in hasty outlines, the industrial war of capitalists with one another; and the war has this peculiarity, that its battles are won less by means of enlisting than of discharging its industrial recruits. *The generals, or capitalists, vie with one another as to who can dispense with the greatest number of soldiers.*

The economists repeatedly assure us that the laborers who are rendered superfluous by the machine find *new* branches of employment.

They have not the hardihood directly to assert that the laborers who are discharged enter upon the new branches of labor. The facts cry out too loud against such a lie as this. They only declare that, for other divisions of the laboring class, as, for instance, for the rising generation of laborers who were just ready to enter upon the defunct branch of industry, new means of employment will open up. Of course that is a great satisfaction for the dismissed laborers. The worshipful capitalists will not find their fresh supply of exploitable flesh and blood running short and will let the dead bury their dead. This is indeed a consolation with which the bourgeois comfort *themselves* rather than the laborers. If the whole class of wage-laborers were annihilated by the machines, how shocking that would be for capital, which, without wage-labor, ceases to act as capital at all.

But let us suppose that those who are

directly driven out of their employment by machinery, and also all those of the rising generation who were expecting employment in the same line, find some *new employment*. Does anyone imagine that this will be as highly paid as that which they have lost? Such an idea would be *in direct contradiction to all the laws of economy*. We have already seen that the modern form of industry always tends to the displacement of the more complex and the higher kinds of employment by those which are more simple and subordinate.

How, then, could a crowd of laborers who are thrown out of one branch of industry by machinery find refuge in another without having to content themselves with a *lower position and worse pay*?

The laborers who are employed in the manufacture of machinery itself have been instanced as an exception. As soon as more machinery is demanded and used in industry it is said that there must necessarily be an increase in the number of machines, therefore in the manufacture of machines, and therefore also in the employment of laborers in this manufacture, and the laborers who are employed in this branch of industry will be skilled, and, indeed, even educated laborers.

Ever since the year 1840 this contention, which even before this time was only half true, has lost all its specious color. For the machines which are employed in the manufacture of machinery have been quite as numerous as those used in the manufacture of cotton; and the laborers who are employed in producing machines in the face of the extremely artful machinery used in this industry, have at best been able to play the part of highly artless machines.

But in the place of the man who has been discharged by the machine perhaps *three* children and *one* woman are employed to work it. And was it not necessary before that the man's wages should suffice for the support of his wife and children? Was not the minimum of wages necessarily sufficient for the maintenance and propagation of the race of laborers? What else does then the pet bourgeois argument prove, but that now the lives of four times as many laborers as before are used up in order to secure the support of one laborer's family.

To sum up: *the faster productive capital*

increases the more does the division of labor and the employment of machinery extend. The more the division of labor and the employment of machinery extend, so much the more does competition increase among the laborers, and so much the more do their average wages dwindle.

And, besides, the laboring class is recruited *from the higher strata of society*, as there falls headlong into it a crowd of small manufacturers and small proprietors, who thenceforth have nothing better to do than to stretch out their arms by the side of those of the laborers. And thus the forest of arms outstretched by those who are entreating for work becomes ever denser and the arms themselves grow ever leaner.

That the small manufacturer cannot survive in a contest whose first condition is production on a continually increasing scale—that is, for which the first prerequisite is to be a large and not a small manufacturer—is self-evident.

That the interest on capital declines in the same proportion as the amount of capital increases and extends, and that, therefore, the small capitalist can no longer live on his interest, but must join the ranks of the workers and increase the number of the proletariat—all this requires no further exemplification.

Finally, in the proportion in which the capitalists are compelled by the causes here

sketched to exploit on an ever-increasing scale yet more gigantic means of production, and with that object to set in motion all the mainsprings of credit, in the same proportion is there an increase of those earthquakes during which the business world can only secure its own existence by the sacrifice of a portion of its wealth, its products, and even its power of production to the gods of Hades—in a word, in the same proportion do crises increase. They become at once more frequent and more violent; because in the same proportion in which the amount of production, and therefore the demand for the extension of the market, increases, the market of the world continually contracts, and ever fewer markets remain to be exploited; since every previous crisis has added to the commerce of the world a market which was not known before, or had before been only superficially exploited by commerce. But capital not only *lives* upon labor. Like a lord, at once distinguished and barbarous, it drags with it to the grave the corpses of its slaves and whole hetaeromachs of laborers who perish during crises. Thus we see, that, *if capital increases fast, competition among the laborers increases still faster; that is, the means of employment and subsistence decline in proportion at a still more rapid rate; and yet, none the less, the most favorable condition for wage labor lies in the speedy increase of capital.*

ANNOUNCEMENT

This issue of the Review is ten days late on account of our not having received word from Washington regarding mailing privileges. We have therefore decided to combine the November and December numbers. This will give us plenty of time to bring out a bang-up big January number not later than December 5th.

NEWS FROM GERMANY

By William E. Bohn

NOW and again stories of hunger riots leak out of Germany. Before America entered the war authentic witnesses would now and then bring to us tales of privation. On the other hand, there have been official proclamations of plenty—and occasionally a traveler has told us that food is cheaper in Berlin than in New York.

Because of the fragmentary and unreliable character of our news from Germany any story that possesses a satisfying touch of reality is thrice welcome. In this class belongs an interview published in *l'Humanité* on September 1. M. De Winne, son of the editor, had been interned in Germany since the beginning of the war. He had been taken over a good part of northern Germany and had been put to work in many different establishments. His observations were wide and various.

The first question put to him was about food. "The Germans of Hanover and Rhenish Prussia," he said, "are badly fed and clothed. Their condition is so bad that that of the prisoners seems happy by comparison. Several times starved Germans manifested their discontent when they saw supplies destined for us being taken thru the street. One day at Soltan a wagonload of bread being brought to us was attacked by the famished population and German soldiers had to protect our food. Women and children hung about our camps begging for food or collecting bits of food from our garbage. They would steal meat tins in order to scrape off the bits of grease which adhered to them. Certain commodities have become so rare that they cannot be procured at any price. German officers proposed to buy our soap at the rate of 25 marks a bar! At Aix-la-Chapelle an invalid in a hospital offered one of my comrades 20 marks for a pound of chocolate. In that hospital there was not even a bit of cotton with which to bandage a wound. Newspapers were urging their readers to bury their dead in paper shirts!

In the country there is less suffering. I worked on a farm at Hamelin. I was well

fed on eggs and milk. The farmers have provisions. But they hold them at famine prices and the city dwellers complain bitterly.

A terrible depression broods over the cities. The streets are deserted. You hardly meet an able-bodied man unless it is a soldier home on leave. Nothing but aged and cripples, women and children. Many of the children are barefooted and exhibit signs of suffering. The bakeries and meat markets are closed. If a store is open you will find on sale hardly anything but some dried herring and a few lemons. Even in great cities like Cologne autos and carriages have almost disappeared; their places are taken by ox carts."

Asked about the spirit of the German people, M. De Winne said: "The Germans believe firmly that they were attacked and that they are fighting for their lives. This is true, not merely among the people, but also among intellectual men like physicians and officers. I have talked with many of them. Impossible tho it may seem, I believe absolutely in their sincerity.

"Let no one suppose that the patriotism of the Germans is less ardent than that of the French or the English. For the triumph of Germany they will make every sacrifice. I was with a mother when she received the news that her third son had been killed. She cried: 'It is for the fatherland.'"

And are the Germans still as certain of victory as they were at the start? "I did not meet a single person who entertained a doubt. But they have become alarmed at the results of the blockade and are rendered more conciliatory. During the first days of the war even the working men had enormous appetites for the fruits of victory. They demanded annexations to east and west. Even at present they still consider the central powers invincible, but as they see one power after another rising against them they begin to see that there is no end to the task which they have set themselves. They are wearied out and feel a great need of peace. They pretend that the Americans will not be of the least military assistance

to the allies. 'What have we done to raise the hatred of the entire world against us?' a physician asked me.

"German working people denounce the

military caste and the crown prince. The minority Socialists are very popular among the working people. Liebknecht is to them an idol and a martyr."

LABOR NOTES

Agricultural Workers

THE convention of the A. W. I. U. No. 400 convened at 9:30 a. m. October 15 with about 150 members present, and adjourned October 17, 1917. Mat K. Fox was chairman of the proceedings and M. G. Bresnan recording secretary. C. W. Anderson was elected secretary-treasurer. Mat K. Fox, O. E. Gordon, M. Sapper, W. Francik, James Rohn, Louis Melis and M. G. Bresnan is the new organization committee. The convention sent greetings to all members of the I. W. W. and all class war prisoners. The A. W. I. U. No. 400 has pledged all support possible to those indicted on federal charges.

It has been suggested that all members of No. 400 donate one day's wages toward the defense of the men in jail. Members in Chicago have already voted to do this.

From the Sacramento Valley comes the report that bumper crops are the expectation for the bean and rice growers. Shortage of labor is becoming acute. Wages are low according to the high cost of living. Workers are dissatisfied, discontent is becoming greater, and spontaneous strikes are accruing in numerous localities of these two industries. Delegates are needed by the hundreds to get into this field and organize the workers. Remember, one good man on the job is worth a dozen off the job. Everybody place your shoulder to the wheel and make this year the banner year for the agricultural workers in California. This harvest will last up to the rainy season of winter. Larger wages can be gotten by a little determination. — C. W. Anderson, Sec'y-Treas., Minneapolis, Minn., Box 1776.

Butte and Anaconda Strike

FOUR months we have been on the firing line. It has been one of the greatest battles ever waged on the industrial field, and when we have won (which we will, and that shortly) the mine owners will know that they have been thru some battle. They will think twice the next time before trying to place their heel on the miner's neck. They have run over this community for so long they thought it was theirs to do with as they pleased, without question.

Here's to him of the hot-box, with the courage and strength to have rudely jarred and punctured their arrogant dream. To him is due a debt of gratitude for having questioned the right of the plutocrats to run over this community and state rough-shod; out of it is going to issue not only betterment for ourselves underground, but social and political betterment for the community and state.

Hold the fort, boys; victory is in sight. Bell, Diamond, East Colusa, Rarus and Alice mines went down tight Tuesday night. Reason? No miners. The rest will have to close in a few days. There is no more room in the hospitals for the greenhorns with which the big push has been trying to carry on the big farce of pretending to produce copper. Just hold on a few days more, boys, and the big push will, in this stunt, as they have in everything they have tried to pull since this strike began—hang themselves.

Not a wheel moving in Great Falls. Some joke, this thing of trying to kid themselves into the idea that their pen-pushers in the editorial offices can dig copper with a lead pencil. Nothing doing; nobody home, with the people who indulge in such childish foolishness.

Meanwhile, what about the burning pat-

rot-ism of our dear plutes that we have had fired at us from their untiring editorial batteries? Of course, we know they are mighty anxious to produce copper for our Uncle Sammy, providing the 400 per cent excess profits are forthcoming. This is some pat-rot-ism all right, all right—about 400 per cent worth. If the plutes love their Uncle Sammy as much as they pretend—editorially—our just demands will be granted without further delay, and the miners will all return to work and dig the much needed copper. But not till then.

We don't blame the plutes for having a fit of pat-rot-ism when there is 400 per cent excess profits behind it.

Now, Uncle Sam, we miners of Butte have a proposition to put before you.

If you will conscript these mines, and the smelters, and the refineries, as you have conscripted the bodies of our brother workers, for the period of the war, we, the miners, will abolish all the conditions of which we complain that exist underground; we will fully safeguard our lives; we will ventilate these mines, thereby increasing our efficiency; we will lay all the dust, the cause of miners' consumption; we will abolish the blacklist system, and we will grant the \$6 a day demanded. We will go that one better—we will make it \$7 a day, and we will pay to the stockholders good, fat returns on the money invested. Not only that, we will do better by them than they have been done by the past year—we will get the mines back to normal production in short order. Not only that, we will clean this community of all its human scum and make it a fit place in which to live. Further, we will wager that we can reduce the cost of copper production very materially.

Now, Uncle Sam, we are willing, and anxious, to show you what we can do. If you will do your little part, we will do the rest.

We are putting up to you a concrete proposition; we mean every word of it. We want to show you that dense ignorance, inefficiency, incapacity, and downright foolishness has marked the handling of these mines during their development, and the fact that they have been developed at all is due to their richness, and in spite of pure bullheadedness and unscientific handling.—Metal Mine Workers' Unions of Butte and Anaconda.

The Lumber Strike

THERE appears to be no question but that the strike-on-the-job tactics of the lumber workers of the Northwest are proving more effective as the lumber workers become more acquainted with this form of striking.

The crew of the Milwaukee Lumber Company at Alder Creek has gained the eight-hour day; wages \$3.50 low. This crew is over one hundred strong and donated \$253.75 for the defense of the Idaho cases. The crew is 90 per cent organized and will be 100 per cent in the immediate future. This camp is fitted up with wash rooms with hot and cold water. The next camp built for this company is going to be built to suit the workers. This is an example of what can be accomplished with solidarity on the job, and can be repeated in every camp of the Northwest.

Howard's camp at Alder Creek is also working eight hours. Twelve men from this camp donated \$47 for the Idaho cases. The camp is 100 per cent organized.

At the Inland Empire Paper Company's camp at Addie, Idaho, conditions are reported to be fairly good, but delegates are badly needed to line up the unorganized there. The crew is working about eight hours on this job. At this camp there are electric lights, shower and tub baths, blankets and pillows, and the sheets are changed once a week. Some improvement over the old lousy conditions, eh? you blanket-carrying jacks of the Northwest. But of course the I. W. W. had nothing to do with the improved conditions, not a bit—the companies are changing the conditions entirely from philanthropic motives—yes, they are!

At Haugan, Mont., one camp of the Mann Lumber Company has granted the eight-hour day, and a number of jipo camps on the Marble Creek have also given in to the workers' demand that eight hours is enough time to slave on any job. Among the camps on the Marble Creek granting the eight-hour day is Nelson and Kelso, and another named Dary, the latter being a cedar job.

McGill's camp at Usk, Wash., is working eight hours, there being thirty-two men employed. There is room for a few more. The grub is reported to be fair and spring mattresses have been installed in the bunk

houses. The work in this camp is not very heavy, the timber being scattered. The station for this camp is on the Newport branch.

Big Lake: About fifteen men in this camp. Crew blew the whistle at 4 p. m. The boss got peeved, but we should worry.

Bloedell-Donovan camp: Thirty men came out of this camp for the eight hours. Camp badly crippled. No doubt the next crew will get their demands granted.

Snohomish: At Maltby, eighty men came out for the eight-hour day and now the bull of the woods is looking for another crew. A few stunts like this are sure to prove productive of results.

Wagner & Wilson Company is looking for a ten-hour crew. Eight-hour wobbles, take notice.

From Hoquiam comes reports that the Carlisle Company's mill had to shut down for lack of logs. In normal times this mill gets out thirty cars a day, but they are lucky to get five now. The strike-on-the-job, the delegate states, is hitting the bosses an awful jolt and is sure to "get the bacon" in time.

At the Milwaukee Lumber Company's camp at St. Maries sixteen men worked on the flume for three and a half days on the eight-hour basis. After this nine men walked off the job for refusing to work overtime.

McMurray & Company is looking for a ten-hour crew, and it is understood that

the Sound Timber Company started operations, or at least tried to do so, last Monday.

The bonus system is in vogue at Cobb & Healy's outfit. The men are reported to be working eight hours. There are a few wobbles on this job.

Comes news from Tacoma that a certain pile driver crew working on bridge work discovered that ten-hour lumber was being used, and all members of the crew decided to quit rather than use scab lumber, which they did. At a meeting held in their hall a few hours later, their "business" agent, a member of the labor council and the commissioner of public works decided that the pile driver crew should return to work, ten or twenty-hour lumber, which the crew subsequently did. We feel sorry for the rank and file of this so-called labor organization, and look forward to the time when continued stunts of this kind will be instrumental in causing them to awaken to the fact that their organization is a joke, as did the Metal Mine Workers of Anaconda and Butte several months ago, and line up with a real democratic organization, the officers of which are no more empowered to order the members back to any job than is the newest initiated member of its rank and file; one big, virile organization which teaches the full significance of solidarity of labor, and having taught it, puts the teaching into practice.—Fred Hegge, Box 2217, Spokane, Wash., Press Committee.



(Continued from page 267)

the further to the Left you go the worse they get. That is to say, the more furiously they believe in the Up-Rooting and Come-Outing! The man that sits next to the window on that side is from the head waters of Up-Rooting and Come-Outing and is so hot that he threatens perennially to break into flames.

But as you move to the Right the temperature falls. On the extreme Right sit what are called the Conservatives. These are men who in the United States would be looked upon as extremely dangerous and incendiary and to be blacklisted by a respectable press. They believe in the Revolution, but think it has already attained to most of the objects it desired.

Between the extreme Left and the extreme Right is the real driving force of the Council, the men who want the Revolution to sweep on and do many more things that ought to be done, but are unwilling to see it miscue and lose what it has already gained. That is, they want all that can be had out of this thing, but they are not plumb dead to reason about it.

Left and Right mean looking from the platform; it is the chairman's left or right.

Those Come-Outing gentlemen on the extreme Left are the famous Bolsheviks, once with Lenine for their leader. The Mensheviks occupy the Center; next to them come the Trudevics and then come the men on the Right who think the Up-Rooting and Come-Outing already done is a fine job and doesn't need any more than some general tinkering.

I think there is a man in Russia that can name all the Russian political parties and give a succinct account of what each stands for. I know there is a man in Russia that can play ten games of chess blindfolded, and therefore I am prepared to believe in the existence of even a greater intellectual prodigy. But I never saw him nor heard of him nor heard of anybody that had heard of him. If I can find him I am going to bring him home as a successor to Griffith, the mathematical marvel. In a general way the average visitor is able to garner the precious fact that there are a great many parties, and the differences between their principles is often very slight, but beyond that the water begins to shoal rapidly. I know in a general way that among the important parties there is first the Social Democratic Party, then the Social Revolutionist

Party, then the People's Socialist Party, then the People's Liberty Party, then the Cadet or Constitutional Democratic party, and then others that are like the sands of the sea for multitude. The two great parties of the country are the Social Democratic and the Social Revolutionist. So far as the finite mind can learn they are practically identical creeds. I don't know what they can find to fight about, but it doesn't matter anyway. The real fight is not between them, but within them. Like this:

The Socialist Democratic Party is split between its Bolsheviks and its Mensheviks. The Socialist Revolutionist Party is split between its Maximalists and Minimalists. Bolsheviks and Maximalists are the same; Mensheviks and Minimalists are the same. The quarrel is between the Bolsheviks-Maximalists on one side and Mensheviks-Minimalists on the other, and has more than once threatened to rend the National Council asunder.

What do they quarrel about?

Now here is the biggest fact in all Russia and the thing that makes the play understandable:

The Bolsheviks-Maximalists are Syndicalists and want the Government to take over all the factories, banks, land and utilities at once.

The Mensheviks-Minimalists want the Government to take over all the factories, banks, land and utilities, but not at once, because they do not believe the present time is propitious. Practically, that is all.

Bolsheviks-Maximalists and Mensheviks-Minimalists make up the greater part of the National Council.

A Constitutional Assembly will before long be at work to devise and adopt a national constitution for Russia. If it shall be made up like the National Council this world will certainly see some astonishing things in the way of a constitution.

That being the case, the idea of Americans or English coming here to take by the hand these simple children of nature and lead them up to the primary principles of democracy as enunciated by Thomas Jefferson and Lloyd George is the gigantic joke of the ages.

For Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Maximalists and Minimalists, are agreed and fully determined upon one thing likely to give all the rest of us a jolt.

Democracy means to them industrial

democracy just as much as it means political democracy.

But the rest of the world has progressed only to the point where it glimpses political democracy. How about that?

Doubtless these must be unpalatable facts, since so much effort has been made to conceal them. I do not know how that will help. We have a situation in Russia (our Ally, remember) that may mean a million American lives and fifteen or twenty billion American dollars, and it seems to be common sense to try to understand it. Well, then, here is the final key to it:

The Revolution in Russia was not primarily political; it was economic. It wasn't so much that the people were sick of a preposterous and moldy despotism. They wanted something to eat.

They wanted bread and they knew why they didn't have it and they knew how to get it.

Exactly. That was the heart of the matter then. It is the heart of the matter now.

About the supplying of daily bread and about other essential features in the life of the toilers and producers of the country, these people in the mass have absorbed radical doctrines in favor of a system very different from any system now in use elsewhere in the world. And, as I have before pointed out, it is persons of this conviction that make up practically the whole of the National Council, the ruling power of Russia.

Therefore—a word in your ear. Keep an eye on Russia. There is likely to be something doing.

How comes this dominating force to be saturated with a new social philosophy, not simple, not rudimentary, and not much grasped as yet by the rest of mankind? Here, you may well say, is wonder. That in the old poisonous day of darkness and autocracy, when the gag was on every man's lip, the police agent listening at every man's door, the government watching every press, the chill fear of Siberia in every heart, illiteracy a paralyzing cloud over the whole land, and still there should spread widely among the people, by stealth and mostly by word of mouth, such an economic and social creed—can you equal that in your reading?

I say, then, that you can hardly put a limit on the possibilities of such a people. When they get started they will amaze us all.

But—you are to remember two things: This social philosophy unfortunately lays the country wide open to German spies, agents, influence and deviltry, and we ourselves have had some cause to know what that means.

Second, having these vast dreams of social betterment filling and absorbing all the active and leading minds, they don't care much for this war. It blocks their way. They can't see their dreams realized so long as this thing is hanging around. So then, shall they brace up and go in to make a swift end by energetic fighting? No, because they construe their altruistic creed to contain an injunction against all war; and again No, because under it the Germans are their brothers; and again No, because Germans assume to be the high-priests and apostles of it—titular.

It suits the German propaganda, most extraordinary achievement of German cunning—this soft and sentimental pliability of the Russian mind. It has not occurred to the typical Russian reformer that if Germany is not defeated all of his dreams will come smashing down in irretrievable defeat. All he can see is Russia, the first country in the world with a chance to establish industrial democracy, and the stupid, senseless war standing in the way.

And it does not the slightest good to appeal to him on the ground that his country has sacred obligations to its Allies. Here is where, with the best intentions, the British have gone hopelessly to wreck in Russia. They don't understand; perhaps they can't understand. They have invariably assumed that the present Russia ought to feel obliged to carry out the undertakings of Imperial Russia, dead and gone forever. At first this makes a Russian laugh; then, as he thinks of the gulf that separates old Russia from new Russia, it makes him mad.

I don't see how you can blame him.

But while we are discoursing thus the Council is at work. It is very different from the House of Representatives or the House of Commons; therein, likely, is some of its sin in the eyes of the unbending Briton. Taking together the voting and fraternal delegates there are more than a thousand of them. None of them sleeps, talks, reads newspapers or moves wearily about while the proceedings are on. All of them sit and attend upon every word. The speeches are always short; if an alien may assume to

judge they are likewise always full of pith and matter. Tschaidse, that extraordinary, hawk-eyed, cold-blooded person, of whom I must tell you more hereafter, watches inscrutably from the chairman's desk. He has no gavel; instead, as the emblem of authority, he uses a rather formidable bell. He can discern in advance when disorder is threatening. At the first sign of it he rings his bell. Then the disorder ceases.

A delegate is at the rostrum making a speech now. He has a round, close-cropped head, a sunburned visage, and the big brown veinous hands of labor. He wears the soldier's tunic and high boots and looks as if he might but now have emerged from the trenches. After listening a little my interpreter tells me the man is a peasant, unlettered and probably illiterate. Among the delegates are twenty that cannot read or write. Maybe he is one of these.

Yet he is speaking with an astonishing fluency, never hesitating for a word. He has all the resources most orators obtain by laborious study and effort. He knows how to produce effects. He modulates his voice to suit his thought, he deals in sarcasm, makes his hearers laugh or be serious, builds in his climaxes. Now he starts upon his peroration. Steadily he carries it along, up and up until he bursts over his listeners a magnificent torrent of emotion and they are upon their feet, cheering.

I will add one other fact for your deliberate heeding, if you will be so good.

The police system of Russia, in the old *régime*, was the most elaborate, extensive, complete and perfect police system ever devised. Of a sudden it was abolished—utterly, and without a remaining fragment, abolished. Nothing took its place, you might say. A few men in citizen's clothes volunteered as militia, a white band on the left arm as the only insignia of office, often without even a club as a weapon.

But without any police force, Petrograd, having more than 2,000,000 inhabitants, remained and remains one of the most orderly and peaceful cities, more orderly and peaceful than any great city in America.

With such a capacity for self-discipline, self-restraint and a decent respect for the rights of others, where would you limit the future of these people?

Provided always the German steam-crusher does not hammer them down nor that German intrigue does not produce among them the civil war at which it now aims.

But as to these contingencies, much debated in some quarters, this old world has seen many strange things, but nothing so strange as that democracy should be the means of the death of democracy. Nothing, I mean, so strange as that the downfall of the horrible autocracy of old Russia should be the means of securing the supremacy of the equally abominable autocracy of Germany.

Otherwise, Shrinking Souls everywhere may lay aside their fears about this country and look up with reasonable confidence. Russia will remain free and democratic; there will be no more chance of a backward lapse into the old abysm than there is of a monarchy in America.

Finally, all the great peoples of the world have soared to their highest achievements from some period of national stress, danger or upheaval. From these dark, straining days free and democratic Russia will rise to dazzling heights to do things beyond the records of any other people whatsoever.

Even now, look at its literature! Think of its music!

(Reprinted by special permission of "Hearst's" Magazine. Further articles on Russia by Mr. Russell will appear in November "Hearst's" and future numbers.)



EDITORIAL

The New Censorship Law. An amendment slipped into the "Trading With the Enemy" act by the conference committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, and hastily rushed thru without discussion on the floor of either house, gives the Postmaster General power to stop the circulation of any periodical that displeases him. Under the former law he could bar a periodical from the mails, but could not interfere with its circulation thru other channels. Now he can prohibit express companies from transporting and newsdealers and others from selling or distributing any periodical to which he objects, and can enforce his orders by heavy fines and even imprisonment. He has given out an interview, stating that he has no intention of discriminating against Socialist periodicals as a class. But up to this time he has stopped the American Socialist, The Masses and the Milwaukee Leader, and has notified the New York Call and Solidarity to show cause why their mailing privileges should not be taken away.

The Review and the Censorship. Our June, July and September issues have been officially declared unmailable, no reason being given. Our August issue was allowed to pass, after taking out three paragraphs from an article entitled "The Firing Line," reprinted from the Chicago Daily News. No ruling could be obtained from Washington on our October issue, but the Chicago postmaster has refused permission to mail it. Neither that issue nor this November issue contains anything contrary to the laws of the United States, but apparently certain officials of the administration think the war efficiency of the nation can be promoted by suppressing free discussion, and have decided to act accordingly.

Watch the Election Returns. Only minor elections will be held on Novem-

ber 6, but they will be enough to show which way the wind blows. In New York City the big dailies are for Mitchell, who by the way is a good mayor by capitalist standards. Morris Hillquit is the Socialist candidate. The usual Socialist vote for mayor is about 25,000. If Mitchell wins and the Socialist vote does not increase, the censorship policy will be vindicated. Watch the returns. In Chicago only judges are to be elected. The two old parties have each nominated only half a ticket instead of contesting the election as usual. The Socialists have a full ticket, and the Chicago Daily News comes out with a frantic editorial urging good citizens to rally to the polls lest the Socialists be elected. The usual Socialist vote in Chicago is about 30,000. If it is less the censorship wins out. Watch the returns. All over the country the old parties are giving tacit or open approval to the policy of censorship. The Socialists alone oppose it at the polls. If the Socialist vote decreases, it will be manifest that Americans like censorship. Watch the returns, but first drop your own ballot.

A Lesson from England. When the war began, the British government tried to speed up work on war munitions by crushing the unions and forcing the workers to labor long hours under conditions fixed by the profit-making employers. This proved a failure and the government backed down. It was found that shorter hours and higher wages increased the output of ammunition. The I. W. W. here stands in the position of the British unions in 1915. It is the rallying point of the underpaid and overworked laborers. Its immediate aim is to obtain for all laborers just such wages and hours as experts know will make them most efficient. Thus their "immediate demands" are really in line with the war



policy of the government, and if President Wilson's subordinates were as intelligent as the President himself, the I. W. W. would just now be encouraged, not persecuted. True, the ultimate aim of the I. W. W., like that of the Socialists, is to take away the power of the capitalist class and let the workers control the machinery and the product of their labor. But great masses of workers do not go on strike for theories or for dreams of the future. If the government officials really want to win the war, they can do so by releasing the I. W. W. prisoners, by raising wages and shortening hours in industries where strikes are threatened, and in general by treating the workers so well while the war lasts that they will not want to strike. But what will happen after the war? That is another story. We will answer when the censorship is removed.

Universal Military Service. This is an issue raised by the Chicago Tribune and other patriotic newspapers. They urge that all American boys as they reach the

age of nineteen or twenty should be conscripted for a year or more of military training, not simply during the war, but as a permanent policy in times of peace. The New Republic, which supports the war, nevertheless sees and argues that such a policy would make the Germans fight to the last ditch and would immensely decrease the chance of a general disarmament when the great war is over. President Wilson has by his public utterances won the support of many who hate war, but believe that this is a "war to end war." This it can readily be if the United States will take its stand squarely with the Russian commonwealth for an international policy that will take away the motive for future wars. But such a stand would be manifestly insincere if it were accompanied by preparations for universal military service in time of peace, with a view to building up a great war machine for future use. Here is one issue that we as Socialists should not fail to meet in future campaigns, until the project is abandoned.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Certificates for Freedom. The General Defense Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World is having engraved 166 Certificates for Freedom. These Certificates are for \$100.00 each, and there will be but 166 of them, one for each of the men and women who have been indicted. They will not be numbered, but each Certificate will bear the autograph of some one of the 166 men or women who have been indicted for their devotion to the working class.

There will perhaps be many who will contribute \$100.00 each for the defense of those who must stand trial for being true. Why not invest the \$100.00 at once for one of these autographed Certificates, and have a beautiful record of your contribution?

The design is being made by a Chicago artist as a part of his contribution to the Defense and the Certificates will be ready to mail in a few days. Remember, there are to be but 166 of these Certificates, each is for \$100.00 and the first 166 persons to order them will be the ones to receive them.

This money is to be used for Defense purposes only, and if you expect to contribute to the defense of these men and women, make an effort to purchase one of these Certificates for Freedom.

Order from the General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois. Make checks and money orders payable to William D. Haywood.

J. O. Bentall Sentenced: The conviction of J. O. Bentall and his sentence to one year's imprisonment on a charge of influencing his hired man not to register is only more evidence that the powers of reaction in the state are using the war as a pretext to crush the Socialist movement in Minnesota.

The trial was a farce. The testimony against Bentall was most flimsy, but because he was the Socialist candidate for governor at the last election and a lecturer for the Socialist party, the edict went out to railroad him. Put the Socialist organizers, lecturers and officials in jail, break up their meetings, outlaw their publications. This is the policy being carried out.

The evidence against Bentall was so unsubstantial that no jury could be justified in bringing in a verdict of guilty. A reporter for one of the daily papers who attended the trial said he did not see how a verdict of guilty could be brought on the evidence presented. Yet United States Judge Booth practically ordered the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty in his charge to the jury.

The star witness against Bentall was Kassuba, the young man, formerly employed by Bentall, whom it is claimed Bentall influenced not to register.

Kassuba admitted on the stand that he had told his friend Erickson that he was not going to register long before he had ever

talked to Bentall. He admitted that it was not patriotism or his desire to assist the government in cleaning up the "sore spots" in the state of Minnesota that brought him into the court room, but that he wanted to "get even with Jake for grievances" and to save his own hide.

He could not remember ever hearing Bentall advise him not to register. He merely assumed that "he did not want me to register."

Another witness for the government, Erickson, a friend of Kassuba, testified that on a certain evening five men were sitting around Bentall's table for several hours. But according to this witness the only conversation carried on by this group during these hours was a statement by Bentall, "If I were a young man I would not register." Erickson could not remember a single word that had been spoken except that sentence. According to him absolute silence had reigned for two hours up to the time he alleged Bentall to have made that statement and immediately thereafter the five again fell into silence which they maintained until bed time.

When the United States attorney jumped to his feet and tried to assist him, Erickson changed his story a little and declared that other things were said. But under cross examination he admitted that he changed his story because he noticed the district attorney did not like it.

The other witnesses for the government all related to something that happened after registration. The state's witnesses absolutely failed to prove any relation between Kassuba's failure to register and Bentall.

Bentall's conviction is only another incident in the campaign of terrorism raging today.—(From the New Times, Minneapolis.)

Buffalo Forges Ahead: Comrade Brown, literature agent of Local Buffalo, writes us that in the 11th ward, the ward in which Branch 6 operates, the candidates in the recent election received more votes than all other nominees together—a gain of 700 per cent. which, he says, "I believe is due in no small part to the REVIEW and other literature we have sold which we got from you."

SOCIALIST LEADER IS JAILED.

Stanley J. Clark, formerly a state official of the Socialist party of Oklahoma, was placed in the county jail today by federal officers. He was grouped with the I. W. W. prisoners and it is said he will be tried under the blanket indictment which charges seditious conspiracy. Arrest of Clark caused surprise in Socialist circles, because it had not been known that Clark was identified with I. W. W. activities. His previous visits to Chicago were as a delegate to Socialist National Conventions, where he was noted as an orator.

There are now fifty-two I. W. W. prisoners in county jail, according to their attorneys.

Library of Science for the Workers

To understand modern Socialism, you must understand Evolution. Socialists predict the speedy end of the capitalist system as a result of irresistible NATURAL LAWS, the workings of which have been studied for two generations since their discovery. Most of the books in which these laws are explained are too difficult to read and too expensive to buy, except for the leisure class. That is why we have used the slender capital subscribed in small sums by wage-workers to publish the most essential of the facts in simple language at low prices. The ten books here described will give you a clear understanding of the great process in which Socialism is the next step.

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When captured they were not arraigned locally but are brought on here for a general arraignment. Classes in the English language, history and economics have been established in the county jail group, with Leo Laukki, former dean of the Workers' college, Smithville, Minn., at the head of the faculty. Four Italians from Scranton, Pa., were brought in this noon.

G. F. Vandever of Seattle, chief counsel, has gone to New York for interviews with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Arturo Giovannitti, who are in custody there.

Claude R. Porter of Centerville, United States attorney for the southern districts of Iowa, has been given a special assignment by Attorney-General Gregory to assist in the prosecution of I. W. W. cases.—Chicago Daily News.

A Socialist School: Comrade Reinhold Werner writes us that they have two real Socialist schools in Pittsburgh. The East Liberty School was organized three years ago and one on the north side a year later. The comrades train the children to be genuine rebels so that when they grow up they will be well informed agitators. Comrade Werner says, "We teach them that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common and that there will be no peace between these two classes until the capitalist system is abolished, and that it will be up to them, when they grow up to be men and women, to do their duty in helping to educate and organize the workers for the purpose of establishing a system whereby the people who produce all wealth shall receive all that they produce. We give them a good understanding of things around and about them. The wonders of nature, evolution, philosophy and science. We encourage them to read good books of which we have quite a few in our own library. The boys and girls manage this library themselves. We have very good teachers. One of them, Rudolph Blum, is now serving eighteen months in Allegheny County jail for having been active in the Westinghouse strike. He is well liked by the children and they are anxiously waiting until he is thru with his 'bit'. Every month the children receive a copy of "The Little Comrade," which is published by Maude Ball, 6802 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill. The children all like this little paper and we hope that the REVIEW will give it a little boost."

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CHRISTMAS is coming, and we may not be able to reach you with another issue of the Review before it is here. Remember that if the friend for whom you want a Christmas present is an enthusiastic Socialist, nothing will please him so well as a new Socialist book. Remember, also, that if you have a friend who has been prejudiced against our movement, a well-chosen book at Christmas time may start him thinking for himself. Moreover, this year we have just the book you want for the children.

Stories of the Cave People, by Mary Marcy, will fascinate the young folks with thrilling adventures, and at the same time will help them see the absurdity of the "Fall of Man" and other theological nonsense taught at certain Sunday Schools. This is a beautiful book of nearly 200 pages, with many pictures. Ready November 15. Price \$1.00.

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We have a new catalog just ready, which will be mailed to you on request, and it contains many other suggestions for which we can not make room here.

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The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature

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The 166 will be arraigned in Chicago before Judge Kenesaw M. Landis on December 15th and expect to face all the fury of the capitalist class during the trials in January.

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VOL. XVIII

JANUARY, 1918

No. 7



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The Russian Bolshevik Victory

(Note: The struggle between the Maximalists, who demand all for the people, and the Minimalists, who represent also the landlords and commercial magnates.)

ON November 8 news came from Petrograd that the Council of Workmen and Soldiers had overthrown the Kerensky Provisional Government and assumed control, without having met with serious opposition. The Bolsheviks, the revolutionary Socialists, led the uprising and were supported by the Petrograd garrison. Kerensky fled from the city in an ambulance. The members of the Provisional ministry were arrested and put in jail; they will be placed on trial for complicity in the reactionary rebellion of General Korniloff.

Nicholas Lenine, the outstanding leader of the Bolsheviks, or Maximalists, is being assisted by Leon Trotzky and Madam Alexandra Kollontay, both of whom were recently in this country.

The overthrow of the temporizing Kerensky regime had apparently two chief aims — peace and the distribution of landed estates among the peasant proletarians. The new revolutionary government has issued a call for a general peace and suggests an armistice of three months.

"We must take practical measures im-

mediately to effect the promises given by the Bolshevik Party," Lenin said in a speech to the Workingmen's and Soldiers' Congress on November 9. "The question of peace is a burning one today; therefore, the first act of the new government which is to be formed is to offer to all nations a democratic peace, based on no annexations and no indemnity. Such a peace is to be concluded not by diplomacy, but by the representatives of the people."

Lenin explained that by annexation he meant the forcible seizure of any territory in the past or the present without consent of the people. He asserted that all secret treaties meant to benefit the bourgeoisie must be published and voided to benefit all.

Toward 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon of November 8, the Military Revolutionary Committee issued its proclamation stating that Petrograd was in its hands. It read:

"To the Army Committee of the Active Army and to All Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and to the Garrison and Proletariat of Petrograd:

"We have deposed the Government of Kerensky, which rose against the revolution and the people. The change which resulted in the deposition of the Provisional Government was accomplished without bloodshed.

"The Petrograd Council for Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates solemnly welcomes the accomplished change and proclaims the authority of the Military Revolutionary Committee until the creation of a Government by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

"Announcing this to the army at the front, the Revolutionary Committee calls upon the revolutionary soldiers to watch closely the conduct of the men in command. Officers who do not join the accomplished revolution immediately and openly must be arrested at once as enemies.

"The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates considers this to be the program of the new authority:

"First—The offer of an immediate democratic peace.

"Second—The immediate handing over of large proprietorial lands to the peasants.

"Third—The transmission of all au-

thority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

"Fourth—The honest convocation of a Constitutional Assembly.

"The national revolutionary army must not permit uncertain military detachments to leave the front for Petrograd. They should use persuasion, but where this fails they must oppose any such action on the part of these detachments by force without mercy.

"The actual order must be read immediately to all military detachments in all arms. The suppression of this order from the rank and file by army organizations is equivalent to a great crime against the revolution and will be punished by all the strength of the revolutionary law.

"Soldiers! For peace, for bread, for land, and for the power of the people!

"The Military Revolutionary Committee."

Lenine Statement

(From the *Chicago Tribune*)

The following article by Nikola Lenine, the head of the Maximalists now in control of Petrograd, was written several weeks ago. It is supposed to show what may be expected from the Maximalists, and indicates that there is no danger of a separate peace.

By Nikolai Lenine

I cannot protest too energetically against the slanderous statements spread by capitalists against the Bolshevik party to the effect that we are in favor of a separate peace with Germany. To us the capitalists of Germany are plain pirates, like the capitalists of Russia, England, and France. Emperor William is a crowned robber like the rulers of England, Italy, Roumania, and other nations.

If we are opposed to the prolongation of the present war it is because it is being waged by two groups of powers for purely imperialistic purposes. It is waged by capitalists anxious to increase their profits by extending their domination over the world, conquering new markets and subjugating small nations. Every day of the war adds to the profits of the financier and merchant, but spells ruin and exhaustion for the industrial and

agricultural workers of all the nations, belligerent or neutral.

As far as Russia is concerned a prolongation of the war may jeopardize the success of the revolution and prevent it from attaining its ultimate goal.

The assumption of governmental powers by the present administration—an administration dominated by land owners and capitalists—could not and does not modify the character and the significance of the war waged by Russia.

We might adduce as evidence of it that the present administration not only refuses to reveal the secret compacts signed by Nicholas II with the governments of England, France, and other nations, but formally confirmed those secret covenants which guaranteed Russian capitalists their share in the dismemberment of China, Persia, Turkey, Austria, etc. By failing to reveal the nature of those arrangements the present government is keeping the nation in ignorance of the actual aims of the present war.

This is why the workers' party cannot agree to continue the present war nor support the present administration nor help it in floating war loans without departing from the spirit of internationalism, which demands brotherly solidarity among the workers of all countries in their struggle against capitalism.

We cannot accept with any measure of faith the statements of the present administration that there will be no annexations—that is, that no part of any foreign country will be seized.

The war must be fought on by a different military organization. Not by an army organized as the present army is, but by a militia whose members shall receive for their services wages equal to those of a first class workingman.

This will be the only democratic way to put an end to this war.

* * *

Rebuffs Separate Peace

Petrograd, Nov. 28.—Leon Trotzky, who is in charge of foreign affairs in the Bolshevik cabinet, emphatically declared today that the soldiers' and workingmen's government was against a separate peace with Germany. He voiced his conviction that Russia's initiative in offering peace will be supported by the proletariat of all

countries, allied or belligerent, which will make impossible a continuation of the war even if the governments do not accept the offer.

"What are the plans and intentions of your government?" the correspondent inquired.

The Bolshevik Plans

"The plans and intentions of the government are outlined in the program of the Bolshevik party, to which the all-Russian congress of soldiers' and workmen's delegates intrusted the formation of a soldiers' and workmen's government," the foreign minister answered.

"FIRST—There will be the immediate publication of all secret treaties and the abolition of secret diplomacy.

"SECOND—An offer of an immediate armistice on all fronts for the conclusion of a democratic peace.

"THIRD—The transfer of all lands to the peasants.

Nationalize Industries

"FOURTH — The establishment of state control of industries through the medium of organized workmen and employes; the nationalization of the most important branches of industry.

"FIFTH—The delivery of all authority to local soldiers' and workmen's deputies.

"SIXTH—The convocation of a constituent assembly which will introduce its reforms through the medium of the soldiers' and workmen's deputies and not through the old bureaucracy on an appointed date.

"The offer of an immediate peace already has been made. The decree transferring the land to the peasants has been issued.

"Power has been assumed by the soldiers' and workmen's deputies in most of the important places.

People Will Force Peace

"What will the government do if Russia's allies refuse to enter into negotiations for peace?" the correspondent asked.

"If the allied governments do not support the policy of a democratic peace," Trotzky replied, "the allied peoples will support us against their governments. Our international policy is calculated not for capitalistic diplomacy, but for the support of the working masses."

"Does the government think a separate peace with Germany is possible in the existing circumstances?"

"We are against a separate peace with Germany—we are for a universal peace with the European nations."

"What will the government do if Germany refuses to negotiate for peace—will it continue the war?" was the next question.

Rely on German Workers

"We rely on the German army and the working classes to make a continuation of the war impossible," Trotsky replied.

"If, however, our frank and honest offers of peace meet no response, we would declare a revolutionary war against German imperialism, we would mobilize all our forces, confiscate large food supplies, and prosecute the war as energetically as we did the revolution. But we have every ground to think that our offer of peace will make impossible a continuation of the war on all fronts."

"What is the country's attitude toward the governmental change?"

"All the Bourgeoisie is against us. The greatest part of the intellectuals is against us or hesitating, awaiting a final outcome."

"The working class is wholly with us. The army is with us. The peasants, with the exception of exploiters, are with us."

"The soldiers and workmen's government is a government of workmen, soldiers, and peasants against the capitalists and land owners."

"Is it true that the government will publish the secret treaties?" was the final question.

"Yes," the foreign minister answered.

Russians were urged by a Bolshevik proclamation today to take vengeance on the strikers, who are blamed for the food shortage. The proclamation gave the names and addresses of the strikers.

Reduce Russian Army

A reduction of the Russian armies, beginning with the class conscripted in 1899, has been proclaimed by the Bolshevik leader, M. Lenine, today.

The official announcement follows:

"The workmen's and peasants' government of the peoples' commissaries has decided to undertake without delay reduction of the armies and orders, to begin with, release from their military duties of

all citizen soldiers of the class conscripted in 1899. Instructions concerning the liberation of other classes from military service will be issued at a later day. Upon demobilization all arms must be handed over to regimental committees, which will be responsible for their safety. The highest commander-in-chief is obliged to bring this decree directly to the knowledge of the rank and file."

The Chicago Tribune of December 6th, states:

On account of the closing of the city дума the food committees are threatening to strike, throwing Petrograd into temporary food troubles. They are likely to be of short duration, however, as thousands of Kronstadt sailors have gone to the grain belt of Siberia and are sending escorted trains to Petrograd and the front. They have been ordered to cut red tape and to requisition engines to transport the grain and to speed.

The sailors' mission also is political, as they have been ordered to make converts to Bolshevism in every town en route. They are expected to bring back with them Nicholas Romanoff, the deposed czar.

Other sailors are with the expedition that has been sent against Gen. Kaledine, leader of the Cossacks. The Bolsheviks are taking every precaution to nip any monarchistic movement.

The дума has issued a proclamation to all nations, pleading for support as the only elective body in Russia.

James O'Donnell Bennett in a special cable to the Tribune, says in part:

This dispatch contains the views of certain representatives of the best informed and safest American opinion in Russia on the Russian situation in its relation to America.

That their opinion is the safest and best informed is no individual verdict, but the verdict of American diplomats in northern Europe who after thoroly assimilating the utterances now repeated in this dispatch, said:

"These men have their feet on the ground and see far."

* * *

In quoting them I should add that they are not Socialists, either practical or theoretical; that they are not Bolshevik sympathizers, that they are not even remotely of Russian or German extraction, but Ameri-



Petrowsky Mouranoff Badaeff Samoiloff Schagoff

THE SOCIALIST MEMBERS (all bolsheviks) OF THE DUMA SENT TO SIBERIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR FOR THEIR INTERNATIONALISTIC PROPAGANDA AGAINST WAR

cans from our capitalistic class. One of them is en route to an entente country on an official mission.

They said:

"Make no mistake, the Bolsheviks have got Russia, and they have gotten order—good order, too. The treatment the Bolshevik fighters accorded the captured cadets during the last Petrograd battles was often more considerate than such prisoners would have received in any other country, especially as some cadets captured a second time had obviously broken what amounted to a parole.

"The successful rebels in any other European capital would have shot them. This was in Petrograd, but the Moscow fighting was much bitterer.

"If by allied pressure Trotzky and Lenine should be turned out now they will fight whatever government replaces them and do over again what they have just done.

* * *

"There were enough Cossacks in Petrograd to have controlled the situation for Kerensky when the Bolsheviks launched their revolt, but a few stump speakers turned these Cossacks into pacifists and now they have become tea drinkers.

"With the Russian people in their present state of mind we have nothing to gain by breaking with them and considerable

chances of gaining something by staying, even if they make separate peace and neutralize their country.

"The situation is so fluid that we ought to tread water. Therefore, this is no time for stiff-necked routine diplomacy, for Trotzky only laughs at it.

Publication by the Bolshevik acting government in Petrograd of letters and proposed treaties, found in the archives of the Foreign Office, has been denounced as the blackest of treasonable crimes. It is hardly that. Whatever the motive, the act scarcely goes, in impropriety, beyond the giving out by the Provisional Government last summer of the correspondence between the Czar and the Kaiser. The intent, in either case, was to discredit a previous régime. On the diplomatic side of the affair, fair-minded opinion will still be cautious. That the Czar was weak and vacillating made the situation extremely difficult for both his Foreign Secretary and his general staff. Left to himself, or swayed by the hidden influences which we now know to have been long playing upon him, there was no telling what Nicholas would do. And there are many indications that the German government in those days of July was deliberately playing a game with Petrograd, as Bismarck played with Paris in 1870. That is to say, in both instances the effort was

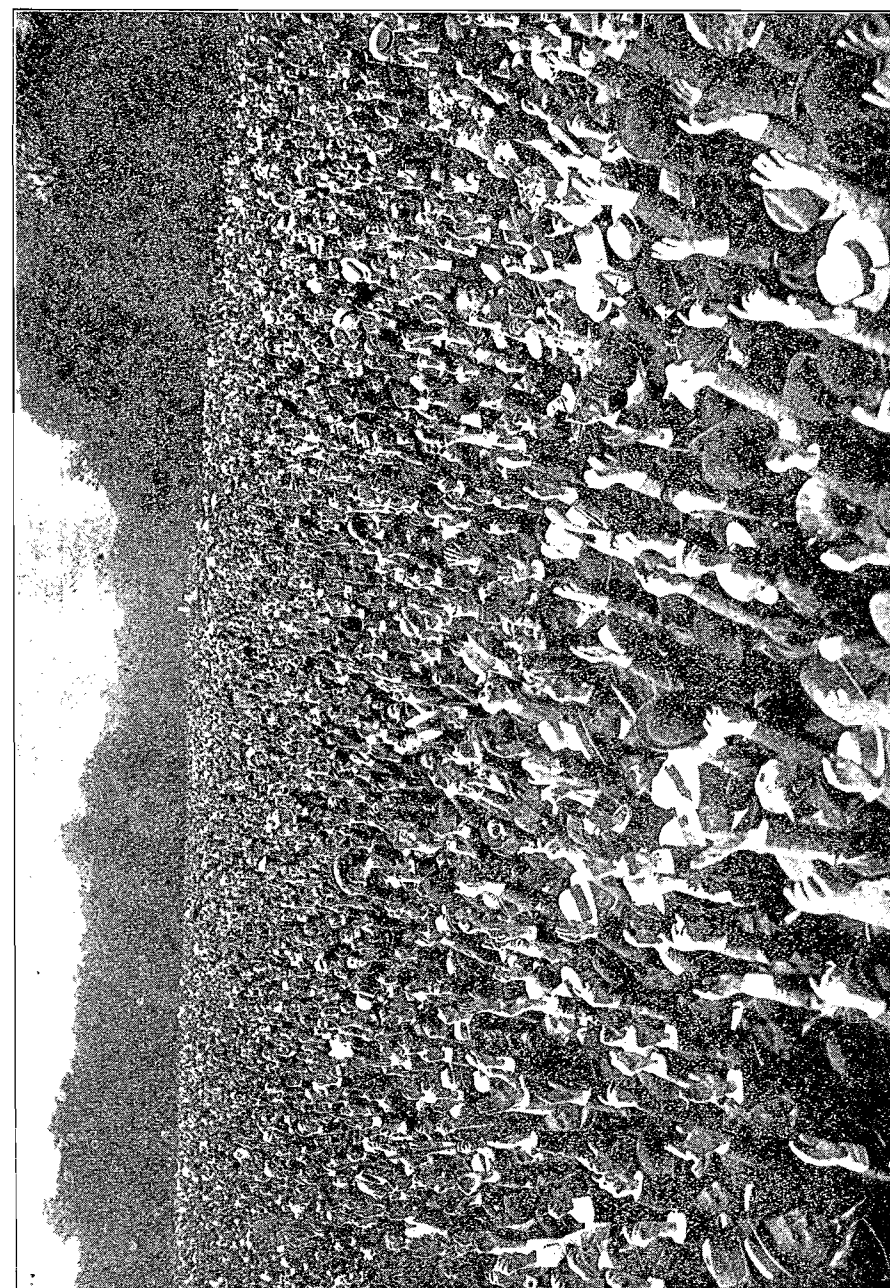
to betray the other side into a false step which would at once precipitate war and at the same time appear to make Germany not the aggressor. For example, the Berlin *Anzeiger* came out on the critical day with a flaming announcement that the German army had been mobilized complete. This was at once telegraphed to Petrograd by the Russian Ambassador. But presently the German government issued an official *démenti*, and suppressed the edition of the *Anzeiger*. But the mischief had been done, Russian mobilization was decreed; and war became inevitable. Now, it has been argued that all this was a device deliberately adopted to make sure of war, with Russia apparently taking the offensive. The German military party got its longed-for war, and got it in a way to enable it to assure the German people that the war was defensive.

At that time, no one outside of Germany knew of the Potsdam conference, a month before the war broke out. At this it was resolved to make use of the Austrian ultimatum to Servia in order to force "the great reckoning," as the Austrian Foreign Secretary called it, with Russia and, necessarily, with France. The facts about this fatal conference, as brought out by the Reichstag Deputy, Herr Haase, and by Ambassador Morgenthau and others, have

thrown a lurid light forward upon the subsequent negotiations. It is now as well established as anything can be that the German government had at least determined to press on in a position and with measures that almost surely meant an European war, and was doing it in a spirit of "damn the consequences." Some people forget, conveniently, how great was the distrust of the war clique in Germany shown by the German people. In Berlin alone, on July 29, 1914, more than a score of mass meetings were held to protest against the proposed war. At one of these meetings, there were said to be present 70,000 men. And on that same day the *Vorwärts* declared that "the camarilla of war-lords is working with absolutely unscrupulous means to carry out their fearful designs to precipitate an international war." Even after the decision had been virtually made, the *Vorwärts* asserted that the policy of the German government throughout had been "utterly without conscience." These things must not be allowed to drop from memory when it is sought by the uncovering of Russian secrets to raise doubts concerning the German government's decision to go into a war which it could have prevented by the turning over of a hand.—From the *Nation*

SPEAKING OF HYMNS OF HATE

How long it will be before the usurping gang of Socialists, pacifists, pro-German agents, and I. W. W.'s which calls itself a Government is overthrown I shall not venture to predict; but its ultimate downfall is as certain as anything in Russia can be. The moderate liberals, the business men, the co-operative societies, the Cossacks, and, I believe, an overwhelming majority of the peasants, are hostile to it, and as soon as they have time to get together and organize under competent leaders they will destroy it.—From *The Outlook*.



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PEACE DEMONSTRATION OF 100,000 SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AT THE TREPTOWER PARK, BERLIN, 1910

Let us hope they will follow their Russian comrades and put the Kaiser and his fellow capitalists in overalls.

The Truth About the I. W. W.

By HAROLD CALLENDER

EDITOR'S NOTE: Harold Callender investigated the Bisbee deportations for the National Labor Defense Council. He did it in so judicial and poised and truth-telling a manner that we engaged him to go and find out for us the truth about the I. W. W., and all the other things that are called "I. W. W." by those who wish to destroy them in the northwest.—The Masses.



Dix Photo Co., Tacoma

THIS GROUP OF WELL-KNOWN WESTERN I. W. W. MEN WERE BROUGHT TO CHICAGO HAND-CUFFED AND LEG-IRONED

Back Row—J. P. Thompson, George Hardy, John Foss, Walter Smith.
Front Row—J. A. McDonald, Harry Lloyd, T. J. Doran.

ACCORDING to the newspapers, the I. W. W. is engaged in treason and terrorism. The organization is supposed to have caused every forest fire in the West—where, by the way, there have been fewer forest fires this season than ever before. Driving spikes in lumber before it is sent to the sawmill, pinch-

ing the fruit in orchards so that it will spoil, crippling the copper, lumber and shipbuilding industries out of spite against the government, are commonly repeated charges against them. It is supposed to be for this reason that the states are being urged to pass stringent laws making their activities and propaganda impossible; or, in the ab-

sence of such laws, to encourage the police, soldiers and citizens to raid, lynch and drive them out of the community.

But what are the facts? What are the Industrial Workers of the World really doing? *In the lumber camps of the northwest they are trying to force the companies to give them an eight-hour day and such decencies of life as spring cots to sleep on instead of bare boards. In the copper region of Montana they are demanding facilities to enable the men to get out of a mine when the shaft takes fire.* It is almost a pity to spoil the melodramatic fiction of the press, but this is the real nature of the activities of the I. W. W.

It is no fiction, however, that they are being raided, lynched, and driven out, without due process of law, and with as little coloring of truth to the accusation of treason as at Bisbee, Ariz., where the alleged "traitors" who were deported were found to be many of them subscribers to the Liberty Bond issue. The truth is simply that the employers have taken advantage of the public susceptibility to alarm and have endeavored to brand as treasonable the legitimate and inevitable demand for better wages, hours and working conditions that has arisen among hitherto unorganized workers. That their efforts are ordinary and legitimate in the trade-union sense, is indicated by the fact that, as I shall show, *unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor thruout the West generally sympathize with and support the struggle of the I. W. W.* The old hostility between the two movements has begun largely to be broken down, and the I. W. W., far from being regarded by the working class as criminal or treasonable, has been accepted simply as one of the means of securing their rights.

The case of the lumber camps of the northwestern states is difficult to describe. The two outstanding centers of present conflict, so far as the I. W. W. is concerned, are the forests of Washington, Oregon and Idaho, and the copper mines of Montana. In both places it is a revolt of hitherto unorganized and ruthlessly exploited workers. In both places their demands are for the ordinary wages, hours and conditions which are everywhere recognized by reasonable men as just and inevitable. In both places this revolt has been met with lawless brutality and reckless terrorism on the part

of the employers. And in both places the employers have endeavored to cover up their crimes by imputing "treason" to their insurgent employees.

The case of the lumber camps of the northwestern states is one which shows most clearly the origin of the trouble, the nature of the workers' demands, the methods of the employers, and the fraternization of the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L.

The Lumber Strike



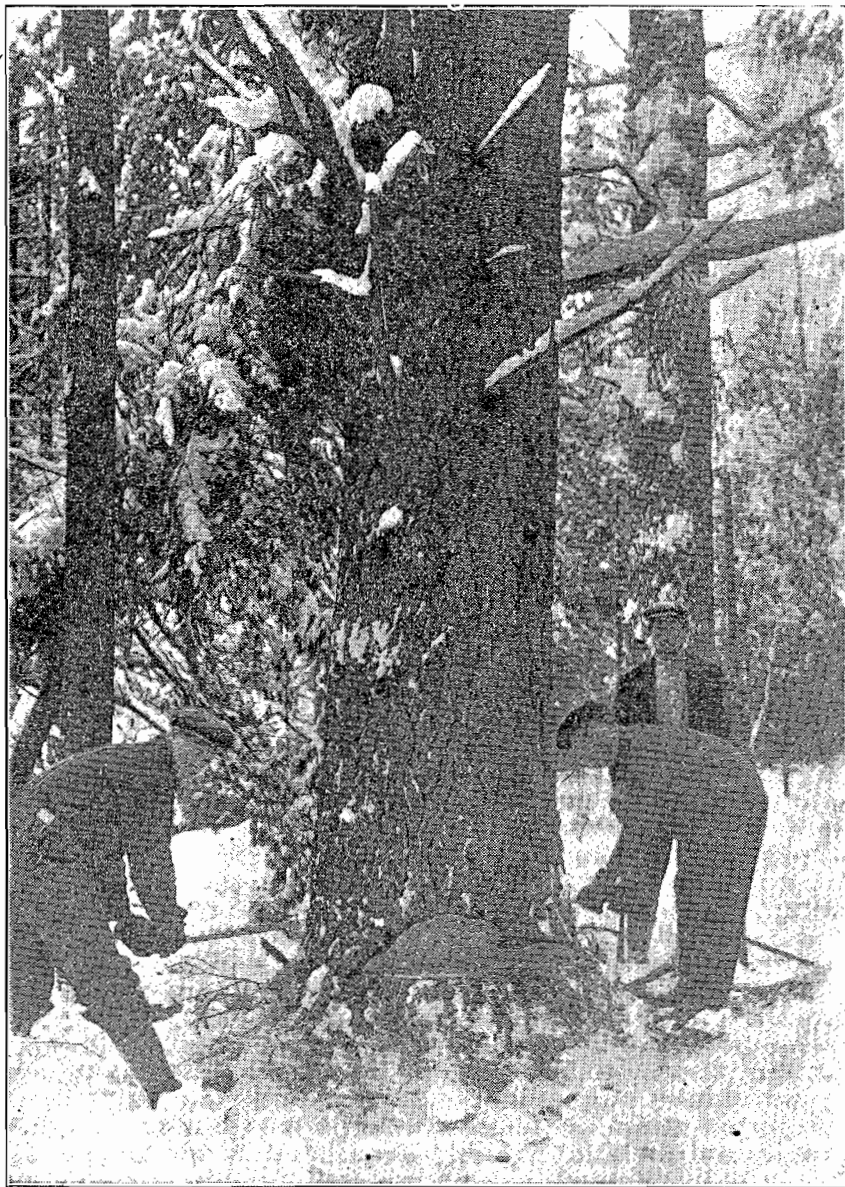
The burden of the struggle in the forests of the northwest is being borne by the Industrial Workers of the World. The new Timber Workers' Union, an American Federation of Labor body, has enrolled a comparatively small number of the men who work in the woods. But though it is within less than a year that the Industrial Workers have been able to gain wide influence there, they are powerful now, and it is probable that a majority of the lumberjacks and sawmill employees in this region have joined, either as members or as strikers, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. The Timber Workers are all west of the Cascade mountains in Washington. East of the mountains the Industrial Workers have free rein, and west of the mountains there is no rivalry between the two unions at present, both striking for the eight-hour day.

The demands of the Industrial Workers in the forests appear at first glance unbelievable. It is as tho men were striking for a breath of air or a bed to sleep on after a hard day's work. And indeed they are; asking more windows than the customary two in a "bunk house" that forms sleeping quarters for more than one hundred men, cots with springs and blankets in place of the plain wooden "bunks." They want, too, places to hang clothing when they go to bed, "drying rooms" so the washed apparel need not hang in the "bunk" house, shower baths (there are no bathing facilities in most of the camps), wholesome food and "no overcrowding at tables." Fastidious persons, these woodsmen!

The eight-hour day in place of ten hours of work, is the chief issue, but there is insistence on a minimum wage of \$60 a month and one day of rest in seven. Which shows what a share in the gains of civilization there is for these men who cut the world's lumber and float it down the rivers to cities where live the "lumber millionaires."

It was in the spring that these men be-

gan to strike, and by summer most of them had joined the revolt. They congregated in camps of their own in the woods, but were dispersed by sheriffs and soldiers. Some went to the cities, often to be arrested by waiting police. Others sought work on the farms, and found farmers took fright on discovering who they were. Apparently the Industrial Worker was to be denied



SURE WE BELONG TO THE ONE BIG UNION!

work on the farms and not allowed to camp in the woods, to induce him to return to lumber cutting.

The Campaign of Lies

What happened at Spokane is illustrative of the systematic attack on the Industrial Workers, who have gained their control of the lumber industry because of the betterment of working conditions brought about by their constant struggles. The West Coast Lumber Men's Association, aided by its appendages of other employers' organizations in the northwest, has carried on most of the admirably thoro and successful schemes to develop a popular fear of the Industrial Worker. It is said to have assembled a fund of \$500,000 for this express purpose, and it apparently has assembled a part of the military forces of the nation. The newspapers have shown carefully and assiduously that every forest fire was set by Industrial Workers, tho there have been far less forest fires this season than ever before. They have shown that the Industrial Worker's chief aim in life was to drive spikes in lumber preparatory to sending it to the sawmill, to insert nails in fruit trees and to pinch peaches in the orchards so they would spoil. These things are believed by the people who believe that German spies devote their time to peddling poisoned court-plaster and starting strikes for the eight-hour day. It should be noted in this connection that *Secretary Baker asked the lumber companies to grant the eight-hour day because the government needed lumber; and the companies refused.* The strike has since spread to the ship-building yards on the Pacific Coast, where the workers have refused to handle lumber cut by men who work ten hours a day. The shingle weavers, both A. F. of L. and I. W. W., are also demanding an eight-hour day.

The lumber strike was directed from Spokane by James Rowan, secretary of the union, and an effort was promptly made to break up the headquarters. Merchants went soberly before the city commissioners and said the Industrial Workers were a menace to the safety of the community. Just why they were dangerous they usually neglected to show, like the Bisbee, Ariz., "Protective League," which admits there was no violence by the strikers, but is certain there would have been had it not been forestalled

by violence by the defenders of copper. They pointed to what had been done in Idaho, where a particularly effective union had closed the lumber industry. They told the city officials that Idaho was boycotting Spokane merchants because they allowed Spokane to harbor the headquarters for the lumber strike. Industrial Workers were expounding syndicalist theories on street corners and the merchants wanted that stopped too. They admitted there was no law under which they could reach this "unlawful" organization, and they were very sorry there wasn't.

"What you want us to do then," said one of the commissioners, "is not to arrest them for anything illegal, but just to drive them out of town or suppress them regardless of law."

The merchants, vague about such details, said that was about it. The city commissioners expressed unwillingness to do any such thing, as there was no disorder. To which the employers responded (not at the public hearing) that that little difficulty might be solved by "starting something."

But they decided to try to first create a law that would meet the problem. They prepared an ordinance making it unlawful for "any one to publish or circulate or say any word * * * expressing disrespect or contempt for or disloyalty to the government, the President, the army or the navy of the United States." This was so ridiculous that the commissioners would not pass it. Later E. E. Blaine, of the state public service commission, was sent by the governor to Portland to get an order from the commanding officer of the army there directing Major Clement Wilkins at Spokane to arrest the Industrial Workers. Blaine went to Spokane with the order in his pocket.

The absence of some excuse for the action nettled the employers, and they tried to obtain statements by the city and county officials that would warrant military arrests. A meeting was called of the officials and employers, presided over by a lumber dealer. The employers insisted that the local officials sign a statement saying a state of insurrection existed in Spokane. The mayor refused, but the next morning when the merchants went to the city hall with a prepared statement, mild, but good enough as a pretext, and the officials signed it.

This statement says that, while "technic-

ally the offenses (of the Industrial Workers) are not against any state or city laws," still, in order that the Industrial Workers may be curbed in their "unlawful activities" before the community interfered, "regardless of existing laws," the governor ought to do something that is, the Industrial Workers are law-abiding, but perhaps the citizens who suffer because of their activities won't be; therefore, the state or the army or somebody ought to stop the whole proceeding by breaking the law and having done with it.

Before this statement had time to reach the governor, the order from the commanding officer was given to Major Wilkins and the headquarters of the Industrial Workers was raided with the arrest of Rowan and twenty-six others by soldiers.

It was lumber dealers who wrote the statement which the city officials signed asking military interference: it was a newspaper man who, at the summons of the soldiers, identified Rowan so they could arrest him!

The Central Labor Council of Spokane in a resolution denounced the resort to military force and called for a general strike as a protest. Soldiers, carrying out the will of the employers' association, had an ominous appearance to labor. Spokane is typical of the employers' methods. At Ellensburg, Wash., there is a stockade containing Industrial Workers, guarded by soldiers. But the chief result of such tactics so far has been the spreading of trouble to the Pacific Coast.



Butte—"A Hate Town"

The situation at Butte, Mont., where the copper mines have been made idle during a protracted strike, is more complicated. Mention Butte out in the northwest and they'll tell you, "Oh, well, Butte is a hate town." It is. It is one of those industrial centers which have undergone the bitter series of hate-generating doses: monopoly control—low wages; forced immigration—lower wages; unionization—bloodshed; higher wages—higher rents. "They get you going and coming," is the way they put

it at Butte (and it was a business man speaking). "The working man doesn't get even a run for his money in this town." When one considers Butte and the dark history that portends a dark future, he understands the reason for the extreme degree of bitterness that permeates almost every industrial transaction. The miner knows he has not only in those catacombs 3,000 feet underground, to adhere constantly to the slogan of the boss (typical of the spirit within the industry) "Get the rock in the box"; but that, having got it in for eight hours every day, he must go to his union hall at night and keep the eternal vigil of collective bargaining to be sure that his day's work brings an income enough to provide for his family. The eight hours' work is only part of his task. And we wonder at sabotage!

I think that a current witticism, eloquent to the miner, illustrates the spirit bred by "free competition" in the copper mines. One of the chief demands of the strikers is abolition of the so-called "rustling card," a scheme whereby the blacklisting of workmen is maintained: an applicant for a job fills out a lengthy blank stating his history and political views, then waits ten days or longer while the company verifies it, after which he may get a card certifying his eligibility for employment. When Miss Jeanette Rankin, the representative in Congress, went to Butte to find out about the strike, she was escorted from the railroad station to her hotel by police, in order that the demonstration of welcome planned by the miners might be forestalled. "Miss Rankin should have had a rustling card," said one of the men.

Immediately after a fire in one of the mines in June, there was planned a public and official memorial in honor of Manus Duggan, whose death at rescue work brought copious eulogies in the newspapers. Arrangements for the memorial were published and everybody thought it quite a proper community action. Then suddenly the whole affair was hushed up, and no memorial has been held. It was discovered at the last moment that Duggan was a Socialist!

It is this intensity of feeling, this clear consciousness of class and class, that rankles in the mind and strips the industrial war of even those thin pretenses that sometimes avail to diminish—apparently—the

natural, frank brutality of the battle for sustenance. There is, at least, little actual hypocrisy about it at Butte, save the formal hypocrisy of public statements and newspaper editorials which even the authors admit are bluster. People on both sides speak with a startling candor. Such remarks as this are quite casual and occasion no surprise: "Tom Campbell ought to be hanged, too, along with Little." Butte has become inured to it.

But the industrial feud is still a tender subject in this mountain town. The outsider, broaching it, feels guilty of an intrusion, as he might if he were to stop a man on the street with, "Say, tell me how you happened to commit that murder." The town dislikes strikes, just as it dislikes thunderstorms or any other natural calamities; for the strike "hurts business." That droll humor of the accustomed labor warrior made one of them remark: "This is a city of whispers." Free speech is not always a matter of constitutional guarantees. What's the use of a constitution and courts and such embellishments in a region like this? The government, the social relationships, the "civilization" are almost solely economic. If the state were to be deeded, with its people, to the Anaconda Copper Company, things would not be different.

Violence

The wonder is that there is so little violence; the present strike has been entirely free from it, excepting, as they say in Butte, "that lynching." There have been armed mine guards, those to whom violence is a business that would be destroyed by peaceful strikes. There have been soldiers, but some of them were recalled because they were too unsympathetic with the men working during the strike. There has been instance after instance where absence of bloody clashes seemed to violate the law of sequence. There is the complete background for open war: why it has not come is more than I can tell.

One of the strike leaders tried to explain it. "The men know by experience that it's no use. They know that what would most please the mining companies would be violence, and they know that they [meaning the enemy] have all the best of it when it comes to that. Why, we haven't even put out a picket line. I stand up there every morning as the scabs go to work, and count

them. Not many can look me in the eye squarely day after day; they turn their heads."

At the little hall of the Finnish Working Men's Club on North Wyoming street, headquarters of the Metal Mine Workers' Union, one finds groups of these men whom even the serfdom of the copper country could not drive to bloodshed. There they assemble, reading typewritten sheets on the bulletin board of official communiqués of the war, or chatting about this and that, occasionally about the strike. They have not escaped an air of bitterness, but their extremest imprecations end with vows never to give in, to keep up the strike until their terms are met. And there are 12,000 miners on strike, pinched for resources while they maintain a shutdown of mines that earn for the investors more than a million dollars a day. I wonder if you and I, or the officials of the copper companies, would remain so mild were we members of the Metal Mine Workers' Union with families to support, reading statements by our employers that they would flood the mines before recognizing the union. I wonder what would be your mood, you who believe in war, if you were a miner when Ambassador Gerard came to Butte and said, "The laborer must line up with the capitalist"; when owners of these mines scorned your proffer to return to work willingly under government supervision; when they issued a joint statement that "No grievance has been brought to the attention of the mine operators and we believe none exists," while you knew of the conditions in the mines that allowed 160 men to die in tunnels while flames in a shaft sucked away what air there was: I wonder what, in these circumstances, would come into your mind when, every time you walked down the street, you saw a soiled but distinguishable American flag floating above every shaft on the mountain that is called locally the "richest hill in the world."

"Fire!"

This strike, now three months old, was one of those unorganized revolts that grow out of copper mountains as pine trees grow out of the neighboring mounds. If there was one tangible cause, it was the disaster at the Speculator Mine, June 8. You may have noticed a small dispatch chronicling the loss of eight score of lives, but you don't

remember it, for such events are common-places. "Those poor devils always get caught that way," remarked a telegraph editor as he tossed the dispatch to a headline writer: "Oh, those damn labor unions," commented the same keen individual a few days later when the telegraph told of the walkout of the men who dig the copper from the "richest hill in the world."

After three days of searching, some of the miners were taken from the drifts partly alive and some wholly alive, but there were 160 who were beyond resuscitation. Bodies were piled against concrete bulkheads in the narrow tunnels, fingers worn off by frenzied tearing at the impassible wall. Workmen will tell you at Butte that the foremen didn't know which passages led to safety, which to death. You see, the concrete bulkheads were erected to protect the mines.

Three of the seven demands, framed at a mass meeting June 12, deal with questions of safety—manholes in bulkheads to allow passage, committees of miners to inspect the workings mouth, every miner to be advised as to ways of escape. The other chief one is for abolition of the rustling card, that autocratic device that has enabled the employers to choke organization of the workmen.

First the strike, then the union: that is the sequence that by its frequency shows the utility of the most elaborate arrangements to maintain individual bargaining. And the strike-breaker of today is the striker of tomorrow; that is the great fact that your short-sighted employer refuses to see. Many of the strikers at Butte are Finns and Italians, imported in past years to replace union men. So with the organized miners in Arizona, who at Bisbee formed a union after they had walked out of the mines. In Colorado, it was the unorganized immigrant of 1903 who became the embattled striker of 1914, after Ludlow.

It has been wise direction as much as spontaneity that has characterized the Butte strike, maintained in face of all manner of attacks and newspaper abuse. It was said that the strike and the new union were products of foreign diplomacy, uprisings against the draft and pacifist maneuvers. The newspapers that grew sentimental over the heroism of the rescue squads that risked lives to reach trapped workmen, now

showered calumny on the same men who were seeking to make mines safe. One paper mentioned the "inalienable right of a man to work," referring not, of course, to the rustling card, but to the few non-union men that stayed in the mines. Women were arrested for distributing pamphlets issued by the union. An effort was made to force grocers to deny credit to strikers and to induce landlords to evict them, as was done at Bisbee, Ariz. The most notable of these intimidations was the hanging of Frank Little by masked men at night. Little, an executive committeeman of the Industrial Workers, had come to ask the new union to join that organization, which it refused to do.

"We Shall Never Forget"



Perhaps the funeral tribute to Little by the working people of Butte may be considered the reply to the warning which the lynching constituted. About 7,000 marched to the cemetery, representing most of the labor unions of the city. As the casket was lowered into the ground the last thing seen was a pennant of the Industrial Workers, bearing the words, "One big union," lying across the coffin. At the headquarters of the mine union there hangs a photograph of Little, and under it, "Frank Little, victim of the copper trust, whom we shall never forget." When I saw James Rowan, secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, in the county jail at Spokane, Wash., he wore on a lapel of his coat a button bearing a picture of Little and the motto: "Solidarity." Behind him sat a youth in khaki, fingering a rifle and watching him as he talked.

"Yes, I know they want to hang me, I've heard it said on the streets," said Tom Campbell, president of the miners' union, smiling grimly as he walked to the hall to preside over a meeting of the strikers. And Campbell, dark-haired, round-faced, veteran of bloodier strikes, goes to the hall every day, directing the strike and the care of families of miners. "Winning a strike," says Campbell, "is only part of the fight. After the companies accept our terms, we

shall have to keep a close watch on them to see that they maintain them. This never ends. There's no such thing as industrial peace while industry has to be carried on in this manner."

The most perplexing feature of the Butte struggle is the relationship between the Metal Mine Workers' Union and the older bodies. There is the spectacle of the membership of trade unions giving large sums of money to the miners' strike fund, while the leaders in the local labor council, with an ecclesiastical sectarianism, condemn the new union because it doesn't belong to the American Federation of Labor. There are officials of the state federation refusing to treat with the highly organized Metal Mine Workers as a body, but offering to accept them as individuals. There is the apparent inability of the local labor council to recognize officially that there is a strike, because the new union is not affiliated with it, and it can recognize no mine union but the inconsequential one of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which is properly affiliated with everything but the men who work in the mines. Nineteen twentieths of the mining industry of the town is completely shut down, yet one labor official said, "I don't consider that there is any strike." The state Metal Trades Council and the local Metal Trades Council are engaged in a debate as to whether the affair is a strike or a lockout in regard to the metal trades, the state body standing firmly on precedent and rule and technicality, the local body anxious to help the 12,000 miners win, but desirous of avoiding expulsion from the federation of labor. "There's more politics in the American Federation of Labor than in the Republican party," said an observant unionist. And there seems to be, occasionally, at least, as much legal barbed wire entanglement as in a properly bound judiciary.

* * *

Some of the trade unionists at Butte fear that the Industrial Workers will capture the new union, others are convinced they have already captured it. There are many Industrial Workers in the miners' union, for several of its officers have been members of the Industrial Workers. The Metal Mine Workers' Union is an industrial union, admitting specifically "all persons employed within and around the mines, or in any way connected with the mining in-

dustry," and its preamble to the constitution says "only an industrial organization can be of any use; other forms have proved useless." That its present spirit is distinctly aggressive and tinctured with revolutionary zeal is undeniable. As to the main organization at Butte and the new unions at Anaconda and Phillipsburg, Mont., they have affiliated with it. A speaker at one union meeting said, "This isn't a strike merely for wages or hours: we want an arrangement that will secure justice and put an end to this bickering: we want Uncle Sam to take over these mines and run them." There was an outburst of applause. And the "company newspaper" pleads for a "reasonable, conservative union."

Brothers-in-Arms



The significant thing is the drawing together of the forces of labor in spite of old animosities. A man prominent in the American Federation of Labor on the Pacific Coast, being asked what was the relationship between the trade union group there and the Industrial Workers, said: "Pretty close." A trainman in Montana, discussing the industrial skirmishes that already had produced stockades and military jails, drew from his pockets a red card along with a certificate of membership in a railroad brotherhood, and said, "It's a two-card business from now on." He said that fifty per cent of the men on his line had adopted the "two-card system."

These men were not syndicalists, for they admitted they didn't thoroly understand, much less advocate, just what the syndicalists were driving at (any more than do most of the followers of the Industrial Workers; but they know, for instance, what it is to work 3,000 feet down in a copper mine for \$5.25 a day, when a three-room hut in Butte costs \$35 a month and groceries are dearer than in New York. They know, most of them, what industrial unionism means, and they have an acute sense of the common interests of working men. You can't tell them that Frank Little, the Industrial Worker leader, was lynched at Butte because of what he said about the

United States army. They know that the reason twelve hundred working men were driven into cattle cars at Bisbee, Ariz., and deposited in the desert was not that their leaders had cast aspersions on the government.

One finds this attitude pronouncedly among trade unionists in the northwest, from Butte to Seattle. When missionaries of the revolutionary union were corraled by soldiers on no charge but that of causing strikes, the reiterated explanations of chambers of commerce that "the Industrial Workers of the World is not a bona fide labor organization" failed to beguile the trade unionist. When two states enacted laws making it a crime to hold membership in a union that advocated sabotage, or to rent a hall to such union, and several other states were considering similar statutes, they saw what was up. They didn't believe in sabotage (certainly not in shouting about it, at any rate), but they realized that if the practice of choking organizations of working men who admittedly were violating no law were to go on, there was no telling where it might end. There had been hardly more denunciation of the Industrial Worker as an "agitator" than there had been of the "walking delegate." So it was that the Spokane, Wash., Central Labor Council went so far as to request a general strike as protest against the arrests of Industrial Workers by soldiers.

But there is more than tacit recognition of a common enemy: there is, here and there, a largely unexpressed belief that the two organizations are in a definite way complementary, the Industrial Worker giving expression to discontent, the trade unionist often following with the machinery for maintaining collective bargaining after the outburst of revolt has subsided and the Industrial Worker has flitted to more spectacular service.

While the Industrial Worker looks to a radical change in industry that appears utopian to the average trade unionist, he is seeking to bring it about by a principle that tacticians generally in the northwest, at least, are accepting—industrial unionism. "We're all industrial unionists now, tho we can't turn all the craft unions into industrial unions at once," is a comment frequently heard. And the trade unionist who looks ahead fancies a time when the jurisdiction squabble will not divide the forces of

labor. He usually denies that the Industrial Worker has had much to do with the growth of industrial bargaining, but he evinces a willingness to let him share in the process where he can. He prefers an Industrial Worker union to no union, and sometimes gives it his support. In Montana and Arizona the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the American Federation body, has failed to prevent encroachments by the Industrial Workers, and the miners in those states adhere either to independent unions that have grown up locally or to the Industrial Workers. Trade unionists are disposed to support these unions in time of stress.

Within the Federation of Labor, too, there is a distinct tendency toward wider organization than the craft union. At Seattle fourteen craft unions employed by the Seattle Construction and Dry Dock Company have made a blanket contract providing that the breach of the agreements made as to wages and conditions of workmen in one union would annul the contracts with the others. If the company should infringe on the rights of a single craft, it would find all the other crafts joining in the fight instead of staying at work. This unique agreement includes building employees—janitors and elevator operators; and it specifically gives the workmen the right to refuse to handle any material in the shipyards that comes from industries that do not recognize organized labor. There you have a distinct step toward industrial unionism.

This tendency is not, of course, uniform, for it was recently that the Shingle Weavers' Union found it advisable to abandon an effort to enroll the timber men and let them have a union of their own. But it is undeniable that in the woods and mines and shipyards of the Northwest the industrial union is developing form, and in the warfare of the future there probably will be little trouble over what it calls itself. The very structure of the labor movement is shifting perceptibly, for it has to meet varying conditions, such as a shipbuilding industry twice as large as it was three years ago.

Understanding the I. W. W.

And there are signs, moreover, that a public understanding of the real aims of the Industrial Workers, is coming about, in spite of the campaign of misrepresentation.

In North Dakota, the governor, Lynn J. Frazier, a farmer, took the remarkable stand early in the summer that if the Industrial Worker violated no law, neither would the employers be allowed that privilege. In a proclamation the governor mentioned the assertions that a "lawless element" was burning crops and destroying farm machinery. He suggests that anyone found committing such depredations be tried in the accustomed fashion.

"It is charged" he says, "that the constitutional rights of individuals have been trampled under foot by mobs in the guise of so-called safety committees, defense leagues and vigilance committees. To some of these misguided mobs and officers it seems to be a crime to be seeking work and not to possess money. Men have been illegally searched, beaten, deported." The governor makes it clear that he doesn't believe in such actions.

But that was in a state where the farmers were considering making a contract as a body with the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, one of the Industrial Workers' organizations. Most of the transient farm workers in North Dakota are Industrial Workers, and they have maintained uncommonly cordial relations with the farmers. When the Nonpartisan League submitted the proposal for a contract with the Industrial Workers, it found many farmers favorable to the plan. At the meetings when the proposal was submitted farmers told of their experiences. Some said they had long been hiring Industrial Workers exclusively, others said they wouldn't let one in their employ. A few left the Nonpartisan League because of its championship of the Industrial Workers. But the farmers in the North are learning to deal with the Industrial Worker in a spirit of understanding. For these men, who have organized a political force to bring about state ownership of elevators, warehouses, storage house and packing plants have got an economic insight that takes them beyond the point of looking on the Industrial Worker as an agitator whom society should suppress. Victims themselves of business piracy, they are coming to see the social cause for the Industrial Worker.

Many who ought to know better look upon the Industrial Worker as a sort of

modern guerilla warrior on the industrial system. They are convinced he isn't very important, merely spectacular. "The Industrial Workers are just a big noise," said a lawyer who had seen them operate in Arizona. "If the newspapers didn't give them such an unmerited amount of free advertising, they'd die out." He was distinctly mistaken.

The Industrial Workers have an organization that is national and embraces a dozen great industries. It is not very compact; it cannot be, dealing with men to whom a home is an impossible luxury, men who are made migratory by their work. The membership fluctuates widely, but has been increasing steadily. It is something like a bank account, deposits and withdrawals offsetting each other, but not varying that greatly. Its members come and go, joining during a strike but dropping out afterward. It is difficult for the officers themselves to tell what the membership is at a particular time. At Bisbee, Ariz., there were a few Industrial Workers in the copper mines before the strike of last July. When these walked out, at least two thousand others walked out. They were actuated not by a revolutionary spirit, but by inability to stand the treatment of their employers, especially when a strike by other workmen offered an opportunity to effect a change. These men attended the missionary meetings of the Industrial Workers in the city park and many were converted. Then came the deportation, and the necessity for union made more Industrial Workers. I talked to scores at Columbus, N. M., at the refugee camp, who said they were members of no union before the strike but had since joined the Industrial Workers. These men are now scattered, and when another strike comes wherever they are working they will join it and again be Industrial Workers.

Every member is an organizer, every member dispenses cards to his converts and collects their dues, which he scrupulously sends to the union. There are only a few unions, about a dozen, each union embracing an industry: the ideal of the Industrial Worker is "one big union." Each union is divided into district branches on geographical lines, and each district has an executive committee and secretary-treasurer. There are no other officers, except the national executive committee and

secretary, and the same officers in each industrial union.

Only the membership by vote may call a strike, "except in case of emergency;" but such is the informality and cohesion of the organization that a strike call by a secretary is almost tantamount to a strike. A sort of "straw vote" is usually taken in advance, and often there is no other vote. It would be difficult for the members of a union to ballot on a strike proposal and would require a long time.

There are eleven industrial unions, with others in process of formation: Marine Transport Workers Union No. 100 (Atlantic Coast), Metal and Machinery Workers, Agricultural Workers, Lumber Workers, Construction Workers (composed mostly of laborers on railroads and the comparatively unskilled in similar industries), Railway Workers (embracing men employed in any way in transportation), Marine Transport Workers Union No. 700 (Pacific Coast), Metal Mine Workers, Coal Miners, Textile Workers. A union of domestic servants has been started on the Pacific Coast.

The Industrial Workers operate chiefly

among the unskilled and immigrant workers whom the trade union does not reach. They organize the men who dig tunnels and lay railroad ties and cut trees in the forests—the most poorly paid and ill treated. They speak for those whom a shortsighted society ignores; theirs is a voice from the bottom. And it is answered with military stockades!

Leaders and teachers among the Industrial Workers are capable men—and women—preaching a doctrine of revolution. They are adept at capitalizing a situation, at selecting and directing forces of revolt. But the bulk of the membership are hardly syndicalists, usually followers of a militant union that offers service in their behalf.

At the Industrial Worker headquarters at Seattle, are death masks of the five "fellow workers" killed at Everett, Wash., when armed deputy sheriffs fired on the Industrial Workers' boat as it touched the wharf. There'll be more "bloody Sundays," and more deportations, and some day we may learn that they won't solve the problem of human misery.—From *The Masses*.

WE NEVER FORGET!

1916—November—1917

Felix Baran, Hugo Gerlot, Gus Johnson, John Looney and Abraham Rabinowitz, foully murdered at Everett, Washington, on November 5th of last year, are gone in body but are with us in spirit.

The unknown dead, who were slain by the bullets of the vigilante mob and were swept out to sea, are silent, shapeless marchers by our side.

Harry Golden walks through life on an artificial limb; Joe Ghilazano wears a silver knee-cap and carries a cane; Albert Scribner will never fully recover from a gun-shot hip wound; scores of others are carrying the marks of the beastial brutality of the degenerates who administered "law and order" in Everett.

We never forget!

Six months of liberty was stolen from more than seventy men and the confinement, the brutality, the starvation in the jails has laid a heavy hand on all these men and marked them for life.

The men who did these murderous things are at large and in control of the machinery of the law and even so much as a warrant against the known murderers is denied to the working class.

We never forget!

Against the wage system have we vowed our vengeance; against capitalism are we making our fight; production for profit must cease and production for use take its place is our ultimatum; down with industrial and social tyranny is our rallying cry; and though we are denied free speech, free press, free assembly and the right to organize, still will we carry on the fight until the last slave is freed. Again to you who died on November 5, 1916, we say:

We never forget!

—The Industrial Worker.

HAYWOOD OF THE I. W. W.

By JACK PHILLIPS

OLD John Brown of Ossawatimie was arrested by officers of the United States government, legally indicted, legally tried, and legally shot, as a traitor to the nation.

A few short years afterward millions of marching men, soldiers of the United States Army, with Abraham Lincoln for commander-in-chief, marched singing a song with every verse and every chorus glorifying John Brown. And "John Brown's Body Lies A Mouldering in the Grave" is today the most popular folk song of the American nation. Let the fact be recorded at this time that John Brown was tried on the charge of treason and shot to death because of presumed guilt of treason.

What was it John Brown did that caused him to be remembered and glorified in a national marching song? He was a man with a dream. His mind conceived the vision that if the southern black slaves could be armed with rifles they would fight their way to freedom from their white masters. Therefore, reasoned John Brown, the thing to do is to raid a government arsenal and seize the guns wanted by the black slaves. So he and his sons and followers raided the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, were hunted, captured, and as hereinbefore noted, legally indicted, tried, shot.

So Big Bill Haywood, nearly sixty years later, appears in history, another man dominated by a dream. Haywood has a vision of industrial democracy established, a hope of security and justice for all the workers of the world, the shackles of capitalist wage slavery struck off. How is this vision to be attained? Thru a world wide general strike of the working class, thru mass action

of the working people of the world, without violence necessarily, without death penalties, revenges and punitive indemnities. Merely thru a folding of arms, a refusal to make or transport the goods of the world, till all autocracies yielded to a newer order. Such was to be the working of the plan when its details could be arranged.

As wild a dream, perhaps, as the dream of John Brown that arming the southern blacks would lead to the abolition of chattel slavery. As vague and chimerical a vision as that of the "traitor" after whom the nation's most famous marching song was written.

What it leads to is the question: Will there be marching songs written to Bill Haywood some day as the same kind of a "traitor" as the John Brown who was legally indicted, legally tried, legally shot?

Let Claude Porter, special assistant attorney general in charge of the prosecution of the I. W. W. think about these things.

We wonder today when we look back and read the savage and ruthless charges brought against John Brown by the prosecutors. They called for his blood with tongues that today are dust.

One day Claude Porter's accusing tongue will be dust. And Big Bill Haywood will be dust. Which of the two will be remembered?

Nobody remembers today who it was that tongue-lashed John Brown in the prosecution of him for treason. But everybody knows the story of John Brown.

So be it. Such is history and the drama of destiny.

Winning Out in Idaho

By G. F. VANDERVEER

Chief Counsel for the I. W. W.

ON July 13, 1917, the I. W. W. hall at St. Maries, Idaho, was raided by E. B. Nolan, sheriff of Benwah County, all the supplies, literature and correspondence taken without a search warrant and a number of men arrested on a charge of "criminal syndicalism."

These arrests continued thruout the summer and fall until forty men were in custody, and it became necessary to erect a stockade in the county fairgrounds to provide for their confinement.

The first of these cases came to trial on November 12th, and the State selected as the defendant against whom it had the clearest case, Neil Guiney, secretary of the St. Maries branch. The case against Guiney had been prepared and the arrest made under the personal supervision of Governor Alexander. It was prosecuted by two special "lumber company" prosecutors from Coeur d'Alene, Potts and Wernette. Every attempt was made by the State to secure a prejudiced jury, resort being had to the time-worn expedient of a special venire summoned by a friendly coroner from the streets and countryside. Every fact charged against Guiney was admitted by the defense except that the "organization advocated crime, violence, sabotage and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing political or industrial reform." And upon this issue alone the case was presented to the jury.

The State had massed its forces for a "test case," and in order that the case might be a test in the broadest possible sense the defense waived all other questions. After

a nine-day trial, with every circumstance against him, the defendant won a comparatively speedy verdict of "Not Guilty." Why?

Because it was virtually admitted that the lumber trust passed the criminal syndicalism law to strike at the I. W. W., because it was prosecuted by their special attorneys; and finally because it was conclusively proven that the strikes which had been in progress all summer were the most orderly imaginable; that the I. W. W. suppressed all disorder, intoxication and violence and not only did not destroy property but, on the contrary, saved a half million dollars' worth of timber in Idaho and Montana from destruction by fire. All these facts were generously attested by fire wardens and local peace officers in a manner which left no room for dispute.

Finally the I. W. W. proved conclusively not only that it did not advocate violence, etc., but that it opposed and deplored it not only because it was wrong morally and "no principle could be settled that way," but also because it always resulted in the introduction of troops and the loss of the strike. In other words, the strike ceased to be a struggle with the employer whom they could hope to defeat and became a clash with the authorities, with whom they had no quarrel and sought none.

In this case the I. W. W. ably defended the principle of its preamble that the employer and the employee have nothing in common and that the wage system is utterly wrong and must be abolished before true democracy and real freedom can exist in the United States.



MILITARISM

By KARL LIEBKNECHT

(Note—The following pages are quoted from the famous book on Militarism written in 1907, which so offended and outraged the German Junkers that Liebknecht was sentenced to serve eighteen months in a military prison and the book was suppressed. Published in this country by B. W. Huebsch, New York.)



As a Member of the Reichstag



Serving His Sentence

IT is an extremely bold and cunning system, this system of moulding a soldier's intellect and feeling, which attempts to supplant the class-division according to social status by a class-division according to ages, to create a special class of proletarians of the ages from 20 to 22, whose thinking and feeling are directly opposed to the thinking and feeling of the proletarians of a different age.

In the first place the proletarian in uniform must be separated locally, sharply and without any consideration, from members of his class and his own family. That purpose is attained by removing

him from his home district, which has been accomplished systematically especially in Germany, and above all by shutting him up in barracks. One might almost describe the system as a copy of the jesuitical method of education, a counter-part of the monastic institutions.

In the next place that segregation must be kept up as long a time as possible, a tendency which, as the military necessity of the long period of training has long since disappeared, is thwarted by untoward financial consequences. It was substantially that circumstance to which we owe the introduction of the two-years' military service in 1892.

Finally, the time thus gained must be utilized as skilfully as possible to capture the souls of the young men. Various means are employed for that purpose.

All human weaknesses and senses must be appealed to to serve the system of military education, exactly as is done in the church. Ambition and vanity are stimulated, the soldier's coat is represented as the most distinguished of all coats, the soldier's honor is lauded as being of special excellence, and the soldier's status is trumpeted forth as the most important and distinguished and is indeed endowed with many privileges. The love of finery is appealed to by turning the uniform, contrary to its purely military purpose, into a gay masquerade dress, to comply with the coarse tastes of those lower classes who are to be fascinated. All kinds of little glittering marks of distinction, marks of honor, cords for proficiency in shooting, etc., serve to satisfy the same low instinct, the love for finery and swagger. Many a soldier has had his woes soothed by the regimental band to which, next to the glittering gew-gaw of the uniforms and the pompous military ostentation, is due the greatest part of that unreserved popularity which our "magnificent war army" can amply boast of among children, fools, servant-girls and the riff-raff. Whoever has but once seen the notorious public attending the parades and the crowds following the mounting of the Berlin palace guard must be clear on that point. It is sufficiently known that the popularity of the military uniform thus actually created among certain portions of the civilian population, is a factor of considerable importance to allure the uneducated elements of the army.

The lower the mentality of the soldiers, the lower their social condition, the better is the effect of all these means; for such elements are not only more easily deceived by tinsel and finery on account of their weak faculty of discernment, but to them the difference between the level of their former civilian existence and their military position also appears to be particularly great and striking. There is thus a tragical conflict going on, in as much as those means have less effect with the intelligent industrial proletarian for whom they are intended in the first line,

than with those elements that need hardly be influenced in that direction, for the present at least, since they furnish without them a sufficiently docile military raw material. However those means may in their case, too, contribute to the *preservation* of the "spirit" approved of by militarism. The same purpose is served by regimental festivals, the celebration of the Emperor's birthday, and other contrivances.

When everything has been done to get the soldier into the mood of drunkenness, as it were, to narcotize his soul, to inflame his feelings and imagination, his *reason* must be worked upon systematically. The daily military school lesson begins in which it is sought to drum into the soldier a childish, distorted view of the world, properly trimmed up for the purposes of militarism. This instruction, too, which is mostly given by entirely incapable and uneducated people, has no effect whatever on the more intelligent industrial proletarians, who are quite often much more intelligent than their instructors. It is an experiment on an unsuitable material, an arrow rebounding on him that shot it. That has only lately been proved, in a controversy with General Liebert about the anti-socialist instruction of soldiers, by *The Post* and Max Lorenz, with the acumen generated by the capitalist competition for profits.

To produce the necessary pliability and tractableness of *will* pipe-clay service, the discipline of the barracks, the canonization of the officer's and non-commissioned officer's coat, which in many respects appears to be truly sacrosanct and *legibus solutus*, have to do service, in short, discipline and control which bind the soldier as in fetters of steel in regard to all he does and thinks, on duty and off duty. Each and every one is ruthlessly bent, pulled and stretched in all directions in such a manner that the strongest back runs danger of being broken in bits and either bends or breaks.

The most attractive bait that is employed to make up and fill the important standing formations of the army is the system of reengagement of men whose time has expired, who are given a chance to earn premiums as non-commissioned officers and are promised employment in

the civil service after they leave the army. It is a most cunningly devised and dangerous institution which also infects our whole public life with the militaristic virus, as will be shown further on.

The whip of militarism, the method by which it forces men to obey, reveals itself above all in the disciplinary system, in the military penal law with its ferocious threats for the slightest resistance against the so-called military spirit, in the military judiciary with its semi-mediaeval procedure, with its habit of meting out the most inhuman and barbaric punishments for the slightest insubordination and its mild treatment of the transgressions committed by superiors against their subordinates, with its habit of juggling away, almost on principle, the soldier's right of self-defence against his superiors. Nothing can arouse more bitter feeling against militarism and nothing can at the same time be more instructive than a simple perusal of the articles of war and the records of the military penal cases.

Thus they attempt to tame men as they tame animals. Thus the recruits are drugged, confused, flattered, bribed, oppressed, imprisoned, polished and beaten; thus one grain is added to the other and mixed and kneaded to furnish the mortar for the immense edifice of the army; thus one stone is laid upon the other in a well calculated fashion to form a bulwark against the forces of subversion.

That all those methods of alluring, disciplining and coercing the soldier partake of the nature of a weapon in the class-struggle is made evident by the institution of the one-year volunteer. [Young men with high-school education, which in Germany can hardly be attained by youths belonging to the working class, have the privilege of serving but one year instead of two, paying for their food, lodgings, uniform, etc.] The bourgeois offspring, destined to become an officer of the reserves, is generally above the suspicion of harboring anti-capitalist, anti-militarist or subversive ideas of any description. Consequently he is not sent out of his home district, he need not live in the barracks, nor is he obliged to attend the military school or the church, and he is even spared a large part of the pipe-clay drill. Of course, if he falls into

the clutches of discipline and the military penal law, it is exceptional and usually with harmless results, and the habitual oppressors of the soldiers, tho they frequently nourish a hatred against all "educated people," only rarely venture to lay hands on him. The education of officers furnishes a second striking proof for this thesis.

Of exceptional importance for the discipline of an army is the *coöperation of masses of men* which does away with the initiative of the individual to a large extent. In the army each individual is chained to all the rest like a galley slave, and is almost incapable of acting with freedom. The combined force of the hundreds of thousands forming the army prevents him with an overwhelming power from making the slightest movement of his own volition. All the parts of this tremendous organism, or rather of this tremendous machinery are not only subject to the suggestive influence of the word of command, but also to a separate hypnotism, a mass suggestion whose influence, however, would be *impotent* on an army composed of enlightened and resolute opponents of militarism.

The two tasks of militarism, as will be seen, do not at all harmonize always in the department of military education, but are often at cross-purposes. That is not only true of training, but also in regard to equipment. War training demands ever more imperatively a continuously growing measure of initiative on the part of the soldier. As a "watch-dog of capital" the soldier does not require any initiative, he is not even allowed to possess it, if his qualification as a suicide is not to be destroyed. In short, war against the foreign foe requires men; war against the foe at home, slaves, machines. And as regards equipment and clothes the gaudy uniforms, the glittering buttons and helmets, the flags, the parades, the cavalry charges and all the rest of the nonsense can not be dispensed with for producing the spirit necessary for the battle against the interior enemy, tho in a war against the exterior enemy all these things would positively bring about a calamity; they are simply impossible. That tragical conflict, the numerous aspects of which can not be dealt with exhaustively in this book, has not been

comprehended by the well-intentioned critics of our militarism, who in their simplicity only use the standard applicable to a system of training for war.

That antagonism of interests within militarism itself, that self-contradiction from which it suffers, has the tendency of becoming more and more acute. Which of the two opposing sets of interest gets the upper hand depends at a given time on the relation existing between the tension in home and foreign politics. Here we see clearly a potential self-destruction of militarism.

When the war against the interior enemy, in case of an armed revolution, puts such great demands on military art that dressed-up slaves and machines no longer suffice to fight him down the last hour of the violent domination of the minority, of capitalistic oligarchy will also have struck.

It is of sufficient importance for us to note that the described military spirit as such confuses and leads astray the proletarian class-consciousness and that militarism, by infecting our whole public life, serves capitalism with that spirit in all other directions, apart from the purely military, for instance, by creating and promoting proletarian docility in face of economic, social and political exploitation and by thwarting as much as possible the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

SOLDIERS AS THE COMPETITORS OF FREE WORKERS

As a functionary of capitalism militarism fully understands that its greatest and most sacred task is that of increasing the profits of the employing class. Thus it thinks itself authorized and even obliged to place the soldiers, officially or semi-officially, as beasts of burden at the disposal of employers, particularly the junkers, who use the soldiers to supply that want of farm hands which has been caused by the inhuman exploitation and brutal treatment of the farm laborers.

To send *soldiers to help with the harvest* is a practice as constantly met with as it is detrimental and inimical to the interests of labor. It reveals, like the system of soldier-servants, the whole mischievous and stupid humbug behind the arguments which are used by those

monomaniacs of the goose-step and the parade drill to show the purely military necessity of a long period of military service, and awakens not very flattering reminiscences of the company system of the time before the crash of Jena. More complicated are the numerous cases in which the post office and the railroad management temporarily employ soldiers at times of heavy traffic, but they should also be mentioned in this connection.

By sending soldiers under military command to act as *strike-breakers* militarism interferes directly with the struggle of labor to emancipate itself. We need only point to the case of the present commander of the Imperial Anti-socialist Union, Lieutenant-General v. Liebert, who even as a simple colonel had comprehended in 1896 that strikes are a calamity, like a conflagration or inundation, of course, a calamity for the employers whose protecting spirit and executive officer he felt himself to be.

As regards Germany, a special notoriety attaches to the method of gently pushing the men released from military service into the ranks of the strike-breakers, a method practised as late as the summer of 1906 during the Nuremberg strike.

Of much greater importance are three events that occurred outside of Germany. In the first place we must mention the military strike-breaking on a large scale that took place during the Dutch general railroad strike in January, 1903, and which had its crowning achievement in the law withdrawing from the railroad workers the right to organize. In the second place we refer to the military strike-breaking on a large scale during the general strike of the Hungarian railroad workers in 1904, on which occasion the military administration went farther still and not only commanded the men in active military service to break the strike, illegally keeping them with the colors beyond their period of service, but had the impudence to mobilize the railroad workers of the first and second reserves and such other men of the military reserves as had the necessary technical equipment, and force them into strike-breaking service on the railroad under military discipline. Finally, military strike-breaking on a large scale was re-

sorted to during the Bulgarian railroad strike which was proclaimed on January 3, 1917. Of no less importance is the campaign inaugurated at the beginning of the month of December, 1906, in Hungary by the minister for agriculture in conjunction with the minister of war against the right of combination and the strikes of agricultural laborers, in which campaign stress was laid upon the desirability of thoughtfully training soldiers to serve as bands of strike-breakers in harvest-time.

The fact that military education systematically fosters strike-breaking propensities and that the workmen released from the active army become dangerous to the struggling proletariat, on account of their readiness to attack the members of their own class in the rear, must also be counted among the international militaristic achievements.

Military authorities everywhere have always been convinced of the capitalist truth of the saying that the Hydra of revolution is lurking behind every strike. The army is therefore always ready to put to flight with sabre and gun the disobedient slaves of the capitalist whenever the fists, sabres and pistols of the police are not immediately effective in so-called strike riots. That is true in regard to all the capitalist countries and also, of course, in the highest degree of Russia, which, as a whole, is not yet a capitalist country, and which can not be considered as typical in this respect on account of special political and cultural conditions. Tho Italy and Austria are among the greatest sinners, they are surpassed by the states enjoying a republican or semi-republican form of government. In judging historically the value of the republican form of government under the capitalist economic system it is of the greatest importance to point out persistently that, apart from England, there were no countries where the soldiery was so willing to suppress strikes for

the benefit of the employers and behaved so bloodthirstily and recklessly as the republican or semi-republican countries, like Belgium and France, with which the freest countries of the world, Switzerland and America, can easily bear comparison. Russia is, of course, in this respect, as in all spheres of cruelty, beyond comparison. Barbarism and worse than barbarism—the savageness of the beast characterizes the general civilization of her ruling classes and is the natural inclination of her militarism, which has literally bathed itself, ever since the first timid stirrings of the proletariat, in the blood of peaceful workmen who in monstrous misery were crying for deliverance. One must not cite any particular event, as that would mean tearing in a petty and arbitrary spirit a link out of an endless chain. For every drop of proletarian blood that has been shed in the economic struggle in all the other countries taken together, Czarism has crushed a proletarian body, in order to suppress the most modest beginnings of a labor movement.

An employment of military power similar in its nature we observe in the activities of the colonial armies and constabularies against those natives of the colonies who will not willingly allow themselves to be brought under the yoke of the meanest exploitation and greed. However, we can not deal more fully with this particular subject.

It must still be mentioned that often no sharp distinction can be made in this connection between the army proper and the constabulary and the police; they work together intimately, they replace and supplement one another and belong closely together, if for no other reason than that the quality which counts here—a violent combative temper, a willingness and readiness to sabre the people resolutely and ruthlessly, is also, in the case of the police and constabulary, mainly a genuine product of the barracks, a fruit of military education and training.

33 MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

The Net Income (Amount Applicable to Dividends on Stock) of a Few of the Companies of Which These Gentlemen Are Officers or Directors

NOTE.—These figures are official, being those published in the companies' own annual reports.

	Pre-war Average for 1911, '12, '13	1916
JULIUS ROSENWALD, Advisory Commission		
Sears, Roebuck & Co.....	\$ 8,111,739	\$ 16,488,622
E. J. BERWIND, Committee on Coal Production		
Republic Iron & Steel.....	2,426,106	14,789,163
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.....	21,061,681	32,579,735
J. J. STORROW, Committee on Coal Production		
General Motors Corporation.....	4,890,672	28,789,560
U. S. Smelting, Refining & Mining.....	3,552,989	8,898,464
S. M. VAUCLAIN, Munitions Standards Board		
Baldwin Locomotive Works.....	4,405,167	5,982,517
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.....	3,222,311	18,079,889
F. C. PRATT, Munitions Standards Board		
General Electric Co.....	12,066,474	18,589,528
THEO. N. VAIL, Committee on Telegraphs and Telephones		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.....	30,905,433	38,013,278
United States Rubber.....	5,731,677	11,226,208
W. D. SIMMONS, Commercial Economy Board		
Assoc. Simmons Hardware.....	440,907	2,171,550
N. C. KINGSBURY, Committee on Telegraphs and Telephones		
American Sugar Refining.....	6,181,641	11,455,107
J. F. McELWAIN, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
W. H. McElwain Co.....	704,815	2,068,475
A. B. THIELENS, Subcommittee on Army Vehicles		
Studebaker Corporation.....	1,913,100	8,611,245
ANDREW FLETCHER, Committee on Railroad Transportation		
American Locomotive Co.....	3,376,329	7,201,680
Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & Engine Building Co.....	454,087	1,280,800
W. G. GARRITT, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
Central Leather Co.....	3,472,804	15,489,201
CHAS. F. HALL, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
American Hide & Leather Co.....	334,198	1,643,266
JULIUS KESSLER, Committee on Alcohol		
Distillers Securities Corporation.....	614,791	3,327,095
U. S. Ind. Alcohol Co.....	858,951	4,884,587
WM. H. NICHOLS, Committee on Chemicals		
General Chemical Co.....	2,593,301	12,286,826
Miami Copper Co.....	1,296,602	7,759,784
Pittsburgh Steel Co.....	1,191,855	4,564,068
Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power Co.....	466,337	3,819,295
HORACE BOWKER, Committee on Fertilizers		
American Agricultural Chemical Co.....	2,608,943	5,445,527
WILLIAM HAMLIN CHILDS, Subcommittee on Coal Tar By-Products		
Barrett Co.....	1,366,233	4,247,858
JOHN D. RYAN, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Anaconda Copper Mining.....	11,741,185	57,941,834
Greene Cananea Copper.....	2,104,603	7,673,184
JAMES McLEAN, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Phelps, Dodge & Co.....	7,442,399	21,974,263
American Can Co.....	4,476,101	7,962,982
Old Dominion Co.....	1,051,792	3,532,126
CHAS. M. MacNEILL, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Utah Copper Co.....	7,733,435	39,738,675
Ray Consolidated Copper Co.....	1,634,365	12,084,166
Chino Copper Co.....	1,772,421	12,527,948
Nevada Consolidated Copper.....	3,647,351	15,002,051
ELBERT H. GARY, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
U. S. Steel Corp.....	63,585,777	271,531,730
E. A. S. CLARKE, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
Lackawanna Steel Co.....	1,282,499	12,218,234
AMBROSE MONELL, Cooperative Committee on Nickel		
International Nickel.....	4,354,668	13,557,970
MURRY GUGGENHEIM, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
American Smelting & Refining.....	10,994,166	23,252,248
THOS. F. MANVILLE, Committee on Asbestos, Magnesia and Roofing		
H. W. Johns-Manville Co.....	916,239	2,629,221
CHAS. M. SCHWAB, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
Bethlehem Steel Corp.....	3,075,108	43,593,968
CHAS. W. BAKER, Cooperative Committee on Zinc		
American Zinc, Lead & Smelting.....	87,591	7,301,968
N. BRUCE MacKELVIE, Cooperative Committee on Zinc		
Nova Scotia Steel & Coal.....	542,590	2,104,478
CHAS. F. BROOKER, Cooperative Committee on Brass		
American Brass Co.....	2,096,172	10,991,670
R. L. AGASSIZ, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Ahmeek Mining Co.....	847,697	3,449,710
E. C. LUFKIN, Cooperative Committee on Oil		
Texas Company.....	3,856,667	13,898,861
P. A. S. FRANKLIN, Committee on Shipping		
International Mercantile Marine Co.....	971,165	21,777,162
MOSES L. SHUTTLEWORTH, Committee on Woolen Manufactures		
American Woolen Co.....	1,754,793	5,863,819
	\$280,777,927	\$900,301,596

Patriots and Profits

By Amos Pinchot

Chairman of the American Committee on War Finance

Amos Pinchot has published a powerful arraignment of the great industrial corporations that are making huge excess profits out of the war. He has gathered valuable statistics showing the enormous toll that is being taken by the basic industries that are furnishing the government and the people with its necessities. The resulting document is one that deserves careful consideration at the hands of the Congressmen and editors to whom it was sent, and of all others who wish to follow the major domestic issues of the war. Mr. Pinchot selects as his target the industrial leaders who constitute the advisory boards of the Council of National Defense. *He shows that in many instances they are directors or officers in the corporations that are profiting enormously from war business.* After a scathing attack on these men, whom he likens to a school of sharks tearing at the flesh of a defenseless whale, he turns to the war revenue bill with its 30 per cent tax on excess profits, contrasts it with the British tax of 80 per cent, demolishes the arguments of the Congressmen, financiers and publicists who opposed a higher rate for this country, and appeals to public opinion to force a change in policy at the next session of Congress.

* * *

War profits aside, our vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few men controlling our natural resources and the basic industries dependent on them are a national scandal. These accumulations are being added to at the rate of hundreds of millions a month while price fixing waits on the gathering of the requisite data.—The Public.

THE following is quoted from a letter to the Conference Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives by Amos Pinchot:

The Council of National Defense

The condition to which I want to call your attention, is that some of our principal financiers and captains of industry, who have been called by the government to serve upon the Council of National Defense, are the main offenders in the unpatriotic business of discrediting the war by commercializing it. In close co-operation with the government, in daily conference with our highest executive officers, these men are combining two irreconcilable functions. They are sitting in the morning as foremost patriots, actively directing the mobilization of America's resources, and they are spending their afternoons in taking advantage of the necessity of the people and the government by making legalized, but nonetheless destructive, financial raids upon them—raids so profitable as to make us look back, almost with gratitude, at the comparative moderation of American profiteers during the Civil War.

I append a list of some members of the Council of National Defense, who also sit as officers or directors of corporations which are making money out of the war.

The corporations mentioned are only a very small minority of the great number of war-profiting concerns, over which these and other gentlemen on the Council of National Defense preside and of which they are, in many instances, the largest owners. Yet the figures which accompany the list show that, in the year 1916, these forty-eight companies, a mere drop in the bucket compared with the total list, netted over \$900,000,000 out of the American public, the government and the Allies. This is roughly \$640,000,000 more than their average annual net earnings during the pre-war period of 1911 to 1913. In other words, the net earnings of these companies, applicable to dividends, in 1916 is more than three times the average net earnings, similarly applicable, in the pre-war period. Moreover, although it does not appear from the table of figures which I have made up for you, these companies have, for the most part, not only made out of the war the gigantic profits appearing in their annual reports (100, 200, 300, 400, and even as high as 1,200 per cent above their normal profits) but they have also paid as they went along for the extensions in their plans that have been constructed since the European war began; thus bringing up their actual earnings to still higher levels.

While the figures for 1917 are not generally available, yet such official reports as we have for the first half of the year indicate that the war profits will be very much greater this year than last. For instance, in 1916, the Central Leather Company netted \$15,489,201. It is estimated that in 1917 it will net over \$24,000,000. In 1916, the Republic Iron & Steel Company netted \$14,789,163. This year it will net over \$22,000,000. In 1916, the United States Steel Corporation netted \$271,531,730. It will probably net over \$550,000,000 this year. In 1916, the Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power Company netted \$3,819,295. In 1917, it will net about \$5,000,000. In 1916, the Ray Consolidated Copper Company netted \$12,084,166. In 1917, it will probably net \$14,500,000. In 1916, the Chino Copper Company netted \$12,527,948. In 1917, it will net about \$13,600,000. In 1916, the Lackawanna Steel Company netted \$12,218,234. In 1917, it will probably net \$24,000,000. In 1916, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway netted \$32,579,735. In 1917, it is estimated it will net \$40,751,417. There is every indication, therefore, that 1917 will be a bumper year, in which America's profiteers, whether on the Council of National Defense or not, will accumulate from the war sums of money that will be unparalleled in financial history.

The excess war profits in 1916 of the forty-eight corporations mentioned (that is their net profits above the average for the pre-war period) were, as I have said, according to their own figures, about \$640,000,000. In 1917, the excess profits of these same companies will be as high as \$1,200,000,000. For, considering only the eight companies whose 1917 figures are mentioned above, they show an estimated excess in 1917 over 1916 of more than \$318,000,000. If these eight companies were the only ones in the whole list which 1917 war profits proved greater than those of 1916, it would bring the 1917 total of excess profits to over \$958,000,000; so that an estimate of \$1,200,000,000 excess war profits for 1917 for the whole list does not seem excessive.

A series of interesting inquiries are suggested by the above citations of war profits:

1. I have mentioned only thirty-three members of the Council of National Defense, and only a few of the war profiting corporations of which they are officers, directors and stockholders. Many of them are officers, directors and owners of a dozen or more war profiting concerns. Now, if the forty-eight corporations I have mentioned will make \$1,200,000 in excess profits in 1917, how much will be made by the total number over which these gentlemen preside?

2. The Council of National Defense consists of over 280 men; 170 or more are connected with corporations doing war profiting business. If the thirty-three gentlemen I have mentioned represent companies which are making \$1,200,000,000 in war profits this year, what will be the war profits of all the companies in which all the members of the Council of National Defense are represented as officers or directors?

3. Again, if forty-eight companies are making \$1,200,000,000 in war profits this year, how much will all of the large war profiting companies in the country make? They certainly will make double what the forty-eight are making, perhaps three or four times as much. Supposing they only make double as much. This would be \$2,400,000,000. Supposing they make three times as much (and this is a conservative estimate), it will come to \$3,600,000,000, or a sum a little larger than the total money cost of the Civil War.

Can American Business Pay War Taxes?

It will not satisfy the public for Congressmen to point out that England advanced her taxation of profits and incomes gradually, and to argue from this that America must be careful not to kill business by levying heavy taxes in the first year of our war. This argument is so obviously false that one is surprised at its constant repetition. Men of intelligence will not swallow it, for in it there is not even a thin shaving of truth between the thick layers of unsound special pleading. In reality, our corporations are far better able to pay an 80 per cent war profits tax today than the English corporations are, from the very fact that the former have had immunity from war taxation in two enormously profitable years, 1915 and 1916, during which they have

paid large dividends, increased their plants, paid off most of the cost of such increase and rolled up immense surplus.

When we remember, in connection with this, that the 1917 war profits will be so great that, after the 31 per cent tax proposed by the Senate is deducted, the corporations will still be able to distribute to their stockholders over twice as much as during the pre-war period, we see why newspapers, like the Journal of Commerce and the Evening Sun and a host of others, have come out in favor of the Senate Finance bill. They feel that such a tax upon business is highly satisfactory; and editorially, they admonish the rich not to complain about the proposed levy, lest a further analysis of it should disclose the dimensions of the war profits which it assures to the exploiters.

England levies a flat 80 per cent tax on war profits. Let us see what such a tax would mean to our more prosperous corporations, remembering, meanwhile, that it is, quite rightly, agreed by all factions in Congress that corporations which have made small excess profits shall be taxed very little or entirely exempted. Again using the Steel Corporation as an example, its average profits for 1911, 1912 and 1913 were \$63,500,000. Its net profits for 1917 will, as estimated, be over \$550,000,000; deducting \$63,500,000 from \$550,000,000—to get the amount taxable as war profits under the English plan—we get \$486,500,000. Now suppose, as is proposed by the liberals in Congress, our government follows England and takes 80 per cent of this by a war profits tax and allows the corporation to retain the remaining 20 per cent. This would give the government \$389,200,000 and allow the Steel Corporation to retain \$97,300,000—a sum larger than it ever made in any year from its organization up to 1915 inclusive, plus the \$63,500,000 of "pre-war profits" not subject to the war profits tax under the English plan. Thus we have \$160,800,000 to be retained and distributed by the corporation among its stockholders. This is much more than double the average earnings of the corporation during the most prosperous three years' period in its history. It would seem to an outsider that it should be enough to keep the officers, directors and stockholders

from feeling they are being victimized by a hostile Congress, quitting their jobs and leaving the government in the lurch. But apparently that is not the way they look at it. Not at all. Anyone who suggests even half as big a tax is looked upon as an assassin of business; he is denounced as a plotter against American enterprise and a traitor to the war. And yet this tidy little sum of \$160,800,000, which seems inadequate to keep the patriotism of big business in working order, would enable the corporation to pay its bond interest, 7 per cent on \$360,000,000 preferred stock and 26.6 per cent on its \$508,000,000 common stock. In Heaven's name, what do these gentlemen want?

Our expenses for this fiscal year will be at least \$9,000,000,000 above receipts, on the basis of present laws. That means that we must raise \$9,000,000,000 by taxes and bonds. Besides this, Congress has already organized loans of about \$3,000,000,000 to other governments. If we go on at this rate, we will lend an additional \$4,000,000,000 to the Allies before the fiscal year's end. Since the latter part of April, and up to less than a month ago, we have advanced money to them at the rate of about \$20,000,000 a day. But considering only the \$9,000,000,000 deficit, this ought to be a big enough financial burden for the people to bear. They are not unjustified in feeling it is enough for them to fight against the greatest military power the world has ever seen, for the men to be shipped abroad and die on foreign soil, for the women and children to stay at home in sorrow and experience the pinch of poverty, and for the farmers and wage earners to produce the extraordinary wealth that the war demands, without the additional load of enriching, beyond all dreams, a small privileged class that has not humanity enough to delay its internal attacks upon a war-burdened country until after the crisis is over.

The Cause of Disorganization

Another phase of the situation which should, but apparently does not, commend itself to Congress, is that as well as generally undermining the war's moral and physical strength, an unwise revenue bill, such as is being framed by Congress, invites national disorganization. For, by

leaving untaxed the bulk of the immense wealth accumulated in war profits, it obviously invites every farmer to hold his product back for higher prices, and every workman to strike for higher wages. If the rich, who do not particularly need the money, are going to make a killing out of the war, why should not ordinary people make a good living during it? The farmer has not made money out of the war, in spite of the high prices we pay for his products. He, too, has been the victim of the high cost of living, of the trust, the manipulator, the food pirate. He has sold his crops at fair prices and then watched the gamblers hold them back. The farmer is willing to do his share in the war; he is willing to work from dawn to dark, but he is not encouraged in patriotic sacrifice by the knowledge that he is being robbed while he works by some of the very people who are sitting in places of authority, fixing the price of his products and advising him to get up a little earlier, go to bed later—and eat less for the war's sake.

As for the workingman, take the case of Phelps, Dodge & Co. in Arizona. Their mines were the scene of the activities of the I. W. W., who in Bisbee urged the employees to strike. The net earnings of Phelps, Dodge & Co. in the pre-war period averaged \$7,442,539 a year. In 1916, the net earnings were \$21,974,263. God knows what they will be this year. Does any intelligent man suppose that, if Phelps, Dodge & Co., instead of taking the \$14,000,000 above average earnings out of the people and the government, had sold copper at a reasonable price or paid their employees a fair share of their abnormal profits, there would have been any labor troubles in their district? If they had done this, instead of acting the unpatriotic part of greedy war profiteers, neither the I. W. W. nor any other labor organization in the world could have persuaded the men to make trouble for their employers. The deportation of I. W. W. leaders from Bisbee was ill advised. If somebody had to be deported on account of the strike, it should have been those who were truly responsible for it—and they were not at Bisbee.

Again, suppose the wage earner is an employe of the U. S. Steel Corporation. His employer is netting about \$550,000,-

000 this year as against the pre-war average of \$63,500,000. This, too, is an invitation to strike for more pay. If the employees do so, however, they are denounced by the press as undesirable citizens under the influence of the Kaiser's money. The government and Mr. Gompers descend on the plant at the lunch hour and say, "Boys, be patriotic, don't strike. We are at war; this is no time for discord. Capital and labor must fight hand in hand. You and your employers must have only one thought till the war is over, and that thought is to make the world safe for democracy, irrespective of sordid personal gain."

To an outsider, neither in the labor nor the capitalist camp, it would seem more helpful to the country if those in authority descended on the directors' meeting instead of on the employees, and said to our Mr. Garys, Mr. Ryans, Mr. DuPonts, and Mr. Armours, "Boys, be patriotic; don't rob the public. Remember we are at war. This is no time to exploit either your country or your employees. Lower your prices; raise your wages; declare no record dividends. You are dividing class against class by your price and wage policy. You are hurting the war; you are giving it a bad name. Wait till after it's over, if you want to make big money. Don't assume that your stockholders are hogs. America has her load to carry now. The people are poor; don't make them poorer; they need food to fight on, to work on. Be patriotic, if you want your country to be successful. Play the game like good sports. You were Americans before you were directors. Be Americans now."

Our Capitalistic Patriots

But we must not be impatient with our friends who are fighting high war taxes. Let us rather see if we can understand their point of view. They argue that war taxes on incomes and excess profits must be kept low for the benefit of business. And I think they are sincere about it, too. Consequently in the *New York Times* we have read communications from the dignified pen of Mr. Otto H. Kahn, warning us against high income taxes. He says business will skip to Canada if heavily levied upon in the United States. Here are his words of warning:

"Capital would go into hiding. It might even take wing to other countries, for instance, to the country at our very door, Canada, where there is no Federal income tax at all, and hardly any State income tax."

And again he says:

"There can be little question that, if our income taxation is fixed at unduly and unnecessarily high rates, while Canada has none or only a very moderate income tax, men of enterprise will seek that country and there will be a large outflow to it of capital—a development which cannot be without effect upon our own prosperity, resources, and economic power."

Now, although I do not share Mr. Kahn's exceedingly low opinion of the patriotism of American business men, I do not doubt his own patriotism. Notwithstanding the fact that it is only a few years ago since he proposed to renounce his American citizenship and become a British subject, and even went so far as to get nominated and actually start running for Parliament, I do not doubt Mr. Kahn's loyalty. But that is neither here nor there (as, indeed, one might have remarked of Mr. Kahn's citizenship at that time). Mr. Kahn is earnest, and so, no doubt, is Senator Simmons; but their minds work along business rather than human lines; and they cannot pull themselves out of their old rut of thought long enough to realize that a war, in which a million or two Americans may perish and the vast majority of the population suffer economic distress, is a big human problem—big enough to even warrant us in asking business to work for something short of usurious interest; big enough also, to make decent business men entirely willing to do so.

More effectively than any other prominent member of the business fraternity, Mr. Kahn has written against large war taxes, but there is in his reasoning (as in that of many rich men, some of them Senators and Congressmen) always an isolation from the human values of the situation. Let us illustrate. Since the war began, Mr. Kahn has built himself an enormous Fifth Avenue palace, costing several millions, and, on Long Island, he has constructed for his use perhaps the most magnificent country place in Amer-

ica, a subject of very just pride to the architect.

Certainly there is nothing wrong or illegal about building Eighteenth Century palaces with 150 rooms and 30 bathrooms. Although the ladies' auxiliary defense committees might possibly be justified in sending notices to the rich asking them not to build palaces at the same time that they send bulletins to the poor telling them not to overeat. But I do not believe any man could do this who felt what the war meant to the people. No doubt, it gives work to thousands, though work unproductive of the things we need in war. Yet the fact that thousands of school children a few miles away in New York are unable to maintain their grades on account of malnutrition, the fact that the cost of living has gone up 80 per cent since the war began, while wages have risen less than 20 per cent, and the further fact that a people, already attacked by the advance guard of war-misery, must feed themselves while they fight Germany; these things, I say, make it evident that one must have a certain degree of detachment from the realities of the case, in order to choose this as the appropriate moment to fight war taxes on wealth, and at the same time introduce into the United States a scale of luxurious living unequalled since pre-revolutionary days in France.

In the Jackets

As another instance of this curious point of view common to wealth in war time (a point of view which assumes that great wealth for the few and grinding poverty for the many is the right and inevitable order of things, against which it is folly to protest) we have the war advertising of the American Bankers' Association, which consists of sixteen hundred representatives of important banking houses. Not long ago these gentlemen bought space in daily papers, and told the poor how to get on during the war. Their advertisement was headed in great black type, "God Bless the Household That Boils Potatoes With the Skins On." This, impossible as it may seem, was not a joke; our friends, the bankers, were in their way, far too patriotic to indulge in levity. If you doubt it, look up the files of the *New York American* for June 14th. With quite an astounding complacency,

these gentlemen, to most of whom the war has brought only additional competence, sit back in their easy chairs and advise the poor to eat potato skins and crusts, both for their own good and that democracy may not perish.

The following are some of their suggestions to their less fortunate countrymen:

"There is no more careless, thoughtless, happy-go-lucky, wasteful, prodigal and responsibility-evading nature than yours.

* * * If your dear ones starve, if there are black want and bitter suffering throughout the nation, your big heart will break with grief.

"Isn't it better to put your big muscles at work now—to keep suffering and grief away? There is no more keen, efficient and productive mind than yours, once it is AWAKE and knows it MUST WORK.

"WAKE UP! THINK! ACT! GET BUSY! PROTECT YOUR OWN—PROTECT US ALL—IF YOU WANT US ALL TO PROTECT YOU AND YOURS. (Capitalized as printed in advertisement.) * * * *

"We must send them (the Allies) millions of tons of food, and we will. There will be less for you. Wake up to it. You will have less to eat.

"But you need less. You waste enough to supply the difference. Stop it. Every time you have potatoes for dinner, you waste enough in the peelings to keep a starving Ally alive for a day. Stop it! Don't peel new potatoes. Buy a five-cent brush and BRUSH the thin skin off, saving ALL the potato. Boil old potatoes with the skins on. When done the skins can be peeled off without waste.

"Make bread pudding from your bread crusts. It's good. We loved it twenty years ago," etc., etc.

There is column after column of this slush to be read by anybody whose stomach will stand it. And, after all, there is something to be gained by reading it; for, whether the reader goes forth to purchase a five-cent brush or not, he will at all events have got a little glimpse at our "best people's" psychology in war time. I notice, by the way, that at one of the luncheon clubs frequented by members of the American Bankers' Association, they have not yet reached the five-cent brush stage. However, we must

give them credit for doing their banker's bit. On the bill of fare we find a marginal note to the effect that, in order to conserve the nation's livestock supply during the war, baby lamb and suckling pig will no longer be served!

I need not remind you that not only the government, but numerous private associations, are trying to stamp out public criticism of the war. The Department of Justice is organizing raids upon speakers, political organizations and labor groups. Judges and police magistrates are imposing heavy sentences for alleged disloyalty. A few days ago, a New York police magistrate stated, as a reason for sentencing a street speaker to a term in the workhouse, the fact that he was guilty of speaking disrespectfully of the part our great corporations are playing in the war. Conventions even are being held by nervous patriots to emphasize loyalty, unity, belief in the war; and prominent individuals like Mr. Elihu Root are going about the country advising the government to incarcerate its critics, or string them to lamp posts that democracy may live; while in editorial rooms the dictionaries are being thumbed for fresh adjectives with which to denounce our objectors and iconoclasts.

Money means power. Vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a privileged class, means vast accumulations of power in that class. This power is manifested in control of the press, of education, of schools, colleges and universities, of the stage, the pulpit. Take the press alone. To some extent at least, the statement that this is a government by newspapers is warranted. And, that this newspaper government does not represent the public's will is quite inevitable, since most of our important journals are owned by wealthy men whose aims are not, generally speaking, parallel with the people's. And yet it is this class press which forms, to a large degree, the opinion of the rank and file of American law makers. This, too, is inevitable. For, at a time not far subsequent to election, our average legislator begins imperceptibly to lose touch with home. His modest local paper commences to pall upon him, and the great metropolitan sheets, with their enormous circulation, brilliant editorials, strong cartoons and news columns, oftentimes

as purposeful as the editorials themselves, capture his interest; and the process has begun whereby the political machinery of the country becomes irresponsible to the majority.

Intelligent people all over the world understand this. They know that a nation may have all of the up-to-date political machinery of democracy, and not, in fact, be a democracy, but an oligarchy, if the economic power is narrowly concentrated in a minority of the people. What

is most to be feared, in the domestic changes now being brought about by the war is, that the drift of wealth from the people to the exploiters will, if unchecked, leave the former in an extremely unfortunate position. If they are not careful, they may well emerge from this war for democracy themselves economically impotent; their future mortgaged to the wealthy classes, and with the two undesirable alternatives of bondage and revolution staring them in the face.



HOW A MUZHNIK FED TWO OFFICIALS

By M. Y. SALTYKOV

[N. Shchedrin]

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ONCE upon a time there were two Officials. They were both empty-headed, and so they found themselves one day suddenly transported to an uninhabited isle, as if on a magic carpet.

They had passed their whole life in a Government Department, where records were kept; had been born there, bred there, grown old there, and consequently hadn't the least understanding for anything outside of the Department; and the only words they knew were: "With assurances of the highest esteem, I am your humble servant."

But the Department was abolished, and as the services of the two Officials were no longer needed, they were given their freedom. So the retired Officials migrated to Podyacheskaya Street in St. Petersburg. Each had his own home, his own cook and his pension.

Waking up on the uninhabited isle,

they found themselves lying under the same cover. At first, of course, they couldn't understand what had happened to them, and they spoke as if nothing extraordinary had taken place.

"What a peculiar dream I had last night, your Excellency," said the one Official. "It seemed to me as if I were on an uninhabited isle."

Scarcely had he uttered the words, when he jumped to his feet. The other Official also jumped up.

"Good Lord, what does this mean! Where are we?" they cried out in astonishment.

They felt each other to make sure that they were no longer dreaming, and finally convinced themselves of the sad reality.

Before them stretched the ocean, and behind them was a little spot of earth, beyond which the ocean stretched again. They began to cry—the first time since their Department had been shut down.

They looked at each other, and each noticed that the other was clad in nothing but his night shirt with his order hanging about his neck.

"We really should be having our coffee now," observed the one Official. Then he bethought himself again of the strange situation he was in and a second time fell to weeping.

"What are we going to do now?" he sobbed. "Even supposing we were to draw up a report, what good would that do?"

"You know what, your Excellency," replied the other Official, "you go to the east and I will go to the west. Toward evening we will come back here again, and, perhaps, we shall have found something."

They started to ascertain which was the east and which was the west. They recalled that the head of their Department had once said to them, "If you want to know where the east is, then turn your face to the north, and the east will be on your right." But when they tried to find out which was the north, they turned to the right and to the left and looked around on all sides. Having spent their whole life in the Department of Records, their efforts were all in vain.

"To my mind, your Excellency, the best thing to do would be for you to go to the right and me to go to the left," said one Official, who had served not only in the Department of Records, but had also been teacher of handwriting in the School for Reserves, and so was a little bit cleverer.

So said, so done. The one Official went to the right. He came upon trees bearing all sorts of fruits. Gladly would he have plucked an apple, but they all hung so high that he would have been obliged to climb up. He tried to climb up in vain. All he succeeded in doing was tearing his night shirt. Then he struck upon a brook. It was swarming with fish.

"Wouldn't it be wonderful if we had all this fish in Podyacheskaya Street!" he thought, and his mouth watered. Then he entered woods and found partridges, grouse and hares.

"Good Lord, what an abundance of food!" he cried. His hunger was going up tremendously.

But he had to return to the appointed spot with empty hands. He found the other Official waiting for him.

"Well, Your Excellency, how went it? Did you find anything?"

"Nothing but an old number of the *Moscow Gazette*, not another thing.

The Officials lay down to sleep again, but their empty stomachs gave them no rest. They were partly robbed of their sleep by the thought of who was now enjoying their pension, and partly by the recollection of the fruit, fishes, partridges, grouse and hares that they had seen during the day.

"The human pabulum in its original form flies, swims and grows on trees. Who would have thought it your Excellency?" said the one Official.

"To be sure," rejoined the other Official. "I, too, must admit that I had imagined that our breakfast rolls came into the world just as they appear on the table."

"From which it is to be deduced that if we want to eat a pheasant, we must catch it first, kill it, pull its feathers and roast it. But how's that to be done?"

"Yes, how's that to be done?" repeated the other Official.

They turned silent and tried again to fall asleep, but their hunger scared sleep away. Before their eyes swarmed flocks of pheasants and ducks, herds of porklings, and they were all so juicy, done so tenderly and garnished so deliciously with olives, capers and pickles.

"I believe I could devour my own boots now," said the one Official.

"Gloves are not bad either, especially if they have been born quite mellow," said the other Official.

The two Officials stared at each other fixedly. In their glances gleamed an evil-boding fire, their teeth chattered and a dull groaning issued from their breasts. Slowly they crept upon each other and suddenly they burst into a fearful frenzy. There was a yelling and groaning, the rags flew about, and the Official who had been teacher of handwriting bit off his colleague's order and swallowed it. However, the sight of blood brought them both back to their senses.

"God help us!" they cried at the same time. "We certainly don't mean to eat each other up. How could we have come to such a pass as this? What evil genius is making sport of us?"

"We must, by all means, entertain each other to pass the time away, otherwise

there will be murder and death," said the one Official.

"You begin," said the other.

"Can you explain why it is that the sun first rises and then sets? Why isn't it the reverse?"

"Aren't you a funny man, your Excellency? You get up first, then you go to your office and work there, and at night you lie down to sleep."

"But why can't one assume the opposite, that is, that one goes to bed, sees all sorts of dream figures, and then gets up?"

"Well, yes, certainly. But when I was still an Official, I always thought this way: 'Now it is dawn, then it will be day, then will come supper, and finally will come the time to go to bed.'"

The word "supper" recalled that incident in the day's doings, and the thought of it made both Officials melancholy, so that conversation came to a halt.

"A doctor once told me that human beings can sustain themselves for a long time on their own juices," the one Official began again.

"What does that mean?"

"It is quite simple. You see, one's own juices generate other juices, and these in their turn still other juices, and so it goes on until finally all the juices are consumed."

"And then what happens?"

"Then food has to be taken into the system again."

"The devil!"

No matter what topic the Officials chose, the conversation invariably reverted to the subject of eating; which only increased their appetite more and more. So they decided to give up talking altogether, and, recollecting the *Moscow Gazette* that the one of them had found, they picked it up and began to read it eagerly.

BANQUET GIVEN BY THE MAYOR

"The table was set for one hundred persons. The magnificence of it exceeded all expectations. The remotest provinces were represented at this feast of the gods by the costliest gifts. The golden sturgeon from Sheksna and the silver pheasant from the Caucasian woods held a rendezvous with strawberries so seldom to be had in our latitude in winter. . . ."

"The devil! For God's sake, stop read-

ing, your Excellency. Couldn't you find something else to read about?" cried the other Official in sheer desperation. He snatched the paper from his colleague's hands, and started to read something else.

"Our correspondent in Tula informs us that yesterday a sturgeon was found in the Upa (an event which even the oldest inhabitants cannot recall, and all the more remarkable since they recognized the former police captain in this sturgeon). This was made the occasion for giving a banquet in the club. The prime cause of the banquet was served in a large wooden platter garnished with vinegar pickles. A bunch of parsley stuck out of its mouth. Doctor P—— who acted as toast-master saw to it that everybody present got a piece of the sturgeon. The sauces to go with it were unusually varied and delicate——"

"Permit me, your Excellency, it seems to me you are not so careful either in the selection of reading matter," interrupted the first Official, who secured the *Gazette* again and started to read:

"One of the oldest inhabitants of Viatka has discovered a new and highly original recipe for fish soup. A live codfish (*lota vulgaris*) is taken and beaten with a rod until its liver swells up with anger . . ."

The Officials' heads drooped. Whatever their eyes fell upon had something to do with eating. Even their own thoughts were fatal. No matter how much they tried to keep their minds off beefsteak and the like, it was all in vain; their fancy returned invariably, with irresistible force, back to that for which they were so painfully yearning.

Suddenly an inspiration came to the Official who had once taught handwriting.

"I have it!" he cried delightedly. "What do you say to this, your Excellency? What do you say to our finding a muzhik?"

"A muzhik, your Excellency? What sort of a muzhik?"

"Why a plain ordinary muzhik. A muzhik like all other muzhiks. He would get the breakfast rolls for us right away, and he could also catch partridges and fish for us."

"Hm, a muzhik. But where are we to fetch one from, if there is no muzhik here?"

"Why shouldn't there be a muzhik here? There are muzhiks everywhere. All one has to do is hunt for them. There certainly must be a muzhik hiding here somewhere so as to get out of working."

This thought so cheered the Officials that they instantly jumped up to go in search of a muzhik.

For a long while they wandered about on the island without the desired result, until finally a concentrated smell of black bread and old sheep skin assailed their nostrils and guided them in the right direction. There under a tree was a colossal muzhik lying fast asleep with his hands under his head. It was clear that to escape his duty to work he had impudently withdrawn to this island. The indignation of the Officials knew no bounds.

"What, lying asleep here, you lazy-bones you!" they raged at him. "It is nothing to you that there are two Officials here who are fairly perishing of hunger. Up, forward, march, work."

The Muzhik rose and looked at the two severe gentlemen standing in front of him. His first thought was to make his escape, but the Officials held him fast.

He had to submit to his fate. He had to work.

First he climbed up on a tree and plucked several dozen of the finest apples for the Officials. He kept a rotten one for himself. Then he turned up the earth and dug out some potatoes. Next he started a fire with two bits of wood that he rubbed against each other. Out of his own hair he made a snare and caught partridges. Over the fire, by this time burning brightly, he cooked so many kinds of food that the question arose in the Officials' minds whether they shouldn't give some to this idler.

Beholding the efforts of the Muzhik, they rejoiced in their hearts. They had already forgotten how the day before they had nearly been perishing of hunger, and all they thought of now was: "What a good thing it is to be an Official. Nothing bad can ever happen to an Official."

"Are you satisfied, gentlemen?" the lazy Muzhik asked.

"Yes, we appreciate your industry," replied the Officials.

"Then you will permit me to rest a little?"

"Go take a little rest, but first make a good strong cord."

The Muzhik gathered wild hemp stalks, laid them in water, beat them and broke them, and toward evening a good stout cord was ready. The Officials took the cord and bound the Muzhik to a tree, so that he should not run away. Then they laid themselves to sleep.

Thus day after day passed, and the Muzhik became so skilful that he could actually cook soup for the Officials in his bare hands. The Officials had become round and well-fed and happy. It rejoiced them that here they needn't spend any money and that in the meanwhile their pensions were accumulating in St. Petersburg.

"What is your opinion, your Excellency," one said to the other after breakfast one day, "is the Story of the Tower of Babel true? Don't you think it is simply an allegory?"

"By no means, your Excellency, I think it was something that really happened. What other explanation is there for the existence of so many different languages on earth?"

"Then the Flood must really have taken place, too?"

"Certainly, else how would you explain the existence of Antediluvian animals? Besides, the *Moscow Gazette* says—"

They made search for the old number of the *Moscow Gazette*, seated themselves in the shade, and read the whole sheet from beginning to end. They read of festivities in Moscow, Tula, Penza and Riazan, and strangely enough felt no discomfort at the description of the delicacies served.

There is no saying how long this life might have lasted. Finally, however, it began to bore the Officials. They often thought of their cooks in St. Petersburg, and even shed a few tears in secret.

"I wonder how it looks in Podyacheskaya street now, your Excellency," one of them said to the other.

"Oh, don't remind me of it, your Excellency. I am pining away with homesickness."

"It is very nice here. There is really no fault to be found with this place, but the lamb longs for its mother sheep. And it is a pity, too, for the beautiful uniforms."

"Yes, indeed, a uniform of the fourth class is no joke. The gold embroidery alone is enough to make one dizzy."

Now they began to importune the Muzhik to find some way of getting them back to Podyacheskaya street, and strange to say, the Muzhik even knew where Podyacheskaya street was. He had once drunk beer and mead there, and as the saying goes, everything had run down his beard, alas, but nothing into his mouth. The Officials rejoiced and said: "We are Officials from Podyacheskaya street."

"And I am one of those men—do you remember?—who sit on a scaffolding hung by ropes from the roof and paint the outside walls. I am one of those who crawl about on the roofs like flies. That is what I am," replied the Muzhik.

The Muzhik now pondered long and heavily on how to give great pleasure to his Officials, who had been so gracious to him, the lazy-bones, and had not scorned his work. And he actually succeeded in constructing a ship. It was not really a ship, but still it was a vessel that would carry them across the ocean close to Podyacheskaya street.

"Now, take care, you dog, that you don't drown us," said the Officials, when

they saw the raft rising and falling on the waves.

"Don't be afraid. We muzhiks are used to this," said the Muzhik, making all the preparations for the journey. He gathered swan's-down and made a couch for his two Officials, then he crossed himself and rowed off from shore.

How frightened the Officials were on the way, how seasick they were during the storms, how they scolded the coarse Muzhik for his idleness, can neither be told nor described. The Muzhik, however, just kept rowing on and fed his Officials on herring. At last, they caught sight of dear old Mother Neva. Soon they were in the glorious Catherine Canal, and then, oh joy! they struck the grand Podyacheskaya street. When the cooks saw their Officials so well-fed, round and so happy, they rejoiced immensely. The Officials drank coffee and rolls, then put on their uniforms and drove to the Pension Bureau. How much money they collected there is another thing that can neither be told nor described. Nor was the Muzhik forgotten. The Officials sent a glass of whiskey out to him and five kopeks.

Now, Muzhik, rejoice.

THREE NEW BOOKS YOU WANT

Militarism, by Karl Liebknecht. Stories of the Cave People, by Mary E. Marcy. Economic Causes of War, by Achille Loria. Price, \$1.00 each, postpaid.

Study Course in Scientific Socialism

LESSON I

INTRODUCTION

The questions and answers used in this study course are not prepared to be memorized. This is not a catechism. It is intended to supply, in the brief outlines, a comprehensive grasp of Scientific Socialism to be taken up in conjunction with the reading of books in which the principles of Scientific Socialism are elaborated. By following this course the student will know what he is reading about when he takes up a book dealing with any phase of the science. Certain books are here referred to, but we do not expect the student to be limited to them. We merely desire to direct a systematic study and reading of books with a grasp of the different phases of the subject in mind.

TO CONDUCT STUDY CLUB

When your local or club holds a meeting, choose your chairman or conductor who can first read to the members, if desired, all of the questions and answers through the phase of the subject to be covered. Then he can return to the first question and read that for the members to discuss. After that question has been discussed by the different members the chairman can read the printed answer which can also be discussed if desired. Proceed in this manner by taking up and disposing of each question and answer in their order. Other questions may suggest themselves and also be discussed. Those members who care to read the books before taking up the different parts of the course should do so and thus be better prepared for the discussion. Then, after the discussion, the most interesting part of the book reading will present itself.

This study course was developed by the members of Local Puyallup, Socialist Party of Washington. It is the result of some years of local study and discussion and is a social product gained from organized experience.

A SYNOPSIS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

1. How do you explain the phenomena of history?

Ans.: It is a record of political and intellectual changes and revolutions; principally of wars and the actions of so-called great men, wherein the economic causes for these acts and changes are ignored or concealed. When viewed from the economic standpoint it reveals a series of class struggles between an exploited wealth-producing class and an exploiting ruling class over the wealth produced.

2. What effect have "great men" had on history?

Ans.: Great men were simply ideal expressions of the hopes of some class in society that was becoming economically powerful. They formed a nucleus around which a class gathered itself in attaining economic conquests in its own interest, and in estab-

lishing social institutions in harmony with, and for the perpetuation of, such class interests. These men had to embody some vital principle from the economic conditions of their time and represent some class interest. The same men with the same ideas would not be great men under a different mode of production when the time for their ideas was not ripe.

3. What great factor is responsible for the rise of "great men"?

Ans.: The fact that the ideas of these men coincided with the class interests of some class in society that was becoming economically powerful. Therefore, economic conditions must exist or be developing which find their highest expression in the ideas of such men.

Why do social institutions change and not remain

Ans.: Because the process of economic evolution will not permit them to remain fixed. The development and improvement of the means of production and distribution produce economic changes, therefore social institutions are forced to change to conform with changing economic conditions—the means of production and distribution.

5. What is responsible for the birth of new ideas, and do they occur to some one individual only?

Ans.: New ideas, theories and discoveries emanate from material conditions, and such conditions act upon individuals. The same idea or discovery may be brought out by different individuals independently and apart from each other. This proves that it is not great men who are responsible for material conditions, but that material conditions produce the men best able to marshal the facts and express the idea; usually in the interest of some class.

6. How do you explain the "survival of the fittest" in the struggle for existence?

Ans.: The "survival of the fittest" is in the "battle for life." "The victors are those best fitted to secure food for themselves and offspring and are the best able to fight, or flee from, their enemies. They need not be the most highly developed forms, but simply those forms best suited to the then existing environment."

7. What single great idea occurred to both Darwin and Wallace independently?

Ans.: The theory of "Natural Selection" which showed that the closely allied antetype was the parent stock from which the new form had been derived by variation.

8. What single great idea occurred to both Marx and Engels independently?

Ans.: The "Materialistic Conception of History."

9. Name the three great ideas developed by Marx and Engels which now form the basis for the socialist philosophy.

Ans.: The Materialistic Conception of History, or, the law of economic determinism.

The law of Surplus Value.
The Class Struggle.

10. Explain, briefly, the "materialistic conception of history."

Ans.: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, forms the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch." The laws, cus-

toms, education, religion, public opinion and morals are controlled and shaped by economic conditions; or, in other words, by the dominant ruling class which the economic system of any given period forces to the front.

11. What is the most important question in life?

Ans.: "Every man and woman, in fact every living creature, prove by their daily conduct that the problem of securing food is the most important question in life."

12. What bearing does the above question have on the materialistic conception of history?

Ans.: "As the above is true of individuals, so, also, is it true of societies; and this gives us the only key by which we can understand the history of the past, and, within limits, predict the course of future development."

13. What effect does the prevailing mode of production and exchange, in any particular epoch, have on the social organization and political and intellectual history of that epoch?

Ans.: "Anything that goes to the roots of the economic structure and modifies it (the food question in life) will inevitably modify every other branch and department of human life, political, ethical, religious, morals, etc. This makes the social question an economic question and all our thought and effort should be concentrated on the economic question."

14. Do the ideas of the ruling class, in any given epoch, correspond with the prevailing mode of economic production?

Ans.: They correspond exactly, as all connected institutions, religious, legal, educational and political have been moulded in the interest of the economically dominant class who control these institutions in a manner to uphold their class interests where their ideas find expression.

15. What effect do these ideas of the ruling class have on the interests of the subject class?

Ans.: The effect is detrimental to the interests of the subject class as the different class interests conflict. Therefore, the ruling class finds the institutions mentioned very useful in either persuading or forcing the so-called "lower classes" to submit to the economic conditions that are absolutely against their interests, even though they are the wealth-producing class.

16. Distinguish natural environment from man-made environment.

Ans.: "Natural environment, in which man developed in the early stages, consisted of the fertility of the soil, climatic conditions, abundance of game, fish, etc., which is all important; but with the progress of

civilization the natural environment loses in relative importance and the economic (man-made) environment, *i. e.*, machinery, factories, railroads and improved appliances grows in importance until in our day the man-made economic environment has become equally important."

17. Explain, briefly, the law of Surplus Value.

Ans.: Briefly, it is the difference between what the working class gets for its labor power, at its value in wages, for producing commodities, and what the employing class gets for the same commodities when sold at their value.

18. Since the economic factor is the determining factor, what does the law of Surplus Value furnish us?

Ans.: "Surplus Value is the key to the whole present economic organization of society. The end and object of capitalist society is the formation and accumulation of surplus value; or in other words, the systematic, legal robbery of the subject working class."

19. Define value and state how measured.

Ans.: Value is the average amount of human labor time *socially* necessary, under average normal conditions, for the production or reproduction of commodities.

20. What determines the value of labor power?

Ans.: It is determined precisely like the value of every other commodity, *i. e.*, by the amount of labor time *socially* necessary for its production or reproduction.

21. Since labor power is a commodity, what condition is it subjected to?

Ans.: It is subject to the same conditions that all other commodities are subjected to without regard to the fact that it is the source of all value. The worker in whom the commodity labor power is embodied, does not get the value of the product of his labor, but only enough to keep him in working order and reproduce more labor power. If the worker received the value of the product of his labor he would receive much more than enough to keep him in working order and reproduce more labor power. Such an economic condition would abolish all forms of surplus value or profit, also the wages system, by substituting economic and social organization in the interest of the working class. No other class could remain in existence and the class struggle would be ended.

22. In what economic systems, past or present, does surplus value or unpaid labor appear?

Ans.: It is the root of the present wages

system and was the substance of both chattel slavery and serfdom.

23. Name the three great systems of economic organization upon which the structure of past history and social institutions have their basis.

Ans.: Chattel slavery, serfdom and the wages system.

24. Explain, briefly, how the subject class was exploited in each.

Ans.: (a) Under slavery the laborer was a chattel the same as a mule or horse and only received his "keep," that is, enough food, clothing and shelter to keep him in working order and to reproduce labor power. All he produced was taken by his master.

(b) Under serfdom the worker produced what was necessary to keep him in working order and to reproduce labor power; and then separately and apart produced, the balance of his time, for his feudal lord.

(c) Under the wages system the worker receives wages which again equals only the amount necessary to keep him in working order and to reproduce more labor power. His entire product belongs to the capitalist, and out of this resource the employer pays the wages for the commodity labor, also for other commodities such as raw materials, and appropriates all of the balance and converts it into capital with which to continue the exploitation of the workers.

25. Define the "Class Struggle."

Ans.: It is the direct clash between two hostile class interests wherein the employing class makes every effort to appropriate more of the wealth produced by the working class, and the working class ever struggles to retain more of the wealth which it produces. The capitalist class strives to get more surplus value and the working class strives to get more wages.

26. Define "class consciousness."

Ans.: Class consciousness of the workers means that they are conscious of the fact that they, as a class, have interests which are in direct conflict with interests of the capitalist class.

27. What function does the state perform in the class struggle?

Ans.: "The state is a class instrument, and is the public power of coercion created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, a power which, being clothed with force, makes laws and levies taxes." It is, therefore, used by the dominant class to keep the subject working

class in subjection in accordance with the interests of the ruling and owning class. It is also used to prevent the workers from altering the economic structure of society in the interests of the working class.

Conclusion.

We have found that society is a growth subject to the laws of evolution. We have enumerated the conditions and causes that impel classes of people to act. We have now reached that stage of evolution where a new class, the machine proletariat, has been developed within an economic system which has become detrimental to its existence. When evolution reaches a certain point revolution becomes necessary in order to break the bonds of the old and bring in the new. As the chicken grows thru evolution until it reaches the point where it must break its shell (the revolution) in order to continue its growth, so do classes of people come to the point in their evolution where revolution is necessary in order to

continue their growth, bring in the new society and consummate the next step in civilization. To bring about this revolution in a more intelligent manner than was ever accomplished in the past, the two following lines of action are now used thruout the world by the working class.

When working people organize politically to vote for and with their economic class, in order to end the class struggle and alter the economic structure of society in the interests of the working class, we call that **POLITICAL ACTION**.

When the working people organize industrially in order to act directly where they are employed for and with their economic class for the purpose of ending the class struggle and altering the economic structure of society in the interest of the working class, we call that **DIRECT ACTION**.

Books used in connection with the foregoing are La Monte's Science and Socialism, Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and The Communist Manifesto.

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Industrial Unionism:

What It Is

By JAMES P. THOMPSON



JAMES P. THOMPSON

CALLED as a witness, before the Federal Industrial Relation Commission, he testified as follows: Mr. O. W. Thompson, Council for the Commission: Will you please give us your name? Answer: Mr. J. P. Thompson; James P. Thompson. Question: And your business address? Answer: 208 Second Avenue S., Seattle. Question: And your occupation? Answer: Organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World. Question: That is the organization with headquarters in Chicago? Answer: Chicago. Question: Of which Mr. Vincent St. John is general secretary? Answer: Yes, sir. Question: How long have you been an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World? Answer: I have been an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World, that is drawing a salary from them as an organizer, since 1906. I was one of those who worked for it before it was born, I mean I helped organize it.

Question: You say you helped work for it before it was born; you mean as a similar organization? Answer: I mean I was one of those who worked to have it formed and took steps in starting it. Question: How long have you been engaged in the work of propagation or agitation or whatever you want to call it, along that line? Answer: Well, let me see, I think I got to be a sort of an agitator when I was a

fireman on the Great Lakes when I was about fifteen or sixteen years old. Question: As you look over the labor field and look into the condition of the workers and look at the organization then in existence, what was in your mind that gave you the idea that a new organization should be formed? What was the reason that led you to that conclusion?

Answer: Why, I saw the one big union of employers forming; I saw that in case of a strike in a shop that one craft would remain at work and help the company to break the strike. From that I got the idea that every one in the shop should be organized together, from the man that scrubs the floor to the man who starts the engine. Then I saw that when we even succeeded in tying up a shop in that manner that they would sometimes be able to get scabs, what we call strike-breakers. I saw then an organization must be formed in such a way as to cut off raw material from going into such a mill where strike-breakers were working, and refuse to handle the scab product brought out from such a mill or factory. Then we saw as we studied, that the one big union of bosses, employers, associations, and so on, that they met even those tactics by transferring orders to other shops, to other members of the employers' association, and so we got the idea that every one in a craft should stand together

in the shop, and every shop in the industry should stand together, and then we saw, like in the case of the strike of the coal miners, we saw the railroad men haul scabs in on one train and haul scab coal away on another, and from that the idea formed that not only should every craft in an industry stand together, but the workers of one industry should back up the workers of another industry, and that we should all combine into one big union, having for our motto an injury to one is an injury to all.

Question: Looking at the standpoint of the older organizations, wherein would you claim that there is a difference between yours and theirs so far as the question of organization is concerned? Answer: The former, as I have pointed out, is chiefly organized by crafts. They teach everyone in a craft to stand together. Now, we say for the same reason that every one in a craft should stand together, for that same reason every craft in an industry should stand together, and every industry should stand together, the workers of one industry with another. And, fundamentally, the difference is vital, the craft union is founded upon the attempt to simply better the condition of the wage worker under present conditions; while the I. W. W. is founded upon a recognition of the class struggle, and that a revolution is rapidly approaching, and that the thing most vital for any working man to do is to organize not only for the every day struggle with the capitalist, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. Now, your civil government has broken down in three states, I think I heard you say, it will break down in every state. There will be a general strike and revolt that will be too big for anyone to handle, only the organized workers. Now, by the way, I am the author of the *I. W. W. Preamble*, and I would like to have you read, if you want to figure on our principle, the last paragraph, which says: "The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with the capitalist, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown." I look to the time when the organization known as The Industrial Workers of the World, or a revolutionary organization formed on the same lines, will be the class who will save civilization from going back

to barbarism. I see a time when our speakers can influence when no one else can.

Question: Well, Mr. Thompson, getting more to specifics on that proposition, how would you figure, for instance, that the old organizations, the craft unions, would fall down in the matter of production in case the capitalistic system went to pieces? Answer: The craft union today is a result, you understand. Of course, you understand, that when any organization is first formed, it is supposed to conform to the conditions of the times. And when those conditions change, if the organization does not change to meet the changed conditions, then we have what we call an out-of-date organization. Now, there are ideas that go along with out-of-date organizations, and the American Federation of Labor is out-of-date in form, it is out-of-date in spirit, it is a representative of the past, as far as organized labor is concerned, it is dying of dry rot. The I. W. W. has got the red-blooded part of the working class. And we are not organizing on craft lines, but on class lines. And the I. W. W. is aiming, not only to better our conditions now, but to prepare for the revolution.

Question: Just coming again to specifics, Mr. Thompson, what can you state to this commission, what facts or data of any kind can you give to them from which they can draw the same conclusions that you are drawing? Answer: Well, I would say to the commission, I understand that the law that created you, says that you should investigate the underlying cause of the social unrest. I think it foolish to ask the man who is satisfied with the system, the cause of unrest. He would not tell you if he knew, many of them would not anyway. You have quite a lot of hypocrites, you have had men who were afraid of losing their jobs, if they told the truth. But I would advise that if you really want to know the underlying cause of the social unrest, that you should ask the revolutionist. Now, I claim to be a revolutionist.

Question: Well, I—J. P. Thompson breaking in on the question—And I claim to be able to answer that question, the cause of social unrest.

Question: Well, I will come to that, Mr. Thompson, but before getting to that, the Commission is commanded by Congress to

examine into organizations of labor. J. P. Thompson: Yes, sir.

Question: We are examining now thru you, as we have done thru others, into the Industrial Workers of the World. You have made a statement that the older unions were organized under a condition which has passed away, that they carry with them a philosophy of action which does not fit present needs, and that they are on the wane, but you are on the come? Answer: Yes.

Question: Now, what I ask is, it is clear—of course, it must be to you; that these conclusions, they may be correct—it is not for me to question them here as counsel. Answer: I understand that.

Question: I simply want to get from you the facts so that the Commission itself when it reads your testimony may say: "Well, from what he states, which appear to be the correct facts, his conclusions are correct, or they are incorrect." Now, what I would like you to give the Commission is some data with reference to the old organizations which will prove the statements you make, or tend to prove them. Answer: Why, you want documentary proof?

Question: No, we don't limit you. You can take your own way of stating it. You can state what you hear, or what you have seen yourself, or what you believe, but I simply ask you for facts rather than conclusions. Answer: Well, since one of the printing industry was represented here a moment ago in the form of one of the employers, I will call attention to the fact that in San Francisco last winter the pressmen went on strike in the job printing shops, and the union—so called union printers—remained at work. The union bookbinders and so on remained at work. And by remaining at work they helped the Company to fill their orders, and helped the company to break the strike of the pressmen. And I also will take the testimony while it is warm, from Colonel Blethen, that these people sign contracts running out at different times. That is sufficient proof of what I said about them breaking one another's strikes. It is a fact, not a dream or anything like that.

Question: That objection would go to the question of sympathetic strikes, that is to say, that the old organization does not indulge sufficiently in sympathetic, what are commonly called sympathetic, strikes?

Answer: No, I don't like the word sympathetic strikes.

Question: But I am talking about the word as the general public use it. Answer: Well, the general public don't use the word in that sense, that is, sympathetic. Now, here is the idea, if there is a strike in a restaurant, and a harness-maker up on some street somewhere would go on strike in sympathy, you know, you might say it was sympathy, but we can get that in the dictionary; sympathy, that is the way we look at it. We say that the ice wagon driver and the bread wagon driver and the driver who delivers meat or ice or supplies of any kind to that scab restaurant are strike-breakers, and it is a question of whether they want to be union men or scabs, not a question of whether they want to strike in sympathy, but a question of whether they want to help break the strike or win the strike, and if they do these things, we call that union strike breakers.

Question: Well, now, in what other respect is the old organization unable to meet the new conditions? Answer: The old organization is not based on the recognition of the class struggle, and an organization that is not revolutionary—a labor organization that is not revolutionary—cannot rally to its support any red blooded members of the working class. I will add further, that I believe that the red blooded part of the American Federation of Labor, when it comes to a show down, will back up the I. W. W. better than they will the American Federation of Labor.

Question: What do you mean by the class struggle, as you have stated it? Answer: Well, whenever you get ready to ask me that question of the cause of social unrest, I think I could probably lay the foundation of the whole thing right there in a nutshell. Counsel: Well, I said you might follow your own methods, Mr. Thompson. Answer: Well, I understood you said later you would ask about that. Counsel: Yes. J. P. Thompson: The reason I say this, I would like to answer the whole thing at once in one way. Counsel: You may go on and answer it, take up the question of Industrial unrest, its cause—. J. P. Thompson: The class struggle all comes under that. Counsel: And your cure. I want to get from you your opinion. J. P. Thompson: Certainly,

that is the idea, and it is worth whatever it weighs, that is the idea.

Counsel: Go right ahead. J. P. Thompson: Now, the real cause of all social changes and revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in their more or less confused ideas of right and wrong, or of truth and justice, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch. That is one of our sayings. We say that in order to understand the social problem it must be looked at as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of the human will, consciousness and intelligence, but on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence. Now, when we speak of the world, of the working class, we mean the workers of the world. We are as broad as the world. We claim that in studying economics we must consider it from the standpoint of the world. You never hear us talk about immigration being a bad thing, we believe it is a good thing and so on. And so you might question me on that, if you wish, later. But here is the point, that, I will just take for example in this country, since I am an American for many generations, and naturally quite familiar with the history of this country.

In the day of what we call petty industry in this country, the tool of production was of a kind that could be used by the individual. The man who used the tool owned the tool. In the early days of our forefathers, all they had to do was to kill some Indians and get the land and then they could settle down on that land and make a living. They didn't have any railroads. The only railroads they had were in the form of an ox team, and they took their commodities to market. They didn't have shoe factories. The worker who made shoes made them by hand and carried his tools under his arm.

When the farmer in those days wanted clothes he didn't go to the factory for them. The women folks used to be the textile mill in the home. They used to make the home-spuns, knit the socks and the mittens, and made the clothing, the home-spuns. Now, if a man was up against it, as we put it today, why they would say: "Go out and take up a piece of land and settle down and make your own living." Well, now there has come a change. There is an unrest here, look for the cause in a change

in the economics, in the mode of production.

The tool of production is not now a thing that can be used by an individual. The labor process has taken the co-operative form. You can not, if you own a textile mill, you cannot weave the woolen cloth without the sheep shearer, or the cotton cloth without the cotton picker. You can't weave cloth, woolen or cotton, without the ironworker to make the looms, and you can't have the building without the labor of the building workers. The tool of production today is not an individual tool, not a thing that one man can use. The co-operative plan or form has entered into the labor process. Now, here is what is the matter in the world, we have social production but we have private ownership of the means of production, and this divides the human race into two classes, the class who own the means of production and don't operate them, and the class who operate them but don't own them. You never saw a railroad operated by the class that owns it, nor you never saw a railroad built by the owners of it.

You will find one class owns the means of production and another class operate them. The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. The interest of the employing class demands that we work hard for small pay. Our interest demands that we put the other class to work. Today, we not only have to feed ourselves, but we have to feed an idle, worthless class who have no more function in society than a bedbug. Now, in order that you may fully understand this, you have asked me in this letter to me, when subpoenaing me, to mention the lumber industry. And I will explain the psychology of the lumber worker.

I think, altho I am a longshore man—I am one of those undesirables who travel everywhere, not to simply stir up people, but to tell people what we believe can be done to make this a better world. Now, the logger, he walks out in the woods and looks around at a wilderness of trees. He works hard in there. And what does he get? He gets wages that are below the dead line. I say dead line in wages means below the line necessary to keep him alive. They are being murdered on the installment plan.

Now, they breathe bad air in the camps. That ruins their lungs. They eat bad food. That ruins their stomachs. These foul con-

ditions shorten their lives and make their short lives miserable. When they ask for more, like the I. W. W. did—we asked for dry rooms so we could have a place to dry our clothes. If we don't dry our clothes—I have got a bad cold, it bothers my throat—if we don't have—that is all right, I don't want any water, thank you. You know it rains very much, now, speaking of this particular part of the country, which I always like to apologize for doing, as this is a world question, I am only using this as an example, in this part of the country, for example, it rains a great deal and they work in the rain. If they didn't work in the rain they wouldn't work at all. When they come in from the camps, they are wet, their feet are wet. They go into a dark barn, not as good as where the horses are, and the only place to dry their clothes is around the hot stove made hot to dry the clothes. Those in the top bunks suffer from the heat, those far away from the cold. Well, if they don't dry their clothes they put them on wet the next morning. Then they would have rheumatism. And when we asked for dry rooms in which to dry our clothes, a man like Weyerhaeuser, who owns all this land here as far as your eye can reach—or as far as a mind's eye can reach, almost. Oh, no, he can't afford to put in dry rooms. No. Why not. Well, business is business.

And so the logger, he finds that he is nothing but a living machine, not even treated as well as a horse. When the horse is out of work he is glad of it. When the wage worker is out of work he is up against it, they turn the hose on him in Sacramento. All right. Now to show you just how we look at this. We say that in the early days a man came into this western country—this is only an example of the western country—when land was cheap, and when politicians could be bought two for a nickel—that is the way we put it in our language, understand—they got possession of this land, like Morgan and those fellows of the so-called better class, you know, that bribe legislators, as in the New Haven Railroad proposition you know about. They got out here and by bribing and grafting and gunning and one thing and another, they got possession of this land, this forest out here. And then they say to us:

"You came too late. We own this land."

Where did they get it? We know where they got it, they stole it. But they say: "We have a legal right," and all that stuff, a law they made themselves. Now, just to show you how we look at it, because that is the vital point, you know, you are talking now with a revolutionist. I believe I have the psychology of a revolutionist. And we look at that as just as ridiculous as it would be as if suppose we would go out into the forest, and we would see a lot of squirrels out there working hard gathering nuts. Then in the winter we would go out there and we would see the nuts piled high, and these same working squirrels in misery. We would say to them, "What is the matter?" "Why," they would say, "Don't you know what is the matter? Why, those fat squirrels over there they never worked and they own all this forest here, and when we produce the nuts we turn all the nuts over to those fat squirrels. And then they have a lot of little clerks to sort out the wormy nuts, and on pay day they give us our snuff and our overalls and our hob-nailed boots—" the way the worker puts it, the squirrel would get the wormy nuts.

We claim that no man has more right to own this earth than he has to own the air he breathes; that John D. Rockefeller has no more right to say: "I own that coal mine, I own the coal down in the earth as far as hell." You don't have to go very far in a coal mine to get to hell. You are in hell if you are in a coal mine, especially if it is Rockefeller's coal mine, because he murders more in proportion to the number than any other in the country. We say they have no right to own this. Right is a relative term. They will own it just as long as they have the power to own it. And just the minute that we get the power we will do away with this thing of some human beings owning the things that other human beings must use in order to live.

And now I will become a real American again. Abraham Lincoln said, "the government of the people, by the people, for the people." Well, that is tame compared to the I. W. W., and our idea will prevail when those who are opposing it are forgotten. I believe that, as much as that I am sitting here. We are the modern abolitionists fighting against wage slavery. Here is one of our sayings: "The industries must be owned by the people, operated by

the people for the people, instead of being owned by the few, operated by the many for the few." And in regard to the social unrest, it is not the degree of exploitation as much as it is the fact of exploitation. If we remain in this room for many days we would learn more about the room as we remained. We would know that it was warmer in one corner, and more cool in another. And so with society, the longer we live in this capitalist society the more we learn about it. We have learned that the capitalist papers, as we call them, will lie, that they will lie—well, will lie about the I. W. W., see. And so, as the result of the lying, and suggestions and misrepresentations on the part of the press, the workers are losing confidence. You know we used to say in this country that a thing was true, and prove it was, by saying we saw it in black and white. Well, a man that would try to prove a thing by saying he saw it in black and white in some of the papers in this country now, would be considered a candidate for the insane asylum.

And so with the courts. Now, we are losing confidence in the law. We have but very little confidence, I am speaking frankly of the working class all over the country and to those of the world this applies to a more or less extent. The country most developed industrially will furnish to the more backward countries the image of their own future. Now, we are gradually losing respect for the law, because it is universally expressed in this way, there is one law for the rich and another law for the poor. Everyone, generally speaking, will admit that if you steal a loaf of bread you go to jail; if you steal a railroad, you go to Congress. Now, that is the way they express that idea.

Now, the other class attempts to hold our class down by high-handed methods, like the hop-pickers' case. When you go to California you will hear about the hop-pickers' case. Two men are in jail sentenced to life imprisonment. They didn't kill any one. Everybody admits they didn't kill anybody. They were telling the workers in that hop ranch what they thought ought to be done. There was no drinking water there. Every way the conditions were unspeakable. I won't take up your time with that, I expect you will get all of that in California. But those two men are in jail. Now, it doesn't matter what you

think or what I think, in a way; what I mean is this, that going from one end of the country to the other, any working man who knows anything about it believes those men are innocent, and every day they are in jail—every day they are in jail, just like rust eats iron—so confidence in the capitalists' courts is dying in the hearts of the workers.

Now, they can be high-handed, like in Ludlow. They can fire the tents there, and they did. And you have heard the old saying, "the shot is heard around the world." When they fired the tents of Ludlow, they lighted fires in the hearts of the workers they can never put out. We are not patriotic like we used to be, in the sense that we will fight for the other class to get markets. We do not take any stock in this foreign market business at all. The world's market for steel, the workers of the world produce the steel, and no matter whether the railroad is built in China or in England, it matters not to us as a class. We do the work, and all we get is what? As the wealth piles up on the one hand, misery piles up on the other, and the working class see this. They know that labor produced all the wealth.

Now, this puts it so any child can understand it. You know we form habits of thought. Now, we workers know that if our class wasn't here on earth at all, the other class would have to go to work. We know that well enough. If our class was not here on earth and the other class wanted shoes, for instance, they would have to go ahead and make them, and if they didn't know how to make them, they would have to learn how or go barefoot. Now, the difference between what we produce and what we get is the amount of which we are robbed. All capital is unpaid labor.

Now, there are two armies in some countries in the world, the army of production and the army of destruction. The army of destruction is the military army, that is it is one of them. Now, the army of production feeds everybody. They produce it all, and what we want is for the army of destruction to disband, and join the army of production, and then we who do the work won't have to work so hard, won't have to work so long. We will have the world's work to do, but we will have more help to do it, and then we won't have

the capitalist class that class that says: "We own the earth and the machinery of production." We want to put them to work and make them do their share. In other words, we want to do away with the wage system and establish the co-operative system in its place.

The labor process has taken the co-operative form and the things that are used collectively must be owned collectively. And this class struggle will never end until the workers of the world organize as a class, and take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

Counsel: Now, Mr. Thompson, assuming that we were all in accord with your ideas, your philosophy of industry, taking society as it is today, formed of people with various views, with the majority not, perhaps, agreeing with your theories of production, what would you say to this Commission that it could do, either by recommendation to Congress, to the various state governments, or to the workers—the people of the country, that would probably be accepted and would lead towards this newer society that you are speaking of? Answer: Well, since you put it so broadly that you recommend to all the different ones what to do: Now, I would say to the government, for instance (to put it that way; I look upon them as a committee of the capitalist class. But the government, political government, not the real ruling government of the country; I don't mean that, I mean the political government.) I mean that I would recommend to this Commission that they say to the representatives—to all whom it may concern—that the cause of social unrest is to be found in the mode of production, that a revolution is inevitable, that we may delay that revolution a little, we may hurry it a little, but we can't stop it, and that everyone who is big enough to rise above local interests and see the inevitable, should do all in their power to lessen the birth pangs of the new society being born from the womb of the old. And to the capitalist class, I would say to them: "You are doomed. The best thing you can do is to look for a soft place to fall."

Counsel: That, Mr. Thompson, then, would be your practical suggestions to this Commission? Answer. I would absolutely think that that would save—if the

ruling class of today were big enough to do that, I believe it would save much misery in the world.

Counsel: I don't mean that, Mr. Thompson. I mean your idea of what can be accomplished. Answer: I lost one point. You asked me what I would recommend to the working people?

Counsel: Yes. Answer. All right. We would recommend to the working class that they organize as a class and depend for their labor laws, not on the politician, but that they should organize and pass the labor laws in the union, and enforce them on the job. We are unlike the editor of the *Seattle Record* of the A. F. of L. He says they, the A. F. of L., issue a paper. You asked him what the purpose of that union paper was, and he said—if I remember rightly, he said it was to teach the workers their rights under the law and to get them to work for the passage of better laws. Now, our idea of a labor paper is that it should teach the foolishness of going to these politicians to get these laws, and that they should pass the law in the union and enforce it on the job. If you wanted to do away with child labor, organize and refuse to work with children.

Counsel: Any other practical suggestions, Mr. Thompson? Answer: I believe that the way to do away with the unemployed is this: Now, I mentioned a moment ago that there are two armies, the army of production and the army of destruction. I include the capitalists in that, because when they eat it is destruction of property. When the workman eats, it is in a sense productive consumption, like a locomotive eating coal. So, I say this: That—I don't mean that literally—that it is real productive consumption when I say the workman eats, I don't mean in the literal sense, but I mean it in one sense; but in regard to this army of production and the army of destruction I want to use an illustration that I think will make clear the cause and cure for unemployment.

Now, we will take the army of destruction in an enemy's country. Suppose that there is only a certain amount of food to eat, and it is all in the form of bread; suppose that when we come to see that army of soldiers, the army of destruction, we see that they have nothing to eat but bread, but that one part of the army got eight or ten loaves

every day, and the other part of the army had no bread at all. We would think they were crazy. We would say put that army on rations; give each five loaves, or whatever is necessary so it will go around. Now, we walk away from them, and we see the army of destruction; they do not live on bread—they do and they don't—they must have labor in order to live. Well, we see that some of that army get eight, ten, or twelve hours labor; and the others have none at all—well, what would we do?

The same as with the bread. Now, we divide the bread among the soldiers, and so we should divide—now notice—we should divide the work of the world among the workers of the world. Then, when we do that, there will be no unemployment. If there is not work enough for all of us all the time, there must be work enough for all of us part of the time. The idea of some working ten hours and others having no work at all, that is out of date—ridiculous. The idea of little children being worked to death while strong men are

out of work, no one but a savage will support that in our opinion. So we believe that we ought to shorten the work day, divide the work of the world among the workers of the world, and then there would be no unemployment. Then, the other class, in their struggle with us, would find it hard to get scabs, they would find it hard to get men to eat food that we had refused to eat, as there wouldn't be any unemployed to draw from.

Well, when we get the unemployed out of the hands of the other class, the main club would be out of their hands, and then we would make the boss, we would force the boss to pay us more wages for five or six hours than he does now for eight and ten. That is not all. When we have divided the work among the workers of the world, then we have gotten the bosses around on the slippery end of the stick. Then we will put them to work, and this system will be over, and we will establish the co-operative system. That is revolutionary, but that is what we are after.



UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE

THE *Chicago Tribune* is running almost daily editorials urging that Congress immediately pass a universal military service law. One of the stock arguments this newspaper advances is that the people would stand for the passing of such a law now and might seriously object to such a law after the present war is over.

We are very glad to see a progressive paper like the *New Republic* coming out with a strong protest. Says the *New Republic* in effect: We are today fighting Germany because German Militarism has become the menace of the civilized world. It ill behooves people in America to advocate universal military service, an aping of all the system that makes Germany abhorrent to the rest of the democratic world if

we are honest in our desire to make the world safe for democracy. The *New Republic* also suggests that if we desire to see the world disarm we ought to follow our own teachings at home in regard to universal military service, and not build up a new cause for distrust among foreign nations after the war is over.

Everybody knows that France was only able to enforce universal military training on the working class of France because of the constant menace of Germany on her East. If people are honestly eager to abolish the danger of increased armaments after this war is over, they should demonstrate the fact that they will not tolerate the saddling of another great parasitical army upon this country now, or at any other time.

Today the working class supports, feeds,

clothes and shelters not only itself but the Leisure Class that produces nothing. We do not propose to have to support a standing army. We suspect that as long as the German workers permit themselves to be used to further the predatory aims of the Junkers, no socialist republic will ever be safe, and we would prefer to see the present war last five years rather than to see universal military service, and militarism, after the German pattern, established here.

The *New York Nation*, in its issue of Nov. 15th, publishes an article on Mr. Theodore Roosevelt and his attitude toward this question that is illuminating in this connection. We quote:

"The international point of view he (Mr. Roosevelt) regards as the refuge of weaklings. His own state is his supreme reality and his highest political conception. He opposes, however, the Revolutionary ideas in which his own state had its origin. He abominates all the necessary 'red-tape' of democratic procedure.

"He wants a government which will take its people in hand, as the German government has done, and mould them swiftly and firmly into a shape which not the people, but the Government determines. He is not at war to make the world safe for democracy; he is at war to make the world safe for America. . . .

"What he hopes to get out of the war is not a new lease for democracy, liberty, and fraternity, but an immensely strengthened national government, a highly intensified military spirit, a permanently established universal military service, and a grim determination to keep up the population for the

'next war,' so that when Uncle Sam shakes his sabre the rattle thereof may be heard and dreaded throughout the hemisphere—and beyond.

"Now, to speak it frankly, it is not the socialists, the radicals, the 'professional pacifists' only, but the fighting men and the plain people everywhere who are growing unspeakably weary of that kind of cheery, energetic preparation for repeating on into the indefinite future the bloody history of the last three years.

"The hearts and minds of men in all the Allied lands have been enlisted for the express and declared object of terminating forever the barbaric rite of wholesale human sacrifice. They have been summoned from the ends of the earth specifically to slay in the Prussian labyrinth the black-faced Minotaur of militarism, to which they have hitherto paid perennial tribute.

"Americans have responded in the faith of their fathers, undaunted by the cynics or the savages, trusting that the children of men who in this country brought to an ultimate end the ancient institution of monarchy and the world-old institution of slavery need not despair of success in undertaking the radical abolition of a third, equally hoary iniquity.

"It is not their purpose to substitute the menace of an American militarism for the menace of a German militarism. (The italics are ours.) It is their purpose to make a secure and lasting quietude for all the peace-loving, self-governing peoples of the world. If Mr. Roosevelt is against this object, he is against this war."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

REVOLUTIONS REVOLVING

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Military Situation

We have a new world every week—the lie of yesterday becomes the truth of today. By the time the January REVIEW is in the hands of its readers, all that the wisest are saying now may be turned to nonsense.

The German drive on Italy has changed the military situation. As we go to press (Nov. 11) the enemy troops are approaching Venice. The Russian situation baffles the allies. They expect little fighting on the eastern front. The English are slowly advancing in Belgium and in Turkey. But French, English and American authorities are thoroly alarmed. They see that the central powers have more striking power left than was suspected—the Anglo-American public is preparing its mind for a desperate struggle. It is said that America must send five million troops instead of two.

Revolutionists and Kaiser

The center of the situation is occupied by the Russian revolutionists. Kerensky's government has been attacked from both sides. First came Korniloff, a successful general. He made a great speech before the congress of Moscow. He favored blood and iron. The applause turned his head. Then came the vision of himself as the Russian Napoleon. He rose against Kerensky. The chief of the provisional government prevailed over the troops of the would-be dictator by means of argument. So Korniloff capitulated and was finally pardoned. Then came the revolution of the Bolsheviks, Revolutionary Socialists. The most prominent of these were Lenine and Leon Trotsky. These men gained possession of Petrograd and Moscow and for a time had supreme power in their hands. They called a meeting of the National Council of Soldiers and working people and a completely revolutionary program was voted—including peace and a division of land.

What we are most interested in is the peace move. The Bolsheviks proposed a truce for three months and a conference of

representatives chosen directly by the people. There is in this no hint of a separate peace. How these ultra-revolutionists could make peace with the kaiser or how the kaiser could make peace with them passes understanding. He is the friend and counterpart of their old enemy, the czar; while they to him are very devils like his own Liebknecht. So even if the followers of Lenine remain the controlling element it probably will not lead to a separate peace. As we go to press Kerensky and his followers are fighting desperately to regain possession of Petrograd.

Late in August there was held in London a conference of the German Revolutionists? allied Socialists. These men and women—French, English, Russian and Italian—sent greetings to the German Independent Socialists. The German Independents never before held the fate of the world in their hands as they do now. We know, of course, that their leaders are in jail and many of the members are in the army. And all Germany is under strict military rule. The Germans are, moreover, the most docile and best drilled nation in the world. We must not expect too much.

But the new move of the Bolsheviks puts a new face on the situation. Lenine and Trotsky must know what is passing in Germany, and the German revolutionists must be looking to Russia as to a rising star of hope. If the Bolsheviks determine the policy of Russia, may we not expect a new stirring in Germany?

About Sept. 1 there was a meeting in the German navy. It appears that sailors are drafted from the regular naval service to man the U-boats. Once on the U-boats their chances of coming off alive are very small. So the men rebelled. The kaiser ordered one out of every ten shot. There was a great wave of protest and finally only a few leaders were executed.

The incident caused a commotion in the Reichstag. A cabinet member charged that

Hugo Haase knew the mutineers and had encouraged them. Haase did know some of them. This at least was enough to show that the rebels were Socialists. But the zealous minister had to withdraw his charge of complicity and the incident hastened the fall of the Michaelis cabinet.

On November 1 Dr. Michaelis came to his downfall as chancellor of the empire. He was put in to fool people into thinking there had been a reform. But he made a bad matter worse. So it became necessary to try another bluff. Count von Hertting, Premier of Bavaria, was put into his place. He is a centrist, or clerical, and the fact that he is a south German helps a little to quiet discontent. As was expected, Mathias Erzberger, the Centrist leader, is delighted with the change and talks glibly of the political revolution which he wants to think has taken place in Germany. Really, all that has happened is that the Catholic party has now come to top in Germany.

On Nov. 14 M. Panleve, the French premier, also met his fate. The Socialists deserted him and he could not stand without them. He was evidently nursing am-

bitions for German territory. He would not promise to be content with the return of Alsace and Lorraine. In France practically everyone insists on the return of the territory stolen in 1876, but many are unwilling to fight for annexations.

The Italian Retreat

During the first weeks of November the Italian army suffered an unexpected defeat. It had conquered a mountain ridge and established what looked like unconquerable lines along to Isonzo. Then suddenly we read these positions were deserted and the army was in flight.

Now comes an astonishing explanation. It seems that Austrian and Italian troops had begun to get acquainted. Naturally they had to get out of the habit of fighting. Then suddenly the high command threw against this line a force of first-class German shock troops. The Italians were unsuspecting and helpless. Before they knew what had happened there had been a complete rout. A German division was thrust into the Italian line. Thus a general retreat was necessary and cannon and supplies had to be deserted.



NEWS AND VIEWS



A. NIEBERT

A. Niebert Killed in Russia—Former Secretary-translator of Lettish Branch is a victim of reactionaries at Vladivostok, is the word that reached Chicago this month. Those who sent the brief information declare particulars will be given by women who are on their way back to America. Comrade Niebert was one of the foremost industrial union Socialists in the American movement. He was for an economic organization that would represent the working class, rather than the craft. Heart and soul Comrade Niebert was for the glad day of Industrial Democracy, only a brief vision of which he was able to realize before his tragic murder in Russia. The editors of the REVIEW had the joy of attending the farewell meeting given by the Lettish comrades in Chicago for Comrades Niebert, Miller and Endee before they returned to Russia a few months ago, at which Comrade Niebert promised to send us the news for the REVIEW. He intended to go to one of the large cities in

Russia, either Petrograd or Moscow, but when he arrived at Vladivostok, which is the Russian port of entry on the Pacific, the report says that he remained there and became editor of the Russian revolutionary paper, *The Workingmen's News*, the local organ for the council of workingmen and soldiers. The report further declares that during some riots about a month ago, in which it was said the Black Hundred, Russia's reactionary organization, took part, several hundred were wounded and a number were killed. His last words to the Review Staff were—A good blacksmith should not be afraid of smoke. We have lost a true blue comrade.

From a Railroader—"Dear Comrades: It is late and I have worked very hard today, but could not resist the temptation to run into the postoffice long enough to get the enclosed money order for a bundle of November REVIEWS. We will stay by the REVIEW as long as the children are not hungry or cold. You are doing and have done good work, and there is work ahead for us all. The capitalists are giving us what we need and it will result in welding political and industrial action into an effective working class organization."

Masses Group Indicted—As a result of an investigation by the federal grand jury, seven persons connected with the *Masses*, the radical magazine which was barred from the mails by the postoffice department some time ago, were indicted on the charge of conspiracy in violation of the espionage law.

C. Merrill Rogers, Jr., business manager of the magazine, and the *Masses* Publishing Company, as a corporation, were also indicted on the charge of misuse of the mails.

On the conspiracy charge, indictments were returned against Max Eastman, editor; Floyd Dell, managing editor; C. Merrill Rogers, Jr., Henry J. Glintenkamp, artist; Arthur Young, artist; John Reed, writer, and Josephine Bell, writer. Bench warrants for their arrest were issued by Judge Julius M. Mayer yesterday.

Action against the magazine for violation of the espionage act was begun early in July, when Solicitor for the Postoffice W. H. Lamar ruled that it was non-mailable. On July 24 Judge Learned Hand granted an injunction restraining the postmaster general from pro-

hibiting the use of the mails to the publication. This injunction was almost immediately stayed by an order from Judge C. M. Hough, in the United States court of appeals.

The postoffice authorities again barred the September issue of the magazine, this time on the ground that as the magazine had not been mailed at regular intervals it was not entitled to the second-class rights. The *Masses* brought a second injunction proceeding against the postoffice department, but the injunction was not granted.

The decision of Judge Learned Hand regarding the August issue was reversed on November 2.

Max Eastman, who has just returned from the West, said last night:

"These indictments seem to be a part of the organized effort of certain subordinate officials in the United States government to crush the voice of the Socialists. We have as yet no evidence that the courts of the United States are a party to these proceedings, and we have complete confidence that they are not."—*New York Call*.

Liebknicht Party Grows—Amsterdam, Nov. 9.—More and more proofs come to the surface daily to show that the working class in Germany stands behind the so-called "minority" of the Independent Socialist party rather than behind the "majority," led by Scheidemann, David and their friends.

In the recent party convention in Wuerzburg, special care was taken that only locals in good standing were represented, and could make motions. A local that had paid up its dues, but had not publicly said they would renounce their deputy in the Reichstag if he joins the Independent Socialist group, lost its right to representation in the convention.

Despite this, the delegates who were seated seemed rather to favor the policies of the Independents. For instance, many of the delegates had instructions to oppose all attacks upon the Independent Socialists. These represented Nueremburg, Hamburg, 3, Goerlitz, Breslau-West, Schweidnitz-Strigau, Elberfeld.

Others demanded by special motions that action be immediately taken to hasten the reunion with the secessionists, among them Nueremburg, Wuerzburg, Bayreuth, Luebeck, Hamburg 3, Frankfurt-on-Main, Weimar, Muenich, Danzig, Cologne, Meissen, Stollberg, and Muehlhausen in Alsace, while Muehlhausen in Thuringia moved to have a committee of five who should be instructed to negotiate with a similar committee of the I. S. P. within two weeks.

The congressional districts in Alsace-Lorraine have all joined the I. S. P., Leopold Emmel being the only Alsatian representative who is still with the majority. Emmel was always with the radicals, and he holds aloof now only because of an old prejudice concerning the position of Alsace-Lorraine.

Many motions concerning the democratization of Germany were made. Ludwigshaven, a stronghold of the government policies of the majority, demanded "a stronger expression of our demands for democratizing Germany," and made a special request that "the realization of

our minimum demands must come during the war, because we will stand small chance of getting them after the return of normal times."

Berlin, district IV, that is, the reorganized "majority" branch, made the same demand in a more emphatic way. Breslau, also a stronghold of the moderates, urged "that the speeches in the Reichstag would again assume the character of an opposition party, instead of the cooing of loving turtle doves." Furthermore, this Silesian metropolis demands with great emphasis "that the government should make good the promises it has so generously given."—*New Times*.

Stanley Clark in Jail—Bond has not yet been secured for Stanley Clark, who is in the Chicago Cook county jail, indicted with the I. W. W. boys. Comrade Clark is one of the oldest and most loyal members of the Socialist party in this country. For twenty years he has been one of the most successful speakers and organizers in Texas and in the Southwest. Don't forget when you are holding a meeting for the I. W. W. defence to get Clark's old friends to do all they can for the boys. We will be glad to receive any special contributions for Comrade Clark at this office.

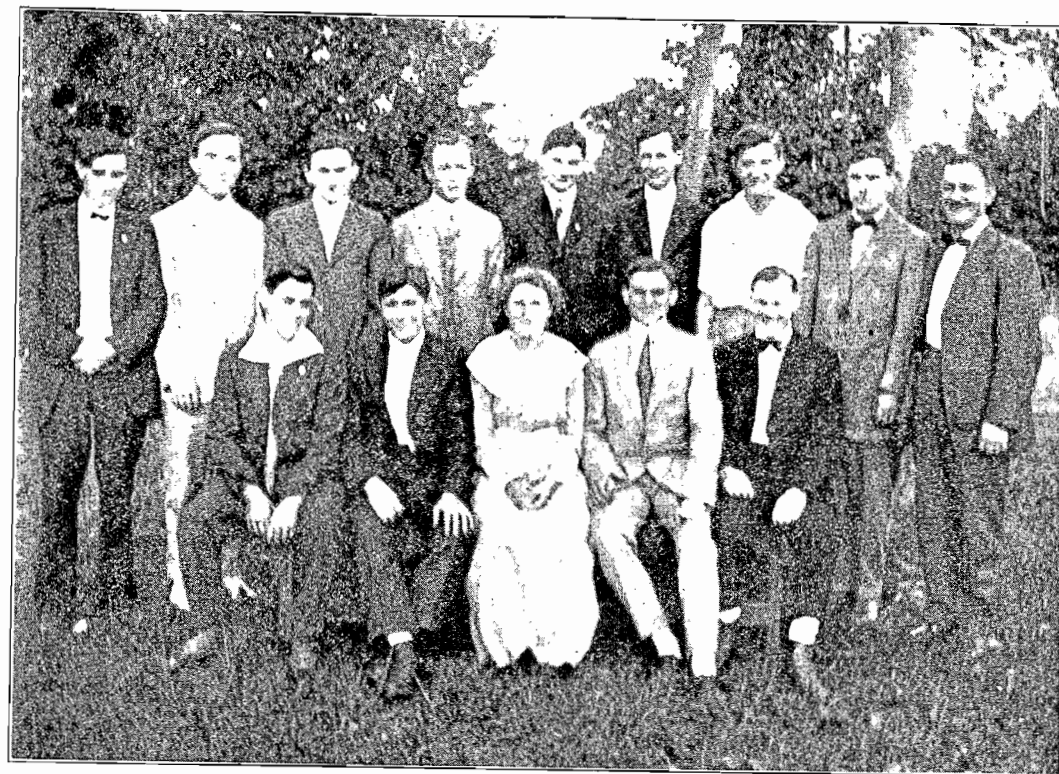
Akron, Ohio—Comrade Stehmeyer, the local secretary, writes: "Received twenty REVIEWS and sold them all in one night. Send along twenty more. We elected eight assessors and one constable."

Acting State Secretary Otto Wangerin of Minnesota, recently drafted into the army, was sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor in the federal penitentiary, by general court martial. It is charged that Wangerin refused to obey the order of his company commander, Capt. H. S. Church, to go to the regimental supply officer and draw his uniform; also that he refused to drill. Comrade Wangerin has long been a member of the Socialist party.

The Best Weekly—The REVIEW takes pleasure in assuring its readers that W. E. Reynolds is editing a weekly Socialist paper at Duluth, Minn., called *Truth*, and which is sent to subscribers under postage stamps, which is, without any exception, the best Socialist party weekly we have read in a good many days. If you can spare a dollar, send it along to Comrade Reynolds and read the most Marxian, newsy, snappy and interesting paper still on the job. Address Manhattan Building, Room 510, Duluth, Minn.

Faded Away—The Republic of Haiti has quietly passed out. A few days since the American army officer who had been in temporary charge of Haitian affairs spoke softly to the assembled multitude, to the effect that these colored gentlemen need not hold any further elections, and that the United States would assume full responsibility for the future conduct of the island of Haiti. As all the firearms had long since been gathered in from the natives by United States officials, the proclamation did not create any unnecessary stir. —*Toronto Saturday Night*.

Did some one, some time, somewhere, say something about "the rights of small nations"? (From *Truth*.)



CINCINNATI, OHIO, COMRADES INDICTED FOR CONSPIRACY

Front Row (left to right)—Philip Rothenbusch, Joseph Geier, Lotta Burke, Carl Thieman, Frank Ries. Back Row (left to right)—Walter Gregory, A. Feldhaus, Arthur Tiedke, Alfred Welker, Fred Schneider, C. Stapf, J. W. Hahn, Wm. Gruber, T. M. Hammerschmitt.

Labor Must Put on a Uniform—(From the *Washington Post*)—The labor problem comes on apace. It cannot be dodged. Congress must face it and master it. When 1,000,000 conscripted American boys are facing bullets in France, their fathers and brothers will not tolerate a condition at home that might mean the useless slaughter of the soldiers. The nation will demand that able-bodied men shall be conscripted for labor, each according to his ability and training. This labor will wear the uniform of the United States. Laboring men will be the foremost in making this demand for universal liability to industrial service, because this system will insure a square deal to labor. Under the selective draft of labor the United States government can easily build 6,000,000 tons of shipping every year, or even twice that amount.

Every day drives the hard truth nearer home. The United States must win this war. American muscle applied to American materials, directed by American brains, and sustained by American sinews of war, constitute the only available resource in this world capable of demolishing the German power. Europe cannot beat Germany. Asia cannot beat Germany. Africa cannot beat Germany. America can beat Germany, but only by organization superior to Germany's.

Kautsky Forced to Resign—The summary dismissal of the veteran Socialist, Clara Zetkin, from the editorship of the *Gleichheit*, the well known organ of the Socialist women of Germany, which is also the recognized organ of the Socialist Women's International, has now been followed by the dismissal of Karl Kautsky, one of the few surviving founders of Socialism, as editor of *Nele Zeit*, the scientific Socialist magazine, which throughout the war has criticized German autocracy and its exponents.

This is undoubtedly the reason for Kautsky's discharge, ordered by the executive committee of the Socialist party, which is commonly known as the "Scheidemann majority."

Kautsky belongs to the Independent Socialist party.

Kautsky himself comments on the action of the executive committee in an article in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, in which he says that the dismissal came so suddenly that he was not even able to say good-by to his readers. The discharge becomes formally effective from September 31, but the editor has to give up his activity on the paper at once.

"Sabotage"—The *Oakland (Cal.) World* announces that in one week thirty tons of fish were dumped into San Francisco Bay, although thousands of families would gladly have con-

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7. **Human, All Too Human.** By Friedrich Nietzsche. A study of human motives, showing the absence of "free will" and the folly of orthodox theology.

8. **Science and Revolution.** By Ernest Untermann. A history of the growth of the Evolution theory, showing how at every step it was fought by the ruling classes and welcomed by the workers.

9. **Social and Philosophical Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. The causes of belief in God and the origin of abstract ideas explained in a brilliant and convincing way.

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sumed the fish if prices had been dropped within reach. But to have reduced prices would have endangered the extremely large profits of the fish trust in the future. So the fish were destroyed and the catch will probably be considerably reduced for some time to come in order to stabilize the market. It is all very well to urge the people of the nation to conserve food, fuel, etc., but something ought to be done speedily to send the anarchistic destroyers to a place where dogs won't bite them.

The U. S. Government Should Go Slow in deciding to assist the Kerensky party against the Bolshevik party in Russia. Better wait and allow the Russian people to decide which they want. If the U. S. government really believes in "democracy" of a kind worth while, we must not attempt to dictate Russia's internal policy. Besides, a really successful working class revolution in Russia would weaken German imperialism at home more than anything the United States can do. And working class government for all nations lies straight ahead. No man, no party, no nation, can long hold back the resistless, oncoming tide of real industrial and political democracy. Let us rather clear the way for it and avoid unnecessary difficulty and suffering.—*Real Democracy*.

I. W. W. Fight Forest Fires—Missoula, Mont.—Chief Forester Silcox says that every fire-fighting gang working out of Missoula this summer had an I. W. W. foreman, and was composed largely of I. W. W. members. He never had such an efficient bunch. The I. W. W. leaders sent out orders that the preservation of the forests was of chief concern, and that wherever the forests and harvest fires occurred, all the members were to get busy immediately in fighting them.—*Truth*.

The Seattle Daily Call, whose application for second class entry has been hanging fire these last ninety-five days, is a great little daily socialist rebel from the great and growing west. While only a kid in the journalistic age, it is a great and fine and dandy young huskie. It says it is printed to carry the truth to the people, and it sure does. It has a habit of calling spades spades, and not garden implements. It costs 50 cents a month. Slip 'em a four-bit piece. You need the paper and as they are a Socialist paper we'll gamble they need the money.—*Truth*.

Labor, Capital and Government—In his recent address before the American Federation of Labor convention in Buffalo, President Wilson said: "I believe that I am speaking of my own experience not only, but of the experience of others, when I say that labor is reasonable in larger number of cases than the capitalists." He indicated that he would speak further on this subject at a future time when addressing "the capitalists" themselves. The President's statement is of great impor-

tance at this critical time. Employers of labor everywhere should study it in all its aspects.

On the day following the President's address the chief executive of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, spoke to an audience of Buffalo business men at the Great Buffalo Club, and was roundly applauded when he said: "No bolsheviki and no anarchy would exist in Russia today if that country had an organization like the American Federation of Labor." Here is another statement that should be considered by employers of labor in the light of experience.

A day or two later the National Founders' Association, at its annual convention in New York City, took a positive stand against what in a telegram to President Wilson it designated as "the autocracy of labor." This association represents approximately 600 manufacturers of iron, steel and brass, employing more than 500,000 men in open shops. Its telegram to the president challenged the methods of Secretary of Labor Wilson, who was declared to be operating through a labor registration bureau "a surreptitious scheme to unionize all industry." The association says further: "To gain that measure of efficiency requisite for the proper equipment of our army and navy we stand squarely on the platform that the processes of labor shall not be interfered with and trust employees thruout the various industries of the nation may quickly be brought to a realization of the fact that autocracy of labor is fully as disturbing to the welfare of mankind as is the autocracy of government." Rightly or wrongly, organized labor interprets these words as a threat. Yet surely this is the worst of all possible times for employers and workers to engage in disputes. All alike should show a spirit of cooperation in the interests of their imperiled country.

It is apparent that organized labor and organized employers are both putting pressure on the national government. The chief spokesman of that government goes so far as to say that "labor is reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists." The president should make known the facts and should make good his promise to discuss the subject before employers of labor.

There are, speaking broadly, two groups of employers in this country. One is typified in the National Founders' Association, which is militantly active for the open shop. The other group of employers includes men like

Richard Aishton and Thurston Ballard, one a railroad executive and the other a manufacturer, who represented the employers on the federal industrial relations commission. In their separate report for the commission they said that personally if they were wage earners they would be members of labor unions, and they favored recognition of and negotiation with the unions.

The present crisis in the tripartite relations of labor, capital and government must necessarily result in a wide public discussion of the views and methods of the two classes of employers, as well as of the claims of organized labor. But at the outset the public cannot afford to lose sight of the great overshadowing need—industrial peace and the highest possible degree of production in essential industries. Through these and not otherwise, can the war be won.—*Chicago Daily News* editorial.

For Free Press—The A. F. of L. convention at Buffalo, November 19, endorsed that part of its executive council's report which demands that the rights of a free press and free speech shall be jealously guarded during the war period.

"The only environment in which free institutions can be maintained," says the report, "is generated through freedom of expression and press. Untrammelled discussion is the only safe preliminary to determination of policy. A minority group, suffering from injustice, can more readily secure redress when freedom of speech exists. The minority cause of today becomes the accepted method of tomorrow. Repression never removed any injustice or corrected an evil.

"The public press is the public forum. It creates and directs public opinion. Publicity calculated to mislead can be counteracted by increased publicity for truth." Let those who speak or write treasonable thoughts be tried by the courts. "Freedom must not be confused with license."

The committee which reported on this executive council view of the convention today said, after endorsing these views: "We are in accord with these fundamental principles, and that especially during the war period there should be no restriction of free speech and a free press, and that those who abuse and defile these cornerstones of democracy should be punished by due process of law and a trial by jury."



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Professor Loria shows in detail how economic causes thru historical times alternately made for peace and for war between nations, and how the forces making for peace have increased so as to make wars less frequent than formerly. A supplementary chapter, written since the beginning of the Great War, analyzes its economic causes in detail, and the author closes by showing that the only permanent remedy for war is the transfer of power from the war lords and magnates to the workers.

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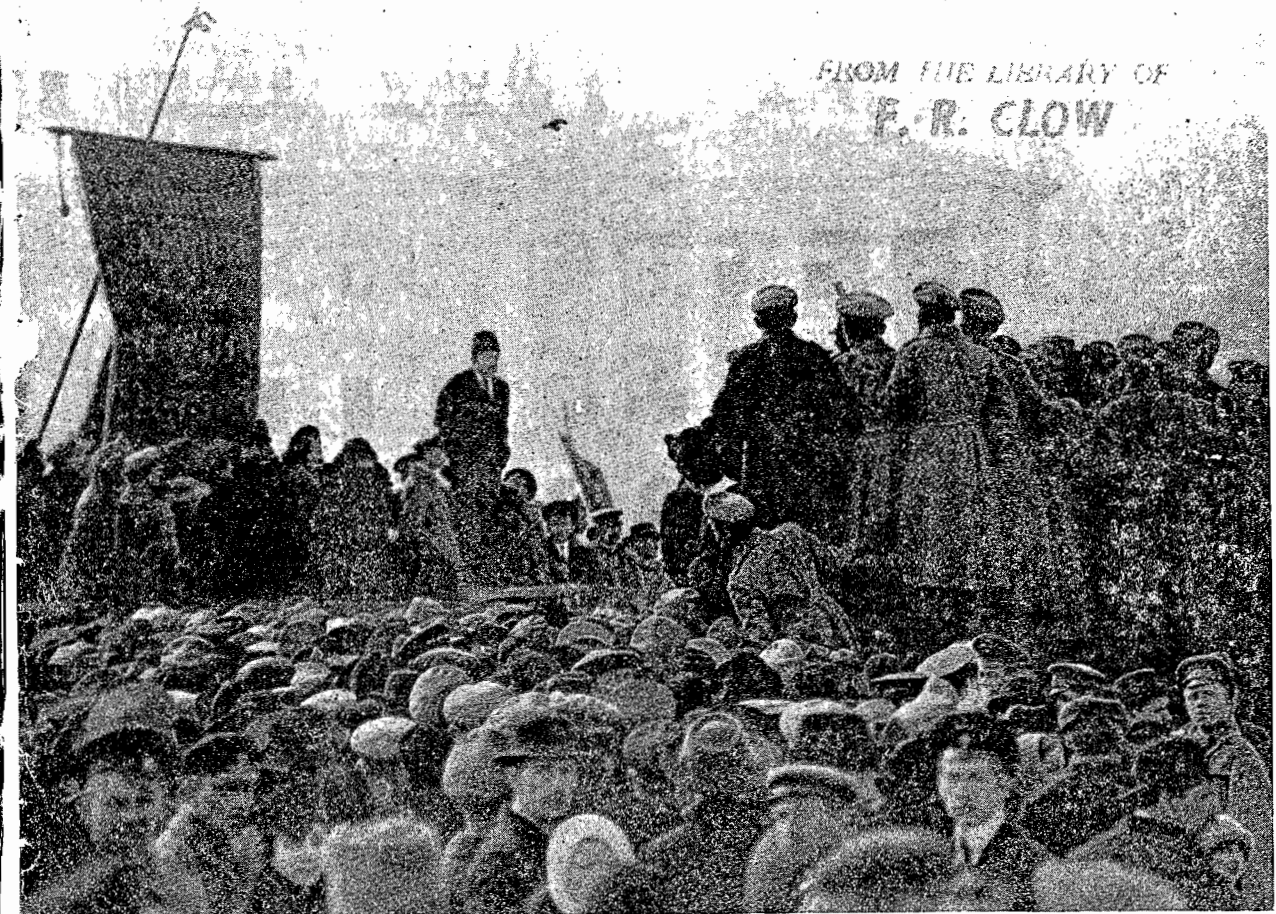
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Is the only man in the world who obtained a definite statement of peace terms from the military-mad autocrats of Prussia.

History will perhaps place the name of Trotzky alongside that of Woodrow Wilson.

This Book proves what the leading English and French publications now acknowledge, what our own editors now realize—that TROTZKY wants WORLD PEACE, not a separate peace—that the BOLSHEVIKI are ANTI-PRUSSIAN—ANTI-HOHENZOLLERN—ANTI-HAPSBURG. Trotzky tells in this book how he would make the world SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY. He says, "Russian freedom must not be had at the expense of the freedom of Belgium or France." "Every Nationality must have the right to determine its own destiny."

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The **INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW**

Vol. XVIII

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No. 8

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Mary E. Marcy, William E. Bohn, Leslie H. Marcy, Frank Bohn,
William D. Haywood, Phillips Russell

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—Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

MASS MEETING OF WORKERS IN PETROGRAD

The banners are inscribed with Bolshevik slogans—No Indemnities, No Annexations, No Secret Treaties.



—Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
FIRST PHOTO OF BOLSHEVIKI GENERAL STAFF
At Headquarters in Petrograd.

The Bolsheviks and World Peace

By LEON TROTZKY

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Comrade Trotsky was preparing an article for *The Review* when the revolution came in Russia, compelling him to drop everything and return. *Review* readers will appreciate our disappointment and later on our joy in reading the inspiring record our comrade has made during the past few months. Every revolutionary socialist in America will want to read and reread his new book entitled "The Bolsheviks and World Peace." We herewith reproduce the preface by special permission of the publishers, Messrs. Boni & Liveright, New York City.

THE forces of production which capitalism has evolved have outgrown the limits of nation and state. The national state, the present political form, is too narrow for the exploitation of these productive forces. The natural tendency of our economic system, therefore, is to seek to break through the state boundaries. The whole

globe, the land and the sea, the surface as well as the interior, has become one economic workshop, the different parts of which are inseparably connected with each other.

This work was accomplished by capitalism. But in accomplishing it the capitalist states were led to struggle for the subjection of the world-embracing economic system to the profit interests of the bourgeoisie of each country.

What the politics of imperialism has demonstrated more than anything else is that the old national state that was created in the revolutions and the wars of 1789-1815, 1848-1859, 1864-1866 and 1870 has outlived itself, and is now an intolerable hindrance to economic development.

Forces of Production in Revolt

The present war is at bottom a revolt of the forces of production against the political form of nation and state. It means the collapse of the national state as an independent economic unit.

The nation must continue to exist as a cultural, ideologic and psychological fact, but its economic foundation has been pulled from under its feet.

All talk of the present bloody clash being a work of national defense is either hypocrisy or blindness. On the contrary, the real, objective significance of the war is the breakdown of the present national economic centers and the substitution of a world economy in its stead.

But the way the governments propose to solve this problem of imperialism is not through the intelligent, organized co-operation of all of humanity's producers, but through the exploitation of the world's economic system by the capitalist class of the victorious country; which country is by this war to be transformed from a great power into the world power.

Breakdown of an Economic System

The war proclaims the downfall of the national state. Yet at the same time it proclaims the downfall of the capitalist system of economy.

By means of the national state capitalism has revolutionized the whole economic system of the world. It has divided the whole earth among the oligarchies of the great powers, around which were grouped the satellites, the small nations,

which lived off the rivalry between the great ones.

The future development of world economy on the capitalistic basis means a ceaseless struggle for new and ever new fields of capitalist exploitation, which must be obtained from one and the same source, the earth. The economic rivalry under the banner of militarism in accompanied by robbery and destruction which violate the elementary principles of human economy.

World production revolts not only against the confusion produced by national and state divisions, but also against the capitalist economic organization, which has now turned into barbarous disorganization and chaos.

The war of 1914 is the most colossal breakdown in history of an economic system destroyed by its own inherent contradictions.

All the historical forces whose task it has been to guide the bourgeois society, to speak in its name and to exploit it, have declared their historical bankruptcy by the war. They defended capitalism as a system of human civilization, and the catastrophe born out of that system is primarily their catastrophe.

Coming Reaction of the Masses

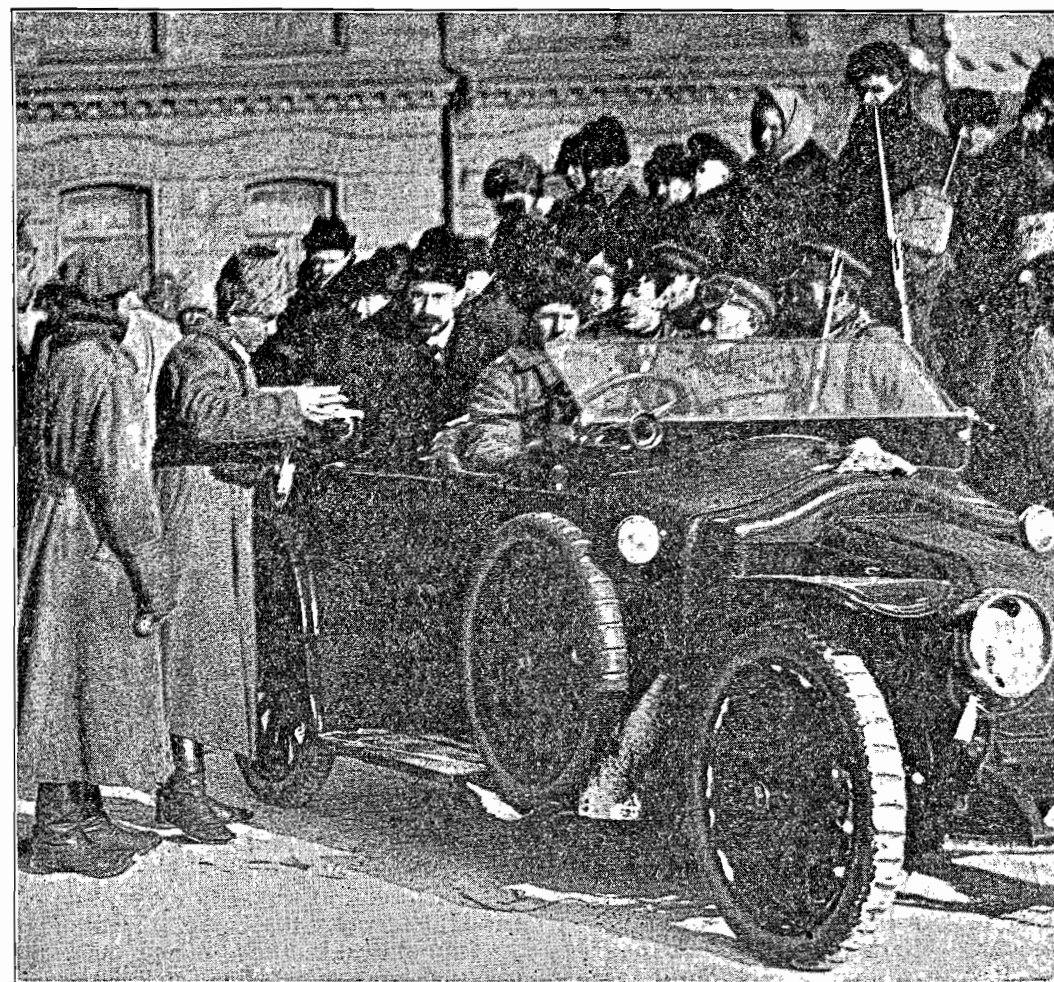
The first wave of events raised the national governments and armies to unprecedented heights never attained before. For the moment the nations rallied around them. But the more terrible will be the crash of the governments when the people, defended by the thunder of the cannon, realize the meaning of the events now taking place in all their truth and frightfulness.

The revolutionary reaction of the masses will be all the more powerful the more prodigious the cataclysm which history is now bringing upon them.

Capitalism has created the material conditions of a new socialist economic system. Imperialism has led the capitalist nations into historic chaos. The war of 1914 shows the way out of this chaos by violently urging the proletariat on to the path of revolution.

Imperialism Lighted the Blaze

For the revolutionary backward countries of Europe the war brings to the



TROTSKY IN AUTO

—Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

This photo, which just reached this country, was taken as Trotsky was leaving a Council meeting and shows him receiving reports of officers.

fore problems of a far more recent historic origin—problems of democracy and national unity. This is in a large measure the case with the peoples of Russia, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan peninsula. But these historically belated questions, which were bequeathed to the present epoch as a heritage from the past, do not alter the fundamental character of the events.

It is not the national aspirations of the Serbs, Poles, Roumanians or Finns that have mobilized 25,000,000 soldiers and placed them in the battle fields, but the imperialistic interests of the bourgeoisie of the great powers. It is imperialism that has upset completely the European status quo, maintained for forty-five years, and raised again the old questions

which the bourgeois revolution proved itself powerless to solve.

Yet in the present epoch it is quite impossible to treat these questions in and by themselves. They are utterly devoid of an independent character. The creation of normal relations of national life and economic development on the Balkan peninsula is unthinkable if czarism and Austria-Hungary are preserved.

Struggle of Germany and England

Czarism is now the indispensable military reservoir for the financial imperialism of France and the conservative colonial power of England. Austria-Hungary is the mainstay of Germany's imperialism. Issuing from the private family clashes between the national

Serbian terrorists and the Hapsburg political police, the war very quickly revealed its true fundamental character—a struggle of life and death between Germany and England.

While the simpletons and hypocrites prate of the defense of national freedom and independence, the German-English war is really being waged for the freedom of the imperialistic exploitation of the peoples of India and Egypt on the one hand and for the imperialistic division of the peoples of the earth on the other.

Germany began its capitalistic development on a national basis with the destruction of the continental hegemony of France in the year 1870-1871. Now that the development of German industry on a national foundation has transformed Germany into the first capitalistic power of the world, she finds herself colliding with the hegemony of England in her further course of development.

Germany Seeks to Rule Europe

The complete and unlimited domination of the European continent seems to Germany the indispensable prerequisite of the overthrow of her world enemy. The first thing, therefore, that imperialistic Germany writes in her program is the creation of a middle European league of nations. Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan peninsula and Turkey, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Italy, and if possible, enfeebled France and Spain and Portugal, are to make one economic and military whole, a Great Germany under the hegemony of the present German state.

This program, which has been thoroughly elaborated by the economists, political students, jurists and diplomats of German imperialism and translated into reality by its strategists, is the most striking proof and most eloquent expression of the fact that capitalism has expanded beyond the limits of the national state and feels intolerably cramped within its boundaries. The national great power must go and in its place must step the imperialistic world power.

For a United States of the World

In these historical circumstances the working class, the proletariat, can have no interest in defending the outlived and

antiquated national "fatherland," which has become the main obstacle to economic development. The task of the proletariat is to create a far more powerful fatherland, with far greater power of resistance—the republican United States of Europe as the foundation of the United States of the World.

The only way in which the proletariat can meet the imperialistic perplexity of capitalism is by opposing to it as a practical program of the day the socialist organization of world economy.

War is the method by which capitalism, at the climax of its development, seeks to solve its insoluble contradictions. To this method the proletariat must oppose its own method, the method of the social revolution.

Problems Solved by Revolution

The Balkan question and the question of the overthrow of czarism, propounded to us by the Europe of yesterday, can be solved only in a revolutionary way, in connection with the problem of the united Europe of tomorrow. The immediate, urgent task of the Russian social democracy, to which the author belongs, is the fight against czarism.

What czarism primarily seeks in Austria-Hungary and the Balkans is a market for its political methods of plunder, robbery and acts of violence. The Russian bourgeoisie all the way up to its radical intellectuals has become completely demoralized by the tremendous growth of industry in the last five years, and it has entered into a bloody league with the dynasty, which had to secure to the impatient Russian capitalists their part of the world's booty by new land robberies.

While czarism stormed and devastated Galicia and deprived it even of the rags and tatters of liberty granted to it by the Hapsburgs, while it dismembered unhappy Persia and from the corner of the Bosphorus strove to throw the noose around the neck of the Balkan peoples, it left to the liberalism which it despised the task of concealing its robbery by sickening declamations over the defense of Belgium and France.

Must Stand by Belgium and France

The year 1914 spells the complete bankruptcy of Russian liberalism and makes

the Russian proletariat the sole champion of the war of liberation. It makes the Russian revolution definitely an integral part of the social revolution of the European proletariat.

In our war against czarism, in which we have never known a "national" truce, we have never looked for help from Hapsburg or Hohenzollern militarism, and we are not looking for it now.

We have preserved a sufficiently clear revolutionary vision to know that the idea of destroying czarism was utterly repugnant to German imperialism. Czarism has been its best ally on the eastern border. It is united to it by close ties of social structure and historical aims. Yet even if it were otherwise, even if it could be assumed that, in obedience to the logic of military operations, it would deal a destructive blow to czarism, in defiance of the logic of its own political interests—even in such a highly improbable case we should refuse to regard the Hohenzollerns not only as an objective but as a subjective ally.

The fate of the Russian revolution is so inseparably bound up with the fate of European socialism, and we Russian socialists stand so firmly on the ground of internationalism that we cannot, we must not for a moment entertain the idea of purchasing the doubtful liberation of Russia by the certain destruction of the liberty of Belgium and France, and—what is more important still—thereby inoculating the German and Austrian proletariat with the virus of imperialism.

Imperialism Cannot Liberate.

We are united by many ties to the German social democracy. We have all gone through the German socialist school and learned lessons from its successes as well as from its failures. The German social democracy was to us not alone a party of the international. It was the party par excellence.

We have always preserved and fortified the fraternal bond that united us with the Austrian social democracy. On the other hand, we have always taken pride in the fact that we have made our modest contribution toward winning suffrage in Austria and arousing revolutionary tendencies in the German working class. It costs more than one drop

of blood to do it. We have unhesitatingly accepted moral and material support from our older brother who fought for the same ends as we on the other side of our western border.

Yet it is just because of this respect for the past, and still more out of respect for the future, which ought to unite the working class of Russia with the working classes of Germany and Austria, that we indignantly reject the "liberating" aid which German imperialism offers us in a Krupp munition box, with the blessing, alas! of German socialism. And we hope that the indignant protest of Russian socialism will be loud enough to be heard in Berlin and in Vienna.

Retains Faith in Socialism

The collapse of the second international is a tragic fact, and it were blindness or cowardice to close one's eyes to it.

The position taken by the French and by the larger part of English socialism is as much a part of this breakdown as the position of the German and Austrian social democracy. If the present work addresses itself chiefly to the German social democracy it is only because the German party was the strongest, most influential, and in principle the most basic member of the socialist world. Its historic capitulation reveals most clearly the causes of the downfall of the second international.

At first glance it may appear that the social revolutionary prospects of the future are wholly deceptive. The insolvency of the old socialist parties has become catastrophically apparent. Why should we have faith in the future of the socialist movement? Such skepticism, though natural, nevertheless leads to quite an erroneous conclusion. It leaves out of account the good will of history, just as we have often been too prone to ignore its ill will, which has now so cruelly shown itself in the fate that has overcome the international.

Pulling Down Nationalism

The present war signalizes the collapse of the national states. The socialist parties of the epoch now concluded were national parties. They had become ingrained in the national states with all the different branches of their organizations,

with all their activities and with their psychology.

In the face of the solemn declarations at their congresses they rose to the defense of the conservative state, when imperialism, grown big on the national soil, began to demolish the antiquated national barriers. And in their historic crash the national states have pulled down with them the national socialist parties also.

It is not socialism that has gone down, but its temporary historical external form. The revolutionary idea begins its life anew as it casts off its old rigid shell. This shell is made up of living human beings, of an entire generation of socialists that has become fossilized in self-abnegating work of agitation and organization through a period of several decades of political reaction, and has fallen into

the habits and views of national opportunism or possibilism.

All efforts to save the second international on the old basis, by personal diplomatic methods and mutual concessions, are quite hopeless. The old mole of history is now digging its passageways all too well and none has the power to stop him.

Preparing for the Revolution

As the national states have become a hindrance to the development of the forces of production, so the old socialist parties have become the main hindrance to the revolutionary movement of the working class.

It was necessary that they should demonstrate to the full their extreme backwardness, that they should discredit their utterly inadequate and narrow methods, and bring the shame and horror of national discord upon the proletariat, in order that the working class might emancipate itself, through these fearful disillusionments, from the prejudices and slavish habits of the period of preparation, and become at last that which the voice of history is now calling it to be—the revolutionary class fighting for power.

The second international has not lived in vain. It has accomplished a huge cultural work. There has been nothing like it in history before. It has educated and assembled the oppressed classes. The proletariat does not now need to begin at the beginning. It enters on the new road not with empty hands. The past epoch has bequeathed to it a rich arsenal of ideas. It has bequeathed to it the weapons of criticism. The new epoch will teach the proletariat to combine the old weapons of criticism with the new criticism of weapons.

On the Road to Final Victory

This book was written in extreme haste, under conditions far from favorable to systematic work. A large part of it is devoted to the old international which has fallen. But the entire book, from the first to the last page, was written with the idea of the new international constantly in mind, the new international which must rise up out of the present world cataclysm, the international of the last conflict and the final victory.



—Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

TIED TO POSTS

Scene at Riga where Russian soldiers shouting for peace were tied to telegraph poles by the Germans.

THE I. W. W. BOGEY

By EUGENE V. DEBS

THE morning paper I have just read contains an extended press dispatch from Washington, under screaming headlines, making the startling disclosure that a world-wide conspiracy to overthrow the existing social order has been unearthed by the secret service agents of the government. The basis of the conspiracy is reported to have been the discovery of some guns and ammunition in the hold of a Russian freighter just arrived at a Pacific port in charge of a Bolsheviki crew, from which it has been deduced that the guns must have been sent by the Russian revolutionists to the I. W. W. of the United States in pursuance of a conspiracy of the Russian reds, the Sinn Fein leaders of Ireland, and the American I. W. W.'s to overthrow all the governments of the civilized world.

This is really too much!

We are not told how the Sinn Feiners happen to get in on this universal conspiracy, but as their name, like that of the Bolsheviki and the I. W. W., has great potency as a bogey to frighten the feeble-minded, the inventors of this wonderful cock-and-bull story may well be allowed this additional license to their perfervid imagination.

Everything that happens nowadays that the ruling classes do not like and everything that does not happen that they do like is laid at the door of the I. W. W. Its name is anathema wherever capitalism wields the lash and drains the veins of its exploited victims.

It is a wonderful compliment! Is the working class wise to its significance? Unfortunately not or the leaders and moving spirits of this persecuted industrial organization would not now be in jail waiting month after month to be tried for criminal offenses charged against them which they never dreamed of committing.

I think I may claim to be fairly well informed as to the methods and tactics of the I. W. W.—with some of which I am not at all in agreement—and I have no hesitancy in branding the sweeping criminal

charges made against them since the war was declared as utterly false and malicious and without so much as a shadow of foundation in fact.

Repeatedly the sensational charge has been spread broadcast through the capitalist press that the I. W. W. were in conspiracy to blow up the mills and factories in the East, to burn the crops and destroy the orchards in the West, poison the springs and wells in the North, paralyze the cotton and rice industries in the South, and spread ruin and desolation everywhere for the profit and glory of the crazy Teuton Kaiser and his atrocious Junker plunderbund and the overthrow of democracy and freedom in the United States.

Was a more stupendous lie or a more stupid one ever hatched in a human brain?

Look at the I. W. W. and then at the government and the more than one hundred million people of the United States! Is the lie not apparent on the very face of this absurd and malicious charge? Would any but an idiot or madman ever dream of the slaughter and destruction of an entire nation by a comparative handful of its population? Would any but a fool be deceived by such glaringly self-evident lies and calumnies?

Oh, the ghastly joke of it all! And the stark tragedy, too, when one thinks of the many simple-minded people whose attitude of fierce hostility toward the I. W. W. and its leaders is determined by these inspired fabrications!

Why should the I. W. W., organized for the very purpose of destroying despotism and establishing democracy, go across seas to lend its aid to the most brutal autocracy on the face of the earth?

Ah, but the autocracy within our own borders know how to play upon the prejudice and credulity of the unthinking and turn them against the men who at the peril of their freedom and their very lives are battling for the liberation of the people!

It is from Wall Street, the money center of the American plutocracy, that the campaign of falsehood and slander against the

I. W. W. is directed; from there that the orders are issued to raid its national and state offices, jail its leaders, break up its meetings, and tar and feather and lacerate with whips and finally lynch and assassinate its speakers and organizers.

Wall Street mortally fears the I. W. W. and its growing menace to capitalist autocracy and misrule. The very name of the I. W. W. strikes terror to Wall Street's craven soul.

But Wall Street does not fear Sammy Gompers and the A. F. of L.

Every plutocrat, every profiteering pirate, every food vulture, every exploiter of labor, every robber and oppressor of the poor, every hog under a silk tile, every vampire in human form, will tell you that the A. F. of L. under Gompers is a great and patriotic organization and that the I. W. W. under Haywood is a gang of traitors in the pay of the bloody Kaiser.

Which of these, think you, Mr. Wage-Slave, is your friend and the friend of your class?

It is interesting to note that at the very time the plutocracy and its hirelings are charging the I. W. W. with treason and cramming the jails with its members they are also driving union labor out into the desert to perish under armed vigilantes as at Bisbee and Bingham, while in the same hour their supreme court outlaws picketing and legalizes and protects strike-breaking as in the cases of the union miners in West Virginia and the southwestern states.

There is one thing in this situation that is clear to every union man, to every sympathizer with the working class, and every believer in justice and fair play, and that is that the hundreds of I. W. W.'s and socialists now in jail are entitled to be fairly tried. Upon that question there can be no difference among decent men, whatever may be their attitude toward the union and its principles. The Socialist party, through its national executive committee—to its supreme credit—has taken this position and in a ringing declaration and appeal has expressed its determination that the accused I. W. W. leaders and members shall receive a fair trial and a square deal.

To this end money will be needed, all that can be raised, and as the Captain Kidd Kaiser and his pirate crew of Junkers have

not yet come across with that cargo of gold covering the purchase price of the I. W. W., it becomes the duty of every one who is with us to forthwith send his contribution to the defense of our shamelessly persecuted comrades.

This is our fight! We of the working class are all vitally interested in the outcome.

The war within the war and beyond the war in which the I. W. W. is fighting—the war of the workers of all countries against the exploiters of all countries—is our war, the war of humanity against its oppressors and despoilers, the holiest war ever waged since the race began.

Let there be no mistake. The guerilla warfare of Wall Street is not against the I. W. W. alone but against the labor movement in general except in so far as union labor suffers itself to be emasculated and crawls on its belly at the feet of its despotic masters.

A spineless and apologetic union bearing the official seal of the Civic Federation is the noblest specimen of working class patriotism in the eyes of our Wall Street rulers.

Now is the time to meet the attack; to resist the assault; to turn the guns on the real conspirators. The inevitable reaction will swiftly follow and instead of smashing the revolutionary labor movement this dastardly conspiracy will prove the making of it.

Now is the time for the fighting union men of America to stand together. The situation is the grimmest that ever confronted the working class but every such crisis bears with it the golden opportunity to the workers to strike the decisive blow and to forge ahead to a higher level of life. To take advantage of this supreme opportunity and profit by it to the limit, the workers must be united and act together like a well-disciplined army.

Solidarity must be the watchword!

As we stand upon the threshold of the year 1918 let us resolve to make it the most luminous one in the annals of proletarian achievement.

Industrial unity and political unity, the revolutionary solidarity of the working class, will give us the power to conquer capitalism and emancipate the workers of the world.

LABOR IN PRISON; AMERICA, 1917

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH

(Written in my cell, Cook County Jail, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A., December 25th, 1917, and dedicated to the workers in all lands who are undergoing captivity that, one day, the world may be set free.)

A great new light had come upon the land;
A trumpet blare that woke men's hearts to fire;
A call of stout rebellion to the horde
Of bondsmen stewing in their dismal hire.

In all the places where great wealth is won:
Down in the shadowed mine, upon the seas,
Before the whirling belt and screaming wheel,
Where millions toil that some may take their ease.

A word swept by, lighting on lips a torch,
Lifting tired hearts out of their apathy,
Swinging dead hopes to heights of budding life,—
The word of power: Solidarity!

And in the mass there moved a growing might,
A stirring of new life in giant limbs;
And sullen lips, that knew naught but a curse,
Broke into warrior songs, embattled hymns!

Legion by legion, rose this union,
Lifting from mob to order and to form.
The workers trod the path that leads to power
And hungered for the peace beyond the storm.

On their black thrones, the purple lords grew faint
With fearing, at the nearing of new day.
They yelped their vile commands; they cut the thong
And set their dripping hounds upon the prey:

*"Go sink your fangs in the throats of men!
Lash and jail and rope!—
Kill and imprison! Bind with steel
These darkling fools that grope!
And fill with dust these daring mouths
That voice the rebel hope!"*

Then was let loose a plague upon the land;
 And liberty and truth were made a shame.
 With solemn forms to cloak their coward rage
 They raped their own loud creeds in Freedom's name.

Wide were the jail doors opened; and within
 Their fastnesses, with pomp and law's display,
 They thrust some workingmen who dared to stand
 That men might look beyond a meager pay.

With mummery of courts and empty sound
 They sought to stop the rushing of a sea!
 With jails they thought to hold relentless time!
 With chains to bind the world's new destiny!

Workers! The jails are dark, the stones are hard,
 Our eager limbs are laden with iron bands.
 But what can iron and stone and darkness do
 To us—who hold the future in our hands?

Lo, there's a flame within each prison cell!
 A passion melts the iron bars away!
 A voice is with us in our steely night:
 Salute, O captives, Labor's rising day!

*The Word is said; the Time is nigh.—
 Stand fast, O rebel clan!—
 For, what are gallows or jails to us
 Upbuilders of the Plan?
 You cannot stay the Debtor's Day,—
 The Heritage of Man!*

From the Bolsheviks

TO THE REVIEW

The following letter received from Comrade Niebut, Bolshevik representative to the Constitutional Assembly from the Vladivostock District, is the first and only authentic report of the recent events and the working class revolution in Russia—the most glorious event in all human history. The letter was sent to The Review under date of November 27th.

I DO not know whether you received any of my former letters, therefore I will describe to you, in brief, the state of affairs at the present time, and the development of the Revolution since I have taken a lively part in it.

In March it was a purely bourgeois revolution. The workers went out in general strikes at Petrograd, flooded the streets in great demonstrations. The soldiers took the side of the workingmen and the Czar lost his throne. Clever representatives of our rich and well-to-do classes, seeing the Czar could not be saved, became at once revolutionaries and grasped the reins of government in their hands.

From March to October was a period when Russian Imperialism ruled the country in close contact with Imperialists of the allied countries. You may wonder how it was possible that workingmen and peasants who had destroyed Czarism, would allow themselves to be ruled by their enemies—imperialists like Milukoff, Gutschkoff and Konowaloff.

How was it that such powerful organizations (mass organizations best suited for mass action) like the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegate Councils submitted to the rule of the Imperialists? Because in Russia we had opportunists and degenerates and Scheidemans of our own. All those—Tscheidze, Tzeretelli, Plechanoff—did all in their power to help the class of exploiters.

These compromisers and parliamentary idiots are but copies of Bergers, Spargos and Hillquits, only the copies are more gifted, are scholars so that their American originals may with more truth be called bad copies of our Russian Opportunists (yellows).

Our yellows, after April 21st, when the workers and soldiers in Petrograd went out on the streets in great masses and demanded the resignation of the imperialist

cabinet, helped out the embarrassed bourgeoisie by a coalition cabinet composed of capitalists and some "socialists." This cabinet tried to carry out the program of the imperialists, declaring war to a finish and pacifying the people by capital punishment (which was abolished in March and restored by the "socialist" ministers in June) they levied the taxes on the poor, etc., etc. Nothing was done to help the poor or to establish *peace without annexations or contributions*.

But the Reds (the Internationalists of the Left Wing) led by Lenine, Trotzky, Kollantay and others, put up a fight against the Opportunists—the traitors to the working people. They demanded that the property rights to the land be abolished and the land given over to the peasants *free*. They demanded control of the workers over industry (over production and distribution) as the I. W. W. and real socialists demand these things in America.

They demanded the confiscation of all war-profits. In short, they demanded that the country be run by the workers and peasants for the workers and peasants. They demanded an immediate peace and an armistice on *all* fronts and that the secret diplomatic papers regarding the war be published at once.

They organized the people for mass action and the masses responded in July. But at that time the capitalists and the yellows succeeded in suppressing the movement. Thousands of Bolsheviks (Left Wing Socialists) were thrown in jail; hundreds were slain by the mobs of well-to-do ruffians and by the court martial law. But this was the last inning of the imperialists, and their lackeys, the yellow Socialists. The peasants still demanded the land and the workers—the control of industry. Still the class struggle was going on.

Then there came the Korniloff affair.

This general conspired with Kerensky to crush the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils. The Korniloff conspiracy was exposed. From then the influence of the Bolshevik increased rapidly.

As for myself, in Vladivostock, where before the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council was under the influence of the Opportunists and the pro-war Socialists, I was recently made chairman of the Vladivostock Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, which post I still hold.

All this brought to an abrupt end the short period of bourgeois rule and the second revolution occurred on October 26th. By armed force the regular soldiers and the "Red Guard" of workingmen, for at the present time all workers in Russia are armed and compose the so-called "Red Guard"—the government of that creature, Kerensky, and the capitalist class was overthrown without the spilling of a drop of blood and the government of workers, peasants and soldiers was established.

This government is composed of and responsible to the Central Committee of all the Councils of Workmen's Soldiers' and Peasants' delegates. It is called the "Council of People's Commissars" (The Soviet.) The Chairman of this Council is our old, beloved Lenine, a man of iron will and clear head, who will never give quarter to the classes in power. Here is what he says about the new revolution:

"This is the beginning of the social revolution. The end of capitalism has come. Workers of the World, unite! The Russian Revolution will set fire to all the world. No slackers! Fight to the end—till Socialism is established!"

The first decrees of the new government are:

On the land:

1. Private ownership of land abolished forever.

On the Press:

2. All printing establishments made a monopoly of the nation.

On Peace:

3. Immediate peace on ALL FRONTS. Rights of Nations:

4. Every nation to be free to establish the form of government it desires and to amalgamate with whom it wishes.

5. Control of workers over industry.

6. Eight hour law; Old Age and Sick Law pensions from the State.

7. Confiscation from the rich of warm clothing for soldiers in the trenches.

These are only a few of our aims. Perhaps the last one shows you how the new government intends to deal with poor—and rich—people.

Of course the Yellows are making a howl. They would still see the worker hauling coal in the cold dressed in rags and the land barons hoarding rich furs and sitting in palaces without labor. The yellows act like scoundrels; but they are in the position of the general without an army. The entire army, all the workers and peasants are on the side of the new government.

The Opportunist socialists united with the capitalists and tried to cause an armed uprising in Petrograd and in Moscow. But they were suppressed easily and quickly. Kerensky is in hiding somewhere. In every city the boss of the situation and the supreme power is the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

At present a parley is being held between Russia and Germany with the object of establishing an *armistice on all fronts*. Russia does not want peace on one front alone.

Russia needs the help of the workers of all countries in her noble struggle. All the imperialists of all nations are against her. We await the help of our fellow-workers in other countries. Arise, workers! The dawn of a new era has begun!

Now for the Constitutional Assembly that will soon assemble. Elections brought victory for the Bolsheviks. I was elected from the Vladivostock Province. We cast more than half the votes in this district. Soon I will write you from Petrograd and tell you what the Constitutional Assembly is doing.—From A. Niebut.

(Last month the Review printed a report of the murder of Comrade Niebut. All his friends and thousands of socialists will rejoice to learn that he is still in the good work and enjoying Russia in her new days of freedom. The former letters Comrade Niebut mentions sending the Review have never been received. We do not know where they were suppressed or by whom.)



ECONOMIC POWER

By MARY E. MARCY



WHEN we speak of Economic Power we refer to that power exercised by men or by a group of men through the *control* of the processes of production and distribution of a country. The Economic Power possessed by the men who control these processes is brought out most forcibly during a period of war when there is a great call for increased productivity in so many fields of industry. To illustrate:

The British Government discovered during the early days of the war that it was not expedient to "fix" the price of wheat in the British isles at so low a point that the land owners would use their land in raising more profitable grains; that unless the farmers were assured of as much profit on wheat as they stood to make on other grains, they would sow their land in oats, corn or rye to the detriment of the very badly needed wheat crop. In other words, the farmers or land owners possessed an enormous economic power thru the control of the sources of the wheat supply. The British Government secured the co-operation of the land-owners by yielding before the economic power exercised through control of the land.

In this country, the United States Government wisely profited by the experiences of Great Britain and guaranteed to the American farmers \$2.20 wheat for 1917 and, we believe, \$2.00 wheat for 1918, in order to win over the economic power exercised by the land-owners here.

Even the Imperial German Government, which has reduced Regulation to the fine point of regulating the regulators, has had constantly to reckon with the economic power possessed by her citizens who control the industries of Germany.

When the Food Administrator declared the price of bacon too high and "fixed" a new price 50 per cent lower than the old rate, it was speedily discovered that bacon had utterly disappeared from the markets; that the farmers were secretly engaged in the extremely profitable business of selling bacon privately to well-to-do families. In order to induce the farmers to put this necessary commodity once more upon the market, his very powerful Highness was reduced to the extremity of lifting the ban and allowing the price of bacon to jump to its former high altitude.

The newspapers reported about two years ago that when Great Britain sought to draw the blockade more tightly against Germany, the Standard Oil Company advised the British Government that unless it permitted 26 Broadway to ship oil to Germany, the Standard Oil Company would refuse to supply the British with oil. This is a very clear-cut example of the economic power of a man, or a group of men, who control the processes of production. It is sometimes in their power to defy, or to command or to control the policies of the most powerful governments that exist today.

During war time, when many things must be accomplished speedily if they are to be

done at all, the economic power of those who control production or industry, or transportation, stands forth revealed as it never does in periods of lesser national stress.

Take the coal mines for example. Of course everybody knows that the factories and the railroads, the shops and mills, as well as the people to whom coal is an actual household necessity, everybody knows that all these people and enterprises have to have coal in peace as well as in times of war. Coal is one of the everyday necessities of modern civilized life.

Now, the people who control the coal supply, very often the private owners of the coal mines, are in a position at all times to exercise an incalculable economic power over the lives of all the rest of the people. They may control the entire supply of a particular kind of coal; they may secretly, or through some legal hocus pocus, combine to raise the price we have to pay for coal. They may declare, as they have been more than once upon the very point of declaring during the past few months, that if any Government does not "fix" the price of coal high enough to insure the stockholders satisfactory dividends, they will close the mines and refuse to sell any coal at all until they can get their own price.

A single individual, traveling in Japan, whose father may have secured the coal lands as a gift from the Government a few years ago, may be able to cable instructions for the closing down of a score of coal mines if the conditions under which coal is mined and the price at which it sells, do not satisfy him. This is what we mean by Economic Power—in a nut-shell. That the coal operators have not resorted to their old time methods of more excessive hold-up is due entirely to the present war crisis and the extraordinary powers conferred upon President Wilson which might enable the Government to take over and operate the coal mines for the period of the war at least.

During peace times the men who possess economic power thru the control of the coal mines are checked in their greed for profits only by the miners who actually perform the job and produce the coal, the economic power of other capitalists and the danger that should their piracies become too onerous to the capitalist class of the country, the

Government may step in and investigate, with the nauseous threat of Government Regulation and Government Ownership hovering in the distance.

In this connection it is interesting to note that nearly all the coal, timber and other mining lands in the United States were primarily given outright to the original holders by the Government, or sold at a purely nominal figure, or were obtained by fraud, or bribery, or by both. But that is beside the point. No matter how the mine owner secured his power, or "his mine," he is able to exercise an enormous economic pressure through his control of it.

Consider the railroads. They connect the cities with the food, the fuel, the clothing, the raw materials necessary to life and to manufacture from Maine to Oregon. Without them delivering the commodities necessary to life and to production from day to day, the cities and villages would face famine. Business would be utterly at a standstill.

The handful of men, who have cheated, bribed for, or who have stolen or inherited the control of the railroads, exercise an almost unlimited economic power—checked only at all times by the economic power of the capitalist class as a whole, or the Government, which may step in to protect the interests of this class, and the economic power possessed by the railway workers either to misuse or to withhold or supply their labor power on the job.

During the past month the newspapers have been telling us something of the findings of the Government investigators in the packing industries. We learn that three or four men, controlling railway terminals, grain elevators, vast storage and packing plants, cars, locomotives, stockyard facilities, with a near-monopoly of the markets for buying and selling of stock and packing and farm products, are able to exercise at all times a stupendous economic power, whereby they have steadily raised the prices of food products at the expense of the less economically powerful capitalists, who are forced to raise the wages of their employees to meet the increased tax on living, levied (thru the control of economic power) by men like Messrs. Swift, Armour and Morris.

The lumber interests occupy a particularly strong economic position in war time, when

the Government requires lumber for ship building, for cantonments and barracks and for the manufacture of airplanes. As our hearts swell with pity over the straightened circumstances (?) of the lumber barons it is interesting to read in a *Saturday Evening Post* editorial in the issue of January 5th, 1918:

"Since 1860 the United States has deeded to private owners 54,000,000 acres of commercial timberland in the Pacific States—in effect, giving it away . . . A fortune for the asking!"

And yet, we see some of these same extremely lucky (?) lumbermen allowing the output from the camps and mills which they control to fall below the requirements of the Government needs for war purposes by refusing to yield to the demands of the lumberjacks who went out on strike for the Eight-Hour Day, for sheets on their beds and beds to sleep in.

It is true that these lumber barons would have been glad and even anxious to have the lumberjacks get out the lumber needed by the Government, if the yielding of the Eight-Hour Day and sanitary camp conditions had not meant a little lower war profits on the capital they had probably never invested. Barring Government interference, and the strong hands or the labor power of the lumberjacks, the lumber capitalists possess a great economic power thru their control of the lumber industry.

We might continue to illustrate indefinitely, but these few examples will suffice. We have tried to show you what economic power is and how it has usually been imposed upon the people of a country.

But do not imagine that the economic power of the mine owners, for instance, of the railroad magnates or the packing interests and other capitalists who exercise economic power thru the control of industry, ends here. The power they possess, or that they have *been permitted* to use, over the productive and transportation forces, are merely the beginning of the pressure they wield over and in and thru every phase of our social life. Their power and influence extend into every field of human activity and spread into a thousand ramifications.

In Montana, for example, people will tell you that "Butte is a copper town." They actually mean that the men who control the mines and the products of the mines control

the newspapers, have, secretly, most of the professional men in the city in their employ, in many instances have elected their own judges, their own municipal and state, and even, national representatives. They mean that every social institution in Butte, and to a great degree in Montana, with its national reflection, of course, is controlled, biased, influenced or *owned* by the copper interests.

A city in Wisconsin, which we shall not now name, is dominated in a similar way by the powerful lumbermen of the Badger state. Discreet municipal and state officers are elected by the lumbermen's controlled press and by lumber campaign contributions. In a particular town we know, where the lumberjacks are brought after meeting with accidents in the woods, every hospital and every physician is privately in the pay of the lumber companies. And every municipal office holder has been elected by lumber backing and by lumber coin.

We are trying to give here a faint suggestion of the ramifications of the power possessed by the men who control the industries of a nation. And now we want to take up the other side of the question. We want to consider the men who work on the jobs. We want to see whether it is true that, after all, all economic power really lies in the hands of the workers who produce things; who get out the logs, who operate the packing plants, and run the railroads, who mine the coal and the copper, and who produce and transport all necessary and useful things.

The trade unions are organized for the expressed purpose of exercising the economic power possessed by the workers thru the use of their hands or brains in operating the industries, and in running the railroads.

Everybody knows that without the labor power of the working class not one wheel would revolve, not a single train would move, nor a railroad be built, cloth would not be woven or made up into clothing; the mills would cease to hum and the factories to operate, coal and copper would cease to be mined—without the ready hands and the brains of the workers on the jobs.

And so, after all, it would seem that the commands of the industrial overlords regarding production, when they say goods shall be produced, or shall not be produced, oil delivered, coal mined, clothing made—that all these commands depend wholly

upon the will of the working class. The workers mine the coal and produce the necessary and beautiful things of life. When they fold their arms everything stops; lights go out, telephones become useless, trains stop running; the factories, mines, shops and mills lie idle when the workers withhold their labor power. The life of the world depends utterly and absolutely upon the steady labor of the working class.

In the early days of manufacture, the laborers discovered that it was impossible to improve their condition by individual appeals to their employers. They discovered that appeals to elected representatives went unheard and that all old methods of trying to improve the conditions of the workers proved utterly futile. And so the men in the industries organized into trade unions to exercise their economic power in forcing the employers of labor to concede better working conditions, shorter hours or higher wages.

And gradually, thru long and bitter fights, the workers have shortened the working hours of labor from fourteen, to twelve, and from twelve to ten, and nine, and now in many instances, to eight hours a day.

The daily newspapers claim that just before our last presidential election the railroad men, through the threat of withholding their labor power on the railroads, forced President Wilson and Congress to hurriedly pass a law giving the brotherhoods an eight-hour workday.

Sometimes laws are passed for the benefit of labor which are not obeyed by the employers. In the mines, for example, it is only on rare occasions that all the laws for safe-guarding the miners in the mines are obeyed or enforced. The mining operators hire men to mine coal or copper and those who complain of the lack of safety devices or the lack of safety systems, or who insist that the miners purchase commodities where they please or receive their pay in cash oftener than the bosses design, are merely discharged and others, who will take the jobs are put in their places.

A law was passed in 1903 or '04 providing for the eight-hour day in Colorado mines. The employers refused to obey that law and the law was not enforced by the constituted authorities. A strike of the W. F. of M. was called to enforce the law through the economic power possessed by the miners on the job.

When legal methods have failed to bring relief the workers in mine, shops and factories have again and again enforced the labor laws or have passed new labor laws, not in the statutes, by exercising their economic power on strike or on the job.

In the Northwest the lumberjacks have just passed the eight-hour day in the lumber camps by using their economic power and striking on the job. The men would work eight hours and then quit and go home. The bosses hired and fired crew after crew. And the crews went to work on many jobs and were fired from them. But group after group of the men quit after working eight hours. At last the employers decided that in order to secure men to work steadily they would have to grant the eight-hour day. The lumberjacks were only working eight hours anyway.

In spite of the steady struggle and the innumerable battles between the employers and the men who perform the work, and in spite of the steady gains made by labor, the workers have lost as many bouts as they have gained, in so far as winning their immediate ends are concerned. But the workers have seen many things; have learned many things.

They have witnessed, during the past fifty years, an unprecedented improvement in the machinery of production; they have seen automatic machinery introduced in factories and in mills that enable one man to perform the labor that formerly required ten or twenty men. In spite of increased wages for the workers and in spite of improved shop conditions, they see that the workers are exploited more intensely, because of the use of labor-saving machines, than they were in the past. They know that the share of the workers' products appropriated by the employing class is steadily increasing because of the wonderfully increased productivity of labor, thru the use of improved machinery of production.

They are beginning to find out that the old methods of trade warfare are growing more and more ineffective in the face of the growing organization of the capitalist class.

A machine is installed in a plant that eliminates the need of trade skill in the production of a certain commodity. For example, unskilled men may operate the machines and produce the same goods. And so that particular trade ceases to function in the labor world. Improved machines are

constantly displacing skilled men and putting all labor on the same unskilled and unorganized basis.

It is obviously impossible to maintain a trade union based upon a specialized skilled trade when there is no such trade to work at.

The industrial unionists are pointing out that the agreements between employers and employed, whereby the men agree to work certain hours for stipulated wages for a certain length of time, nullify or abrogate the purposes of real working class unionism, since these agreements, if they are carried out, will permit one group of workers to continue at work on the job while another group is out on strike. They claim that when one group of miners goes on strike at the expiration of an agreement and another group in the next mine goes on working, the workers are dividing their economic power (the power of carrying on, or stopping production) and breaking the strikes of their own brothers.

The Industrial Workers of the World propose that, in order to exercise their utmost economic power, it is to the interest of the workers to organize every worker in an industry into One Big Union, so that every worker shall be in a position, unhindered by any agreements, to go on strike, and stop production, when the needs of the workers shall so demand.

This organization is teaching the workers to realize and exercise their actual power. And the German Left Wing socialists are calling on the men in the mines of Germany to stop the production of coal in order to

force the militarists to accept a peace without conquest. They are begging the men on the railroads to go on strike, to fold their arms and to prevent the armies at the front from securing supplies and thus making not only possible, but necessary, a retreat of the German soldiers to the German border.

It was in Russia only a few weeks ago that we saw the workers in the industries and on the railroads refusing to work for wages and declaring that they would only continue producing commodities upon the condition that private profit cease and the mills and mines and factories be operated for the benefit of the people who ran them, and that exchange should ultimately be managed upon the basis of Labor for Labor and Service for Service.

There is no power in the world strong enough to oppose successfully the will of the organized, useful, productive working class, when it is conscious of its class interests and determined to serve them. For it is only the people who work who carry folks around, and feed them, and shelter and warm and clothe them, and take things to them. Without the hands and the brains of the workers no order, however imperial, will ever be executed.

And so the industrial unionists, the socialists and the militant trade unionists are gradually coming closer together, gradually realizing that they must organize, on the job, as industries and as a class, and thru the use of the economic power of the workers, make possible the glad day when Labor shall come at last into its own.



Speaking of the Department of Justice

By Jack Phillips

FRANK NEBEKER, special assistant to the attorney-general of the United States, was appointed last August by Attorney-General Gregory to prosecute the trial of the 106 members of the Industrial Workers of the World who are charged with seditious conspiracy.

Nebeker comes from Salt Lake City. In that city he is a member of a firm of lawyers which is reputed to have the largest mining practice in the copper country.

Nebeker has often accepted retainers from copper corporations. That is where a large part of his personal fortune and personal reputation has been made, viz., as a legal servitor of the copper companies. It is the splendid service which Nebeker has rendered to copper corporations that gives him pre-eminence, position and prestige—in the copper country. In short, then, Nebeker is strictly what may be called a "copper man" rather than a steel man or a labor lawyer or a patent attorney.

In looking over the record of the activities of the I. W. W. it will be seen that certain copper corporations of the western country were the special objects of attention from the I. W. W. in 1917. In Arizona the Phelps-Dodge corporation notably was an object of attention. This particular copper concern is known as one of the leading beneficiaries of the war. It is considered a classic instance of what is meant by a "profiteer." During the three years preceding 1914 the Phelps-Dodge corporation earned an average of \$7,000,000 a year in dividends. In the year 1916, however, this corporation earned the fat and swaggering total of \$21,000,000 in dividends.

So far as the United States government is concerned this particular corporation was a Shylock, a leech, and a bloodsucker. From the standpoint of theoretical patriotism, the kind of "patriotism" to which the Phelps-Dodge corporation directors pay lip-service, it might have been expected that they would say to the United States government, "Because men are dying for the republic and giving their life blood freely, we pledge that during the war our profits shall not

exceed the profits of the years before the war." Instead of piling up profits three times larger than in pre-war times, it might have been expected that the Phelps-Dodge patriots would at least keep their profits even with pre-war times. Yet the cold fact of their own annual reports is that where the annual profit formerly averaged \$7,000,000, this figure was tripled in 1916.

The I. W. W. knew this. It knew that the Phelps-Dodge corporation could easily double the wages of its employes and shorten the workday and abolish the rustling cards system. The I. W. W. stood out for these demands. And because the granting of these demands would have cost the Phelps-Dodge corporation a slice of its fat and swaggering annual dividend—and because the Phelps-Dodge corporation does not want the workers in its mines to have that measure of democracy which accompanies the recognition of a labor union—they took another course than that of negotiating with their employes or granting the demands. Precisely what they did is told authoritatively in the report of President Wilson's mediation commission which held public hearings in Bisbee, Arizona, Columbus, New Mexico and other cities and towns where first-hand reliable reports, not garbled by Associated Press dispatches, were available.

The answer of the Phelps-Dodge copper corporation to the I. W. W. challenge of its profiteering was the Bisbee deportation. Through the facts as recited by the President's commission, it is now clear that the industrial kaisers, the copper Hohenzollerns of Arizona, brought about thru armed force, by illegal practices, the seizure and the deportation of 1,186 workingmen of the State of Arizona. The most startling fact of all those revealed by the President's commission is this:

Of the 1,186 men deported 472 were registered under the selective draft law.

The industrial kaisers, the copper Hohenzollerns of Arizona, thru physical force tactics exactly like those employed by Germany in the deportation of Belgian work-

men, committed an act of treason more flagrant, more insolent to the United States as a nation, than any other offense in the whole category of disloyal offenses in this country since the war started.

Why wouldn't Attorney-General Gregory be rendering a service to the people of this country if he appointed lawyers, special assistants and investigators, and prosecuted the industrial kaisers, the copper Hohenzollerns of Arizona, with the same persistence and zeal as the department of justice has shown in the case of the I. W. W.?

It would be a service to the nation if Attorney-General Gregory would place on trial the directors, officers and servants of the Phelps-Dodge corporation and find out whether the average American citizen sitting on a jury believes that these "patriotic" residents of Bisbee and operators in Wall street are guilty of the act named by the President's commission as "interference with the enforcement of the selective draft law."

If the seizure by armed force of 472 young men registered under the draft law and their subsequent deportation from their home city to a desert town, with threats of death if they ever came back to their home town, if this is not "interference with the enforcement of the selective draft law," then what is?

If this is not an offense against the nation as vicious as treason or seditious conspiracy, then how does Attorney-General Gregory define treason and seditious conspiracy?

How interesting it would be if there were two trials running parallel, in one court the mutineers, the I. W. W., and in another court the profiteers, the Phelps-Dodge corporation hirelings!

What a certainty then that people would say, "Attorney General Gregory gave both sides a chance in court to prove their innocence."

How much more interesting it would be if both profiteers and mutineers were on trial at the same time instead of the mutineers alone on trial!

As we look things over we wonder whether Frank Nebeker, the copper corporation lawyer from Salt Lake City, believes he is serving the people of the United States first of all and there is no direct money profit to accrue to the copper corporations of the copper country as a result of making war on the I. W. W.

Does Nebeker think he can get by with this and persuade the people of the United States and the liberals of the Wilson administration that his prosecution of the I. W. W. is not of direct monetary advantage to the copper corporations of the western states, where Nebeker's law firm has "the largest mining practice"?

Is Nebeker aware that Justice Brandeis of the United States supreme court has written and expounded a theory that the "industrial autocracy" of this nation overrides and controls the political government of the nation to an extent that threatens the very existence of the republic?

Does Nebeker know that President Wilson's book, "The New Freedom" is filled with protest against backroom agreements, surreptitious understandings that defeat justice and workingmen while the beneficiaries of special privilege go free, does Nebeker know that the question will rise and rise big and portentous?

Why does the department of justice throw the whole force of its weight against the I. W. W. and the copper miners of the west, while there is not a whisper of complaint or criticism against the multi-millionaires whose profit sheets in a single instance show a tripling of profits during war?

Does Nebeker know that this is a period of history making in which issues rise to portentous size in a day or an hour—and that the working class of the United States is strong enough at this time to insist that the trial of the I. W. W. shall be a fair and a just trial, shall be in accord with the letter and spirit of the traditions of fair play associated with Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson and the best soul of this nation?



E. F. DOREE



L. S. CHUMLEY



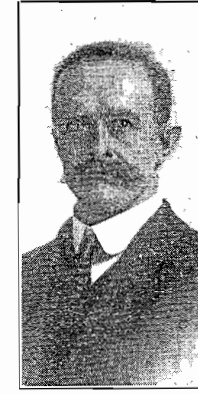
J. W. WILSON



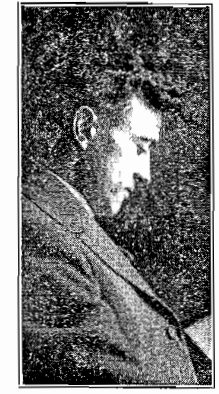
J. J. FARLEY



J. A. LAW



C. E. PAYNE



FRED HARDY

The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W.

THE conspiracy of the Owners of American Industry to put the One Big Union out of business by legal procedure will come to a showdown during the coming I. W. W. trials in Chicago, about the 25th of February.

It may be the greatest labor trial in the history of these United States, resulting in the conviction of the 106 workers, or the trial itself may turn into an indictment of the profit system, which will shake the thrones of the fat copper and lumber profiteers. For as Prof. Roger W. Babson points out in the Magazine of Wall Street: "There are two wars in progress today. One is between nations and the other is between classes."

At the present time, over one thousand members of the I. W. W. are in jails across country, but there are away over one hundred thousand members on the outside. The faster they jail them the faster they grow. Tomorrow there will be more of them than today. There will never be enough jails to go around!

The seven members of the General Defense Committee tackled a tough job when they took charge two months ago. All organizers and secretaries had been thrown into jail along with writers and editors; papers were suppressed and books, records and mailing lists seized; offices were closed after the confiscation of everything but the wall paper. Halls were raided; members mobbed. All in the name of the Law. They said the O. B. U. was crushed.

Confusion worse confounded! Could

the I. W. W. come back? Within two weeks the organization was back on the job stronger than ever. Doree, as Secretary-treasurer; Chumley, in charge of Publicity; Wilson, as Secretary of Defense Committee; Farley, on local conditions; Law, rounding up formation of defense, Payne took on the work of the Bulletin, while Hardy handled the Recruiting Unions.

Workers in hundreds of lumber and mining camps spontaneously came together and organized local defense committees. In all the large cities working men and women were likewise organizing themselves. From these grew branch General Defense Committees covering whole states, which were connected up with the General Defense Committee in Chicago. The problem was to standardize the work of the Defense.

The General Defense Committee had a right to assume that the prosecution would not interfere with legitimate defense work as all fair minded men and women agree that the 106 men should be given a fair trial.

However, on December 17th, the Department of Justice again raided the general office and tied up all Defense work for eleven days. On the day following practically all literature was seized, including subscription lists.

On December 20th, Federal officers looted the Defense Committee Headquarters in Seattle. Several active Defense workers were arrested.

On December 22nd, the I. W. W. hall was closed in Sacramento and twenty-four

members arrested, and on January 7th. word came from Frisco that \$1,400 in the Defense treasury was being "held" by Federals.

These facts are clear proof that any means will be used to handicap the work of the Defense. The majesty of the Law has been used to intimidate printers and paper dealers who had formerly been glad to get I. W. W. business. In fact, the Defense Committee has been handicapped in a hundred spiteful, petty, vindictive ways.

The editor of the Public hit the bull's eye when he wrote:

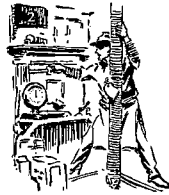
"Professional detectives and the well-meaning assistant prosecutors of the Department of Justice should not be given a free hand in handling the I. W. W. situation. There is evidence that they are as ignorant of American sociology as were the advisers of Louis XVI of French sociology. And they are aided and abetted in their ignorance by an equally ignorant press, so that nothing but approving comment follows the most stupid and dangerous tactics. The situation in this country with respect to unskilled and unorganized labor is full of dynamite. Every trade union leader knows it. The president knows it. It is the dynamite engendered by the existence of a large class conscious of injustice, burning with resentment, and wholly without organization thru which to express itself. The I. W. W. does not represent it in any authorized way. But it comes nearer being its spokesman than any other organization."

Socialists Demand Fair Trial for Indicted I. W. W.—In a declaration adopted by its National Executive Committee the Socialist Party calls for a fair and unprejudiced trial for the indicted

members of the Industrial Workers of the World. The demand says:

"The Socialist Party repeats its declaration of support of all economic organizations of the working class and declares the lynching, deportation, prosecution and persecution of the Industrial Workers of the World is an attack upon every toiler in America, and we now call attention to the fact that the charges of incendiarism, the burning of crops and forests and of vicious destruction of property, made by the public press against the I. W. W., have been proven pure fabrications when put to legal test.

"The Socialist Party has always extended its aid, material and moral, to organized labor wherever and whenever it has been attacked by the capitalist class, and this without reference to form of organization or special policies; therefore we pledge our support to the Industrial Workers of the World now facing trial in Chicago and elsewhere, and demand for them a fair and unprejudiced trial and urge our members to use every effort to assist the Industrial Workers of the World by familiarizing the public with the real facts, to overcome the falsehoods and misinformation with which the capitalist press has poisoned and prejudiced the public mind and judgment against these workers, who are now singled out for destruction, just as other labor organizations and leaders have been singled out for destruction by the same capitalist forces in the past."



What Do the Workers Work For?

By AUSTIN LEWIS



SAYS the London "Times," according to a quotation in one of the pamphlets of the National Guilds League, "the miners regard the mining industry as one not to make profits but to make a living for themselves." The matter was never more plainly put and yet the "Times" is indignant. For that is precisely how the miners are beginning to regard the matter, and, for the matter of that, how the working people are everywhere showing a tendency to regard it. It looks very simple and, as it is put, very reasonable, in spite of the indignation of the leading capitalist paper, and yet simple as it is, it challenges the whole of the modern system and the theoretical basis on which it rests.

If one had said that the Southern slaves were starting to look upon the plantations on which they worked as primarily supplying the means of livelihood for themselves and not as essentially the property of the planter, the horror which would have thereupon taken hold of the editors of Richmond and Charleston can be easily imagined. They would have seen in their mind's eye one of those servile uprisings which horrified and shook the very foundations of old Rome.

And to-day in the present industrial system the effect must be much the same. For the notion that the worker is not simply a moving piece of hired mechanism, which runs down every night to be renewed every morning, and exists simply as a means for making profits, is one that upsets the modern theory of industry. And this rests in the first place upon the theory that labor power is a commodity.

A commodity is something which is sold and transferred. When the transfer is made a commodity no longer belongs to the party who sells; it belongs to the purchaser. So with the ability to work with which the worker parts by his sale thereof. He no longer controls his labor power. It has passed out of his possession and is at the service of the employer who has purchased the commodity, the labor-power. Henceforth that labor power must be directed as the boss sees fit. It may be employed in any sort of enterprise, even an enterprise which is not only socially valueless but which may be even socially harmful. It matters not; the employee has sold his right to criticize the product when he sold his labor power. Cheating and adulteration, chicanery of all the diverse kinds with which the essentially rotten system of today have made us universally familiar, are carried out by the labor power of working people who profit not thereby but who are compelled to participate therein because they have parted with the commodity labor power which is the only commodity they have and by which they, having sold it, must get their living.

The laborer is then part of the machinery of production. That is the essential view of the most modern of the employers. Even that view is an improvement of the older view of a few years ago when the laborer was regarded not even as an asset but as an expense, as a debit and not as a credit. But the newer school of the reforming capitalists have gone no farther than to regard the worker as a part of the machinery and all their welfare schemes are based on that

view of him. Rowntree, the English philanthropic capitalist, who is the author of social studies of unquestioned value, complains of the stupidity of his fellow capitalists in not considering the worker as part of the machinery. He says in effect:

"You consider each separate machine and give it the care and attention which it requires. You do not think of over-straining machinery; you regard it in the mass and have a man to go round and inspect it continually and see that it is kept running harmoniously and that there is no waste. You regard it individually and your oiler keeps it in condition all day. It will pay you better to regard the workers also as part of the machinery and to consider their individual and collective needs from that point of view. You will make more profits."

And so they do. Workers treated from the Rowntree conception certainly turn out more work and of better quality than do those workers who have not the attention and regard which is bestowed on machinery. If there is one thing which the war has shown most plainly, it is that the industry in which the workers receive the higher recompense and work under more comfortable conditions is more profitable than industry which is carried on under the old system of driving and scrapping.

But even this fact was only forced upon the attention of the employers owing to the growing scarcity of material due to the war. The so-called reserve of labor, that is, the hungry mass of unemployed, which always waited eager to break into the works and sell themselves, rendered any care or attention to the needs of the worker entirely unnecessary. Talk about machines; the ordinary worker, even the skilled trades unionist, the aristocrat, was not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with a machine. He was there to be used up regardless, for outside there was an army of him hungrily and greedily waiting for the chance to be eaten up. And when we come to masses of unskilled labor, the treatment of them is written in bloody letters on every railroad track and in every foundry and construction camp not only in this country but thruout the civilized world.

Never once during all this period did the capitalist group seek a more humane way of getting its profits. It killed with unctuous gravity and with satisfied complacency. It

regarded the masses of labor as something to be dipped into without consideration and to be destroyed without compunction, for were there not many more to take the places of those who fell in the unceasing treadmill grind of profit-making?

To-day the fight which is directed against the Industrial Workers of the World is mainly based upon the fact that that organization is endeavoring to stay the slaughter of the unskilled masses which have heretofore been regarded as industrial fodder. "Skilled labor must be conserved," said the wise employers, "for skilled labor is becoming scarce, owing to the limitations placed by the unions and to the action of the system itself which tends to eliminate skill. But unskilled labor is still under our thumb. It cannot organize and the very numbers of it must continue to render it ineffective to resist."

Then comes the war and the reserve of unskilled labor fails. The markets are not overcrowded with slaves looking for a master. On the other hand, the master in the field and the forest spends heart-breaking days in looking for men. The harvest is ripe and the slaves refuse to gather it except upon terms which have never before been asked. But how can there be a criticism? The capitalist argument as put forward by his most advanced and best paid professors runs as follows:

"Commodities are sold in the market. Their price is determined by the law of supply and demand. Plentiful commodities bring small prices, scarcer commodities higher prices. Labor is a commodity; it must abide by that fact; it can demand no more than its market price."

The capitalists have dealt with the government in this war as in all other wars precisely on those terms. They have charged prices commensurate with the needs of the government and have artificially monopolized commodities in order to get a monopoly price. And in all this they have received the unhesitating support not only of the professors and press, but of the statesmen who are handling the affairs of the government and are supposed to be placing the interests of the community first. (As if there could be such a thing as a community under a cut-throat capitalistic system.) Under these conditions the situation was all with the workers. If the commodity,

labor, was scarce, it could demand its price. That was the rule of the game. And on that ground the capitalist could not meet the unskilled workers who were demanding that the game be played as it hitherto had been and that they had the right to hold or withhold their commodity (labor) from the market. This right had always been conceded, for the defenders of the system had always said, "Well, if you don't like the job there is no need for you to take it. We compel no one to work for us."

So that with their confounded doctrine of supply and demand at their back, they were hoist with their own petard and had no possible answer to the refusal of the harvesters and lumbermen to work except on their own terms.

Then the employers suddenly discovered that the workers were something more than mere commodities. They were found to be men and not mere humans, but men who were supposed to be supplied with a sort of moral sense and their action, while it could not be called uneconomical, in view of the capitalistic theories, was discovered to be anti-patriotic. And, all of a sudden, this mass of unskilled labor which had been for so these many years murdered and starved, fed on garbage, bedded worse than swine, and deprived of every semblance of humanity, which lay beneath the ties of hundreds of miles of continental roads, having literally paved the track with their bones, which had been hounded by constables and thieving justices, shot by deputy sheriffs, thrown off moving trains by railroad servants and generally bedevilled and tormented, was discovered to possess a soul! This unskilled worker was found to be capable of actually sinning against an abstraction, to wit, that patriotism which the employers professed, while they defrauded the nation which they claimed to serve.

As we have pointed out, the war created a scarcity in the commodity, labor power, and as a result the price of that commodity would naturally tend to rise. The same thing occurred with hogs in Austria. The government attempted to fix the price of hogs. But the scarcity was too much for the government. The premier complained that he could do nothing about it. He had tried. When he lowered the price of swine-flesh, the Hungarian hog-raisers would not sell; when he raised it, the Viennese could not buy. I have seen the account also of the

attempts to fix prices of butter in Munster. The price-fixer attempted to lower the price and actually did so by legal enactment with the result that there was no butter on the market and bit by bit the price crept back to the two shillings a pound rate which the price-fixer had in the first place regarded as too high. Given the theory—it must work both ways and if labor is a commodity, labor must get a market price which is higher than that preceding the period of scarcity, always providing that labor does not compete against itself.

It is this fact that is driving the capitalist group frantic and which is the reason of their attacks upon the organization of unskilled labor. For the scarcity brings with it another factor of the greatest importance and that is the tendency of labor to organize itself. When there is a chance of immediate gain even unskilled labor will organize. It is admittedly very difficult to get masses of men to organize for a remote and abstract aim. That predicates the possession of the scarcest and most valuable human quality, imagination. But the simplest and the most unlearned of men will organize to gain something immediate and concrete, and the scarcity of unskilled labor renders such immediate gains now possible, indeed inevitable, with a minimum of organization. It thereupon becomes the aim of the dominant capitalist group to render such organization dangerous if not impossible. Hence the new tendency towards repression and persecution.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the recent efforts of the capitalists in control are very stupid, even fatal, from their own viewpoint. All the recent efforts on the part of unskilled labor have been directed to the creation of tolerable labor conditions, such conditions as have been declared by the capitalistic commissions as necessary for the output of sufficient quantities of products of the right quality: an eight-hour day, decent sleeping accommodation, good meals, are the irreducible minimum without which even capitalistic work cannot be successfully carried on, unless, of course, there is an unlimited supply of fresh labor which can be drawn on when the old supply is wasted.

War renders such a fresh supply impossible and the only way in which labor can be conserved as a commodity, is by following the rules which have been laid down by the reports of the British Commissions on

the manufacture of munitions. But this the American greater capitalists in various essential industries refuse to do. They have not risen even to the point of regarding labor as a part of the machinery; they still have the waste and ruin view of the matter.

They, therefore, call upon the state to drive the owners of the commodity, labor power, the workers, into their markets and to artificially tamper with the price of the labor commodity. This utter blindness of the American capitalist to even his own self-interest is one of the most appallingly dangerous signs of the times and one of the most threatening phenomena. For any trouble which may occur in the future we shall have to thank more than anything else, the appalling stupidity of the capitalists and the still more grossly shocking ignorance of politicians and intellectuals. Instead of which, as Lassalle said:

"The back of the worker is the table which the capitalist's fist strikes when he is angry"; and the wrath will fall upon the unskilled labor masses who are only following the unavoidable trend developed by the scarcity of labor power as a commodity, and their own needs.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the fact that whereas the commodity status of labor is regarded as axiomatic by the dominant economists and politicians, the same rule is not applied to the labor commodity as to other commodities, but the hitherto denied citizenship of the seller of labor power is insisted upon with almost violent iteration. Thus, in defending the actions of the British shipowners and their depredations upon the government, the "Times" declares that they are ruled by the laws of supply and demand and are "justified in exploiting the necessity of the nation and profiting by the great scarcity of ships."

The application of the same principle to the sale of labor power would absolutely vindicate those workers who are combining to raise their wages in view of the present scarcity of labor. When it comes to this application the capitalistic group, however, refuses to abide by the game and resorts to the prison and the employment of unformed ruffianism.

The "Guild Idea" (a pamphlet of the National Guilds League of England) says very strongly and truthfully, "A method of production based on the Law of Supply and

Demand—based, that is to say, upon a constant struggle for position between the two great forces of Capital and Labor—is utterly unstable, utterly destructive of good production and utterly unreliable as a national servant."

Of course the commodity idea of labor is accepted not only by the capitalists but also by the ordinary trade unionists. If wages are good and hours comparatively reasonable, they are satisfied. A business agent exists for the selling of labor power as a commodity on the best terms obtainable and no further inquiry is made. As long as the returns are such as meet with the approval of the majority of the trade, no questions are asked as to the deeper significance of the recognition of labor power as a commodity. The hideousness of the sale of men, or their labor power, is overlooked and there is a general acquiescence in a system which is, to say the very least, utterly demoralizing from any human standpoint. But when, as at present, some cataclysm comes which rips the covers from things as they are and exposes the real underlying rottenness, the fallacy of the commodity basis, the hypocrisy of the doctrine of Supply and Demand, is at once laid bare and we are face to face with a struggle in which the laborer is forced to declare his humanity in antagonism to the commodity estimate which society makes of him. And on the other hand, we find the capitalistic group and their supporters driven from the commodity idea which they find untenable in face of the facts, to declare a citizenship on the part of labor which they have not hitherto conceded and to demand a patriotism for which their treatment of labor in the past has offered no incentive.

Against this commodity basis of labor we must protest and agitate. The working class must learn not to classify itself as a commodity, but must learn that an industry is not for the making of profits but for the *living* of those who are engaged in the industry. The worker must learn to regard himself not as a part of the machinery of production, but as the director and the master of production. He must cease to regard himself as a tool but must learn to own and use the tools, and this, not thru the interposition of some kindly politician, who will place the hook in his nose and the bridle between his lips, but thru his own efforts and by his own powers.

Your Dream Come True

By D. BOBSPA

A LAND of practical Socialism in active operation. Nearly 4,000,000 people without one cent of money in circulation; and where no man owns a foot of land or the tools of production—trades unionism, industrialism, single tax and socialism all rolled into one.

Ninety thousand square miles without a policeman; where gold rings are placed in the public markets in large baskets, to be had for the asking.

A work day of two hours for the strong; of play for the young, middle aged and old. A land where there is plenty of candy for the kiddies, playgrounds for all; and from which the spectre of want has departed.

Land of peon-slaves awakened from centuries of capitalist misrule to the glories of co-operation, without master or landlord.

This is no dream, but an actualized verity right here in America—in southern Mexico. Shades of Thomas Moore, Edward Bellamy and William Morris arise and rejoice, for your wildest visions have become facts.

Across the miles I stretch my hand in fellowship with Mexico's great democrat—ZAPATA. Don't forget that name. The capitalist press has not told much about him—for obvious reasons. He is putting into practice the basic principles of co-operation. The golden rule is being translated into action.

The almost unbelievable facts I am to present to you of Zapata's territory in the southern part of Mexico is based on information furnished to me directly by General Nick Senn Zogg, three weeks after his last sessions with Zapata himself. General Zogg, former governor of Lower California, has long been one of Zapata's chief advisors and supporters. Just a word as to my informant.

General Zogg was born in Switzerland, where his father was engaged in the diplomatic service, but was taken to Mexico when seven months old. Later, a part of his education was received in Switzerland. This liberator has a broad education, has been a world traveler, possesses a splendid business training, and speaks English fluently with no trace of foreign accent.

A thoro democrat, he has thrown his entire life into the Mexican revolutionary movement and has done much in the liberation of the peons. He was removed from the governorship of Lower California to give place to a capitalist tool. General Zogg has a pleasing personality and it is inspirational to listen to his tale of the miracle of what co-operation and access to the land has done for the slaves of his country. All of the facts I am to mention I have received directly from him.

General Zapata now absolutely controls 90,000 square miles, comprising parts of Morelo, Jalisco, Chapas, Quintana Roo, and Tabasco. This land is well under cultivation. The population (on a rough estimate, without the advantages of a scientific census) is from three to four millions. The inhabitants are nearly all peons who for centuries had existed in a degrading state of slavery. More than ninety-five per cent can neither read nor write.

Zapata's control began in 1910, but only in the three years past has the co-operative system been placed on its present basis. The greatest development has been made during the past two years.

Methods of propaganda have been simple and effective. Direct action is the keynote. The people awoke to a knowledge of their slavery and a realization of their heritage—and took what belonged to them. The only message sent to the people was somewhat similar to the I. W. W. preamble, but much shorter than that classic document.

Having aroused the slaves to realize their status by saying in substance: the rich unjustly possess the land; we want all that is ours and are not willing that any man should possess that which is not his—Zapata would lead his army into some rich valley and simply dispossess the wealthy "owners." Then the peons on the land would be given *the use* of the land. Not one man in the 90,000 square miles holds a title to one foot of land. After getting the new territory, the land was cultivated and the district organized.

When strong enough the army—the propaganda branch of the revolution—held another convention in some other fertile

valley and benevolently assimilated some other opulent set of slave-driving usurpers of the land.

For the first time in centuries, those on Mexican soil ate the food they produced and wore the clothes they made. That is *some* propaganda organization. The peons realized that "they who would be free, themselves must strike the blow," and that what they have gained they must themselves hold thru solidarity on the industrial field—which is the only field recognized. Gradually, step by step, Zapata is spreading his practical propaganda of co-operation and a free earth.

Every citizen of each community is given a little brass citizenship tag. It is necessary to show this only in strange towns. It is his passport for whatever he needs for food, clothing and shelter. Each person goes into the stores and gets what he needs for the simple asking.

We have heard endless discussions as to the nature of the future medium of exchange. Many volumes have been written on the subject. Zapata isn't worrying over these problems. He is leaving them where they belong—to the philosophers. There isn't any medium of exchange in Zapata's land. Why should there be on a free earth? If a man wanted ten pairs of sandals or shoes he could have them, but why would he want them? He can always go—in Zapata's country—to any store and get a pair when he needs one. So with all other provisions. In practice, in the few years the plan has been in operation, the peons have not abused the privilege. They are the producers and realize it. Why rob themselves? *There is not one idea of profit in all that 90,000 square miles, and human nature is just as it was when Adam delved and Eve spun.*

Just one example of how supplies are furnished. The citizens took a fancy to the gold rings, beautifully decorated and carved. Zapata had thousands upon thousands of them made before putting any on the market. Then they were placed in large baskets in every plaza store—free for everyone. If a person wanted a dozen rings that was all right—they were his. General Zogg said that when he passed thru the markets a few weeks ago there were rings in every store and few people seemed to care for more.

Woe unto any man, however, who came from the outside and got a citizenship check

falsely. Death is the only penalty for this offense.

Travelers are not being admitted freely just now, in these unsettled times, because of the lying reports carried away by spying emissaries of capitalism. But when one is given permission to visit the country, his route is marked out and listed on the passport given him. He pays the government and then is provided freely on all the travels over the designated route.

No women or children are to be found in any line of manual labor in mill, field or factory.

The young and middle aged men alone work. They work from one and one-half to three hours a day. Some will work more steadily for a week and then go away to some town for two or three weeks to enjoy their country. For the first time in history the workers have a country that is really theirs. Workers? Yes, for all are workers. There are no landlords or "bosses" and overseers to prod them into exhausting toil. And these people are simple enough to believe that man should enjoy life—that all people should find pleasure in living.

Of course there are foremen and superintendents in the administration of industry. But they receive no wages, just what they need to live on, and every man, woman and child gets that. The men will work two hours and then go out to play handball and other games in the plaza or courts.

When the fields need attention, men go from ranch to ranch wherever help is needed. In like manner all industry is carried on.

One example will show something of how matters are managed. One big sugar refinery formerly employed 2,500 men, working them fourteen hours a day. Employees now work two hours a day. The refinery still is in operation fourteen hours daily. There are seven shifts of workers. All told, there are now 25,000 employes of that refinery. All are happy and have all of the food, clothing and shelter the land affords. The children have big sticks of candy as large as they can carry—and there is no talk of conservation of supplies anywhere.

Access to the land and co-operation did it.

There isn't any regular freight and passenger service. The trains operate as required. Production for profit has ceased on 90,000 square miles of this planet, and the

mills and mines are run to manufacture products for use only. When goods are needed anywhere, the trains haul them. Occasionally, a few hundred men, women and children will be taken into the mountains by the trainload for a few days' outing. It is all a part of living—no fares to pay.

For all are members of the Union Industrial of North and South America. That union might be spelled more simply—*solidarity*.

Practically all administrative functions formerly usurped by "government" are attended to locally. There is no officious state and elaborate system of courts to declare that Podunkville, Posey County, Indiana, shall not add twenty-three bricks to its rear walk to the hitching rack, because a New England justice of the peace 326 years ago rendered an adverse decision in a somewhat similar case. When any local matter is to be decided the people assemble at the plaza and are addressed by advocates of the different factions. Those voting for opposite sides of the question simply walk to different parts of the plaza. The count is taken and the majority wins.

How this plan works in practice is shown by an actual case that recently happened. A new road was desired. There was much argument as to which of two courses should be selected. Route No. 1 was chosen. Advocates of route number 2 were not satisfied. A "compromise" was effected, whereby both roads were built and everyone satisfied.

Clerical and similar "soft jobs" carry heavy penalties, for those falling heir to these easy lines of labor are usually asked to put in three hours of daily toil—at least a part of the time. The harder the job the

shorter the hours. Very difficult or disagreeable work would not require more than one hour a day. There is no task master to keep strict tab on hours and issue "labor script" or other artificial devices that some dreamers would carry from a monopolized earth into their theories of a free earth. The people realize that the whole country is the Union's, and if there are any who fail to do the simple day's labor required to support an unexploited society, they are a negligible quantity.

Most of the machinery for the development of the country has been brought in from South America. But the industries have not been greatly developed as yet.

The churches are being used as schools, for lecture centers, as play houses and for similar useful purposes. There is no liquor sold. This is not the result of any decree or election. The people had so little desire for booze that they quit its manufacture.

The population is largely Indian, and these people are accustomed to the idea of living without money, which makes the problem easier.

It is not to be inferred that Zapata has solved all of the problems of society. Everything can't be done at once, even by the magic wand of his propaganda. Still, his achievements make the genii of Alladin's lamp look pretty small and cheap. In three years every worker has been united into one industrial union; all titles to land and ownership of the tools of production swept away; labor's hours shortened to the minimum; the entire population fed, clothed and sheltered—all thru co-operation on a free earth.



CURRENT EVENTS

IN GLANCING over the calendar of current events for the past month one is forcibly reminded of the old saying of Marx that the existing institutions of a country represent, or function, in the interests of the ruling classes of that country; in other words, that these institutions serve the interests today of those classes able to exercise *economic power*.

In Russia, for example, where the working classes have taken control of the railroads, have appropriated the lands and food supplies, the factories and the mines, we find the press, the army and navy, the church, the police, and the government, have already begun to reflect the interests of the workmen and peasants.

We see the representatives of the Russian working class striving for an understanding with the German workers and using every means at their command to induce them to follow their example, to revolt against the Prussian junkers and make Germany a real industrial democracy.

That they are beginning to succeed in their aims is shown in the recent German elections in which the Left Wing anti-war socialists captured the seats of the pro-war socialists in scores of districts and the following Manifesto which has been secretly circulated throughout Germany:

"Down with war!" and "Down with the government!" is the cry sounded by the advocates of a workman's revolution. A strike of the masses is urged and workmen are appealed to to quit workshops and factories.

A peace, according to terms of German rulers, is opposed as one "in the interest of militarism and imperialism" and contrary to the interests of the German people.

Tyrants Wish No Honest Peace

"The foes of the people are growing ever bolder, ever more shameless. War wastrels, war instigators, war profiteers—those to whom misery of the people bring power and gain—such wish no peace.

"Disfranchisement of the masses, misery of the masses, state of siege, slaughter of the people—this is what this government has brought upon us.

"Must we stand idle and see our wives and children pine away, our strength to labor—our only means of subsistence—grow less and less?

"They promise extra rations to save themselves from the wrath of the people—from a revolution like that in Russia.

"But no extra rations can be given without consuming the seed potatoes and the breeding cattle. Should the government decide upon this course millions of the German proletariat, German women and children, must face hunger and starvation in the coming winter.

The instigators of war are hiding the truth from the people.

"It is their harvest of blood which is crushing Germany, and their aims are for themselves alone.

"But the immediate negotiation of peace is the only rescue from the abyss into which the government is hurling the country.

"But the government proceeds to plunder the land. It wants no peace which would be acceptable to the so-called 'enemy' countries. And if it should fashion peace on terms according to its own liking, and if it could bring about a peace according to those terms, they always would be—as we know only too well—in the interest of militarism and imperialism, of the junker and capitalist castes, and contrary to the vital interests of the German proletariat.

"Such an ending of the war touches each one of us.

"Thus the most urgent task of German labor is to force peace—just as our Russian brothers are now doing—and to fashion its terms according to the interests of the international proletariat, that we have our own peace and not that of the imperialists.

"There is only one means to this end—the strike of the masses. This strike of the masses must swell in the cry of a million voices for peace, and that cry will serve for a kindling spark in the barracks and in the trenches; it will make men fight on sturdily to the end, it will bring about an organization of the masses which shall force peace and freedom.

"Victory will be won by fighting and by the strike of the masses."

It cannot be too often repeated that the Russian Bolsheviks do not seek and have not sought a separate peace with the Central Powers. They have tried to make their own demands for:

"No indemnities; no annexation; self-determination for all small nations," the peace cry around which all the warring countries might rally, and they are still seeking to penetrate the military walls of Germany with this message to the German people.

As the REVIEW goes to press it becomes more and more apparent that the new Russian government of the working class will not be able to come to any terms with the Imperial German government.

"Leon Trotsky, the Bolsheviki foreign minister, and his associates, take the stand that the Baltic provinces are in reality under military restraint while they continue to be occupied by German troops and that their votes with respect to peace must be ignored, as now these provinces are virtually German dependencies, the loyal Russians having been forced to flee."—(From the Chicago Tribune.)

The editors of the REVIEW earnestly hope that the Russian people will profit from this experience with German diplomacy and will exercise a supreme effort to drive out the Germans if they cannot win them to revolt, so that the people of greater Russia may come, at last, into their own and enjoy the fruits of the revolution. We are still hoping the German workers will refuse further to serve the aims of the imperialist, who would enslave free Russia.

That some of the German and Austrian prisoners held in Russia are beginning to see the aim of the German government for conquest, and that they will use all their strength, and their lives if need be, to prevent the accomplishment of this aim, is evidenced by a cable which appeared in the Chicago Tribune for December 27, which says that a committee of German and Austrian war prisoners passed a resolution at a Petrograd meeting demanding that the Central Powers accept the democratic peace terms of the Bolsheviki, threatening that if the junkers of the Central Powers refuse a democratic peace, to join the Russians and take up arms against their own countries.

It launches an appeal to soldiers of the German and Austrian armies to commit sabotage in the trenches, to slow up, and to surrender to the Russians or desert to the Russians whenever an opportunity arrives.

This movement flamed up among the war prisoners in Russia, who have seen the new freedom of the Russian workers and peasants. These prisoners have been working on the Russian railroads and in the fields. They are waking up very fast and it is estimated that these revolutionary prisoners could easily form an army of 700,000 or 800,000 men.

An associated press dispatch of December 27, shows the growing alarm of

the German militarist-capitalists and reports that:

More than 300 members of the German minority socialist party were arrested on Christmas eve by the German military authorities, according to a Zurich dispatch given out today by the Wireless Press. The dispatch reads:

"Following the arrest of minority Socialists at Cologne and Karlsruhe recently, the German military authorities made a large number of arrests on Christmas eve in Munich, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Duesseldorf, Darmstadt, Nuremberg, Dortmund, Cassel, Mannheim, Mayence, Coburg, Duisburg and Gotha.

"More than 300 minority Socialists and local leaders in the towns mentioned were arrested."



Government Control of Railroads

The United States Government has taken over entire control of the railroads and railway terminal facilities as a simple matter of wartime expediency, guaranteeing to the railroad stockholders dividends equal to those declared by the roads the past three years. No injustice has been done the stockholders. If you are a holder of railway stocks, be sure you may rest at home, or travel wherever you will, and your little old dividends will bob up serenely just as though there were no war. Now comes the question of wages for the railway workers, and we are confronted with the amazing spectacle of a President of these United States insisting that the big \$100,000 salaries be lopped off at the top of the railroad's expense list, and that the railway workers be granted a substantial increase in wages. Will they get it?

* * *

The packing interests are under Government investigation. It is reported in the daily papers that the investigation has shown that these interests possess an almost unlimited food and leather, soap and fertilizer monopoly in this country;

that they have persistently, for years, forced out the small stockholders by stock juggling; that they have destroyed independent competitors, have secretly taken millions of dollars profits through terminal companies owned by them and managed by dummy directors; that the food supply and the prices of food and shoe leather are largely in the hands of three or four men and that these men are coining millions upon millions of dollars of profits out of the necessities of the American people during the war emergency.

Now anybody can see with half an eye that this is a very sad state of affairs for the other employers of labor the whole country over. If Mr. Armour and Mr. Swift and Mr. Morris are able to hold up the wage workers of other capitalists for from 25 to 50 and 100 per cent on some of the necessities of life, you may be very sure that there are going to be "labor troubles" for the mine operators, the railroad companies or the steel mill not in on the packing monopoly pie counter. Labor is scarce today and it will be difficult for any employer of labor to hold men at the old schedule of wages in the face of Mr. Armour's new and highly profitable prices on foodstuffs.

And so, since existing institutions come to the rescue of the economic rulers of a country, we see the capitalist press rushing into print to accuse the government investigators of trying to make "political capital" out of the exposures of conditions in the packing industry. They insist that war time is no time for the Government to cast suspicion on the owners of the industries that supply the most important necessity of life to the people. It is apt to breed discontent in the breasts of some workingmen.

And—on the next page—of these same capitalist dailies we find the editors demanding the Conscription of Labor and Postmaster General Burleson denouncing the post office employees because they have been asking for more pay.

Unless the packing monopoly gang is to be checked in its merry little holdup strikes for higher wages are going to increase. The capitalist press, true to the interests of its big advertisers, want Conscription of Labor. Then the Ar-

mour's and Swift's could continue their careers of legal piracy and the working-class would have to get busy and shut up.

Mr. Swift's Count son-in-law, by the way, was, during the past month, under very grave suspicion of treason to the United States government. The case kept coming up day after day in a most awkward manner. Just when some folks hoped the thing was all smoothed down, somebody would bob up with new evidence against His Excellency. But the rabble working-class, and even impudent reporters and the public in general, were not let in on the "trial." Everything was absolutely secret and all the newspapers said about this man, whom we would be willing to bet a dollar to a doughnut, was guilty of aiding the enemy in time of war, was that "it was such an interesting story," "a Count" wedded to the daughter of "one of our richest American millionaires," "so much secrecy," but "nobody was permitted to learn a thing," etc., etc. The charge of treason on the part of the Count, son-in-law of Mr. Swift, was treated as a romantic little episode.

But the workingman whose name happens to be Schmidt, although his father was born in Syracuse, who strikes for a dollar a day more (to pay Mr. Swift those extra prices is charged with "treason," pro-Germanism, anarchy, by the newspapers and the public is subtly urged to give all "malcontents" and "trouble-makers" a dose of tar and feathers or of hemp rope.



High Court Bars Pickets

The right of employers to prevent labor unions from soliciting non-union employees to join the labor organizations was upheld today by the Supreme Court by a divided vote of six to three, the majority being the reactionaries left over from the Republican administration and the three dissenting being those appointed by the more progressive Wilson administration. The test cases were against the United Mine Workers of America and the Flint Glass Workers' Union.

"Methods of the labor organization in attempting to unionize the 'open shop' workmen and bring about strikes were declared 'unlawful and malicious.' Injunctions previously given by Judge Bayton in the federal court in West Virginia to prevent the union activities were sustained.

"The court admitted the right of workmen to organize into unions for lawful purposes, but held that the employers * * * were entitled to operate their plants 'open shop' and to protection and injunction against the labor union was ordered 'for that purpose.'—Chicago Evening News.

In commenting on the difference in the attitude of the majority members of the Supreme Court and the position of "recognition of the union" of President Wilson, the New Republic of December 22, says:

The Supreme Court of the United States delivered last week what can only be construed as a frontal attack on organized labor, an attack which can only have been designed to undermine its strength and threaten its very existence. A federal judge, in 1913, issued an injunction against officials of the United Mine Workers, forbidding them to unionize the "Panhandle" coal district of West Virginia. It was conceded that the union officials used no violent means, that there was no picketing, even peaceful, and no attempt at coercive boycotts—all that the union did was to send organizers into the district to hold public meetings, enroll men in the union, and set forth the advantages of labor organization, all with the object of extending the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers to the district. This injunction the Supreme Court (Justices Holmes, Brandeis and Clark dissenting) has sustained, the court holding in effect that efforts of organized labor to compel an employer to recognize the union, and to accept the principle of collective bargaining, are illegal, a violation of the policy of the common law, and subject to restraint by injunction.

* * *

Yet the court, in denying the right to unionize by threat of strike, denied the weapon through which alone organized labor has been able to attain its present influence.

* * *

Finally, the decision will encourage the complaint that there is one law for capital and another law for labor; for it so happened that the employer in whose favor the court issued the injunction was himself compelling his men to boycott the union. As Mr. Justice Brandeis points out in his dissenting opinion, "If it is coercion to threaten to strike unless plaintiff consents to a closed union shop; it is coercion also to threaten not to give one employment unless the applicant will consent to a closed non-union shop."



The Frame-Up Collapse

On the Pacific Coast this month has seen the inglorious collapse of the frame-up of the San Francisco manufacturers and big business men against Tom Mooney, Weinberg, Billings, Mrs. Mooney, et al, in their conspiracy to crush all forms of unionism on the Coast.

"The FRAME-UP is proven beyond all doubt! Mrs. Alice Kidwell and Mrs. Estelle Smith, upon whose statements and evidence the five labor defendants were indicted and one of them convicted, have come forward and exposed every detail of the infamous plot, the success of which meant the destruction of the San Francisco labor movement and swollen profits for the vultures of the chamber of commerce and perjury.

The story of how these women were hounded, intimidated and forced into the service of the Fickert perjury crew is an amazing one. It is a scathing indictment of the FRAME-UP tactics used to fill our state prisons with the most active workers in the labor movement. Corporate control of the courts has been a burning issue in America for a long time. Of late the agitation for legal reform in this direction has subsided. This FRAME-UP is bound to make it a burning issue again. The Dunne-Fickert crew of court jobbers and plotters went too far this time. They've been caught red-handed in a diabolical plot to murder five innocent working people in pursuance of a plot to wreck San Francisco unionism. They must answer at the bar of public opinion. If simple justice were done they should stand in the prisoners' dock and answer for their crimes.

Organized labor stands vindicated in the eyes of the world now that the whole truth has been established. The forces of organized greed stand condemned. And now that the FRAME-UP is defeated an inexorable duty is thrust upon us. That is the punishment of the corporate thugs who planned and almost executed this wholesale murder. Not alone must Fickert be punished and kicked out of the office he has disgraced, but every cur and police corruptionist-perjurer must be brought to task and mercilessly exposed."—(From The Eye-Opener.)

Note how the press, the courts and many of the officials in the state of California have steadfastly rendered service in the interests of the capitalist class against totally innocent representatives of union labor on the Coast.



Copper and Arizona

The copper mine owners of Arizona have shown during the past two months that they not only have not repented the anarchy with which they terrorized Bisbee and other Arizona mine districts, but that they hold the United States Government in such contempt that they mean to continue in their mad careers of lawlessness. We quote from The Public of December 21:

"Since the President's Commission visited Arizona and effected a settlement of the copper strikes, developments have shown that the great copper companies have not the slightest intention of living up to the spirit of their agreement with the Government and the miners. The President of the Trades Assembly, of Bisbee, a body composed of local A. F. of L. unions, has been discharged from his job and denied employment on orders from the Workmen's Loyalty League—a copper company adjunct which holds kangaroo court in Bisbee.

"In the Globe-Miami district, every applicant for a job must first obtain a clearance from the local Loyalty League, which puts him through an inquisition regarding his political beliefs and his relations with labor organizations. By merely "recommending" the successful applicants, the companies evade the State's anti-black list law. Mexicans are discriminated against, and thousands of them are without work. They were encouraged to come into the district by the companies themselves. There is danger of a general exodus of these bitter and disillusioned Mexican miners back into Mexico, with a resulting intensification of the bad feeling already existing there against this country.

"Apparently the great copper companies, the largest of which has huge properties in Mexico, are not concerned with this phase of the situation. They would probably welcome anything that might eventually lead to war with Mexico

and the seizing of northern Mexico by a Government which they have found so tolerant of their lawless and predatory purposes. There is scant evidence that the great Arizona companies are sincerely interested in a maximum output of copper, as distinguished from a maximum price for a diminished output. The latter is certainly more likely to be the outcome of their policy. Has not the time come for the Government to take possession of the mines, speed up production to 100 per cent, and substitute law and justice for the arbitrary will of these conscienceless tyrants and profiteers?"

In the same issue the Public further illuminates the copper situation in Arizona. Declaring that President Wilson and Secretaries Baker and Daniels are carrying out "a policy more enlightened and democratic than any previously concerned by federal executives" * * * they show how they have thereby "incurred the determined opposition of some of the largest employing interests in the country." * * * "We are given a report on the Bisbee deportations by the President's special Labor Commission, in which this bi-partisan body describes at length the *anarchism* of the Arizona copper companies and asserts that it has been the direct cause of widespread unrest through the West.

"By inference its report is a *condemnation* of Attorney General Gregory for his failure to use the Federal prosecuting power in protecting the rights of the Arizona miners and punishing the corporation officials who trampled upon those rights. For weeks and months after the deportations a vigilance committee, controlled by Phelps, Dodge & Co., and other big copper producers ruled the Bisbee district as arbitrarily and ruthlessly as any German commander in Belgium, violating the constitutional rights of law-abiding miners, refusing admittance to any person suspected of independence, interfering with the interstate transmission of telephone and telegraph messages, and forcibly preventing miners who had registered under the draft law from presenting themselves for examination.

"Mr. Gregory's attention has been specifically called by the President's Commission to these violations of the Federal statutes. He can no longer refrain from

drastic action if he wishes to preserve a shred of reputation for fairness. But it should not have been necessary to dragoon him into action. He has been on the warpath against the mildest infringements of the law by men acting in the name of labor. Acts that could be even remotely suspected as inimical to the nation's interests in this war have been made the occasion for *wholesale raids* and *arrests*.

"Mr. Robert W. Bruere, an economist and investigator of established conservatism and fairness, has been making an exhaustive inquiry into the I. W. W. situation for the New York Evening Post. Writing of the Bisbee deportations, he says:

"This persistent defiance of law and constitutional guarantees, with the open connivance and approval of the responsible officers of the great copper companies, is spreading suspicion and unrest throughout the country like a pestilence. As President Wilson said in his telegram to Governor Campbell, it is establishing a sinister precedent in the conduct of American government and industry. And the circumstance which especially aggravates the sinister quality is that it has apparently been condoned. * * * Many instances of deliberate interference with the Federal Draft act are now on record with the President's Mediation Commission. They occurred months ago. No prosecutions have been brought.

"Instead of prosecutions, men who openly participated in Bisbee's reign of lawlessness, against which the Governor, the State's Attorney General, and President Wilson himself protested in vain, have been honored by the Federal Government. The Manager of the Calumet and Arizona, next to the Copper Queen, the most important property in Bisbee, who not only promoted the deportations, but reassured his wavering fellow "patriots" on the night before the big drive, has since been given a major's commission in the United States Army. An officer of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation in Bisbee, who shared in the deeds of July 12 and thereafter, has been placed in charge of an important branch of the Red Cross in France."

"And now, on top of Mr. Gregory's failure to act impartially in enforcing the

law, we have, first, Secretary McAdoo's recommendation against conscription of wealth as a means of paying for the war, and then Postmaster General Burleson's assault on the principle of collective bargaining in the Post Office Department and his attack on those postal employees who dare to ask for an increase in their meager rates of pay. Labor has taken up the gage for the 250,000 postal employees, realizing that the army of Government employees will grow vastly larger in the years ahead and believing that the success of the Burleson policy menaces all they have gained of democracy and well-being.

"It should not be necessary for President Wilson to go to these cabinet officers and point out to them in detail how they are nullifying the good effects of his own policy and that of the major departments responsible for the prosecution of the war. It should not be necessary for any man to point out to American cabinet officers at this time their duty to apply the principles of justice and democracy in the administration of their departments. But apparently it is necessary."



The Butte Situation

Evidently the Anaconda Copper Company, of Butte, decided that unless it jumped in and made peace with the striking Butte miners and got its mines on a working basis very speedily, the stockholders would be unable to get in on the war profits at all this year, so the company has yielded to some of the demands of the miners, has increased the pay one dollar a day and the miners have gone back to work.

But do not allow the idea to germinate in your cranium that the Butte miners won a nickel a day more because the Government fixed the price of copper. It would not have mattered if President Wilson had trebled the price, the copper barons would not have parted willingly with any of their additional dividends to

the miners who merely get out the necessary copper.

When 26 Broadway voluntarily divides excess profits (produced by the workers) with the workers, it will be when old John D. has decided to go to work for a living, and that will not be for a long, long time. On that day you may expect to see the Kaiser abdicating and the Prussian junkers organizing a peace society!

Think a moment. Did you ever know the workers to get anything they did not *fight for*? We are glad the workers have to fight and struggle to get every advantage or raise or improvement they may gain. May the gods continue to deliver the American laboring class from the charitable boss. The American labor movement is developing good fighting workers for the very reason that they always have to go to bat for all they get.

The militant worker does not want Charity; he wants the value of the things he produces. In other words he wants *labor for labor*; service for service. This is Socialism or Industrial Unionism in a nutshell.

Labor for labor; service for service! This is what the I. W. W. stands for. This is what Socialism stands for.

Of course, a movement dedicated to this purpose will never be popular with the dividend drawers, the profit-takers, who would not know the business end of a shovel any better than Mr. Nicholas Romanoff did a year ago and who would not know a cant hook from a pile driver.

This is why you read so many fantastic lies cooked up in the "daily news" factories about Socialists and members of the I. W. W., the Tom Mooney's and other square-deal-seeking workingmen.

The rich loafer, with the fat bank account, does not want to give up his soft snap. The more he sees how hard the worker sweats and what a little bit he gets for producing the wealth of the world, the more he hangs onto his seat in the band wagon and tells his newspaper servants to dish up fake stories against

Socialism and the I. W. W.

The newspapers do not dare allow the working class to know the truth about what these movements stand for and so they frame up scare stories about them.

But here is the truth about Socialism, the I. W. W., and the truth about militant, intelligent members of the trade unions:

We want a new deal in the game, and a square deal next time. We want to divide up the work we have been doing by toiling for long hours for wages. We want to share our labors with some of these pretty little Broadway rowdies who have never earned a nickel and who squander more money on one midnight supper than the workers earn in a whole year.

We mean to make two good jobs out of one rotten job. For example, you quit work at noon and allow Little Willie Vanderbleet to keep the pumps going or the logs moving, or the engine fired during the afternoon.

We want labor for labor; service for service.

As Captain John Smith (you remember reading about him in the old school histories)—well, as Capt. Smith said, when the soft-fingered gentlemen crossed the Atlantic to the pioneer American settlements some few years ago, and expected our hard-handed grand-dads to wait on them, clothe and feed and shelter them, old Capt. John put his foot down and said:

"Unless you fellows get busy and produce some useful thing or perform some useful task you needn't come round here at mealtime," or words to that effect. "He that will not work shall not eat."

You remember your school teacher said that was a fine sentiment. It was. Only now that the Socialists and industrial unionists are trying to make such a condition a fact in actual life today, very few respectable people agree to it.

But that's what Socialism and the I. W. W. stand for.



Study Course in Scientific Socialism

LESSON II.

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY OR THE LAW OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

1. By what certain method can we most readily mark the successive steps of advancement in the evolution of the human race from savagery to modern civilization?

Ans.: Thru the means employed in securing food, clothing and shelter. In other words, by the nature of the tools and appliances used at any given period with which the mode of economic production is conducted and thru which the different social institutions are established.

2. Into what three great divisions can we classify the evolution of the human race?

Ans.: Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.

3. Into what three subdivisions does Morgan classify the status of savagery?

Ans.: (a) *The Lower Period of Savagery*. Where subsistence consisted of fruit, nuts, roots, etc. The environment was determined by this subsistence as the savages must dwell in the forests and in localities favored by climatic conditions in order to get a livelihood. The first articulate speech was produced in this early period.

(b) *The Middle Period of Savagery*. Began with the knowledge of the use of fire and consequent ability to subsist on a fish diet. This affected the environment as the savages were thus enabled to spread more generally over the country, and take up their habitations along the shores and streams and in the forests with less regard for climatic conditions. Cannibalism was also practiced.

(c) *The Upper Period of Savagery*. Began with the invention of the bow and arrow and the consequent ability to subsist on a more plentiful supply of game. This weapon also afforded a measure of protection against the ravages of wild animals.

4. Into what three subdivisions does Morgan classify the status of barbarism?

Ans.: (a) *The Lower Period of Barbarism*. Merged from the status of savagery and began with the invention or practice of the art of pottery and attended with the probable limited cultivation of cereals and the use of a farinaceous diet.

(b) *The Middle Period of Barbarism*. Began in the eastern hemisphere with the domestication of animals for meat, milk and

hides, and in the western hemisphere with cultivation of grain and the use of stone and adobe houses.

(c) *Upper Period of Barbarism*. Began with the smelting and manufacture of iron, out of which primitive tools and weapons were fashioned.

5. Into what three subdivisions may we classify the status of civilization, measured by the tools and modes of production?

Ans.: (a) *Hand Tool Period*. Merged from the status of Barbarism and began with the invention of a phonetic alphabet. This period is marked by the use of hand tools and appliances which could be conveniently owned and used by individuals. Primitive industry but little separated from the farm lands which formed the original unit of all industry, except fisheries, etc.

(b) *Machine Period*. Began with the invention and use of the steam engine which stimulated the invention of machinery to be driven by its power. Such machinery being expensive, became more and more difficult for the individual worker to own and impossible for the individual worker to use. It was necessary for this machinery to be used by groups of workers hired by the machine owners. Thus division of labor, socialized production and the wages system began to become well established institutions. Here we find the old sub-industries of the primitive farm taken by the machine and grouped in industrial centers or cities and divorced from the original unit of farm industry.

(c) *Period of Modern Industry*. Began with the trustification and centralization of industry by eliminating competition between machine owning manufacturers. This period is also marked by the greater use of electricity and the invention of machinery and utilities with which to utilize its power. Here also is the beginning of more highly socialized industry in agriculture.

6. What relation does the family life assume in the different stages of development? Name the forms of marriage.

Ans.: (a) The early stages of savagery appear to be without a definite form of marriage.

(b) The first step towards the formation of the family appears with the Consanguine Family which is the ally territorial. Modern industry disregards territorial limitations owing to the development of machinery and modern centralization of appliances. This points unerringly to a development of administration based upon MACHINE INDUSTRY instead of upon mere territory.

(c) Later on we find the state responding to the same economic forces which brought it into being. That is—the formation of economic classes—one class dominating another class thru economic power reflected in the political power of the state with its coercive machinery. The class which possessed the economic power continued to use the state to hold the serfs in economic servitude. As the church achieved economic power we find it also ruling with the state in the interest of the land owning class.

(d) In modern times we still find the state used by the ruling class to furnish its militia, its injunctions and its laws to strangle any symptoms of virile life on the part of the wage working class looking to its emancipation.

8. What economic condition produced the outgrowth and formation of classes in society with opposing interests?

Ans.: With the more general cultivation of the soil in the upper stage of barbarism,

land became an object of conquest and ownership. The conquered people were made slaves to work on the land as a subject class, and the conquerors became their masters thru the private ownership and control of the land. Note that here is the first formation of what later developed into the state.

9. What subsequent conditions developed other classes with opposing interests?

Ans.: (a) The lands were later allotted to feudal lords by the kings in return for military support. The lords let out their lands, under feudal tenure to their serfs who worked the land as a subject class, producing wealth for a class that did not work.

(b) With the advent of machinery another class was formed out of the machine owners and commercial traders who thus became economically powerful as a class; enabling them to overthrow the feudal system and take their place as a dominant class which again ruled thru the state. Within this condition there formed another subject class consisting of the workers who worked with the machines in the employ of the machine owning capitalists, FOR WAGES.

(To be continued)

Reference books to study: Morgan's "Ancient Society," Engels' "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Parce's "Economic Determinism."

TO CONDUCT STUDY CLUB

When your local or club holds a meeting, choose your chairman or conductor who can first read to the members, if desired, all of the questions and answers thru the phase of the subject to be covered. Then he can return to the first question and read that for the members to discuss. After that question has been discussed by the different members the chairman can read the printed answer which can also be discussed if desired. Proceed in this manner by taking up and disposing of each question and answer in their order. Other questions may suggest themselves and also be discussed. Those members who care to read the books before taking up the different parts of the course should do so and thus be better prepared for the discussion. Then, after the discussion, the most interesting part of the book reading will present itself.

This study course was developed by the members of Local Puyallup, Socialist Party of Washington. It is the result of some years of local study and discussion and is a social product gained from organized experience.

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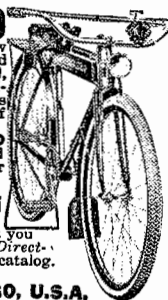
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A Revolution in Spain?

For six months there have been stories of disturbances coming thru from Spain.

They have been censored so strictly that it is difficult to know just what has happened. There have been several great strikes, military law has been proclaimed for various periods, and a good many people have been shot and imprisoned.

In December there was a general election. The Socialists and Republicans made great gains. Two labor leaders who had been imprisoned for inciting a strike were elected to Parliament by great majorities. As we go to press, the reports are full of suggestions of more important developments. Two months ago Commissions of army officers were formed to take over the work of "defense," that is, to guard against revolution. The latest cablegrams report the formation of similar groups by non-commissioned officers. From the action of the government it seems clear that these are in reality revolutionary committees. When their existence was discovered the cabinet was called into special session, all divisions of the army were ordered into barracks, telegraphic and telephonic communications were forbidden. Finally, 1,500 non-commissioned officers were discharged from the service.

The King of Spain has frequently said that the world is developing toward republicanism and Socialism. He, at least, is not surprised at what is taking place.

Australia has distinguished herself from Canada and the United States by defeating

conscription a second time. Final figures on the referendum were reported on December 24. Among the civilian population the vote stood 889,000 for conscription and 1,072,000 against it. Among the soldiers it stood 23,000 for and 32,000 against. In proportion the negative vote given by the soldiers was, it thus appears, much greater than that returned by other voters.

No Conscription in Australia

NEWS AND VIEWS



C. E. RUTHENBERG,

Secretary Local, Cleveland, Ohio, Socialist Party.

From Ohio—As the prison doors at Canton, Ohio, open to receive our comrades, Ruthenberg and Wagenknecht, for one year, they send greetings and these words to the REVIEW and its readers:

THE Supreme Court has decided we must spend a year in jail.

The "crime" of which we are convicted is truth-telling.

We believe in certain principles. We fought for those principles. We go to jail.

Ostensibly we are convicted of inducing a certain Alphonse Schue not to register. The charge is merely the excuse.

Neither of us knew Schue. Neither of us heard of him until his name appeared in the indictment against us.

The ruling class is always able to find a Judas. Schue was induced to say he heard our speeches and had been influenced thereby not to register, by the promise of his freedom.

It is not the Judas that is important, nor the fact that we were convicted by a hand-picked jury and a judge bitterly prejudiced against organized labor.

The important thing is that the ruling class feared our message to the workers and is trying to silence that message.

That knowledge should make a hundred willing workers take up the work we lay down. Confident that this will be the result of our conviction, we go to jail smilingly and at the end of our year will return to work for the cause we believe in, the cause we fought for and will fight for.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.



A. WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary of the Socialist
Party of Ohio.

WE unflinchingly face prisonward. Far beyond the prison we see the Socialist Republic, peopled with care-free, happy men, women and children. We unhesitatingly step prisonward because we know our incarceration but constitutes part of the rope with which capitalism is going to hang itself.

There's no fear of prison written on the face of sentenced Socialists. Don't I know? Haven't I seen them sentenced and walk from the judge with smiles upon their faces—smiles from set jaws that portend no good for the ruling class!

In a day, the "under dogs" of Russia became the rulers of the land. In a day the over-burdened, over-worked, bent Russian straightened up, cast the parasites from his back, took a deep breath and said: "This is my Russia."

Only a year in jail! We gladly make the sacrifice. It is about the least we can do as our part in the work of freeing the workers from their masters.

A. WAGENKNECHT.



STANLEY J. CLARK,
One of the 166 Indicted I. W. W. Men.

To our Comrades and Friends:—Stanley J. Clark, of Texas, one of the bravest of our comrades, is a federal prisoner in a Chicago jail. He is innocent of crime except the crime of loyalty to the working class. He is not safe to be at large for the truth he speaks to the people and the justice he defends against the crushing despotism of the ruling class.

Clark, like every other honest agitator, is poor. Money is needed for his defense. If ever the persecuted leader of a righteous cause deserved the support of right-minded people, it is Stanley J. Clark. He is in jail for YOU! His case is up to YOU!

We do not beg for funds but tell you plainly that it is your duty to contribute as your means allow to set your comrade free. If you are loyal you will understand, and you will act, and act PROMPTLY! Send your dime or your dollar by the very first mail, care of Charles H. Kerr & Company.

Yours for our imprisoned comrades,
EUGENE V. DEBS.



PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

The annual stockholders' meeting of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 341 East Ohio street, Chicago, January 15, 1918, at 4 p. m. There were present Charles H. Kerr, holding 1,110 shares and proxies for 30 shares; Alfred D. Schoch, holding 35 shares; Mary E. Marcy, holding one share and proxies for two shares, and the following stockholders having one share each: Leo Baer, Sam W. Hoke, Robert H. Howe, Leslie H. Marcy and F. W. Miller. Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary. The president made a verbal report on the work of the publishing house for the year 1917, and submitted the following figures on the year's business:

January 1, 1918

Assets

Cash on hand	\$ 457.67
Books, bound and unbound.....	12,300.36
Electrotype plates	12,043.20
Copyrights	11,024.00
International Socialist Review.....	4,000.00
Office Furniture	345.00
Real Estate	400.00
Bills Receivable	5,648.58
Accounts Receivable	853.56

\$47,072.37

Deficit

404.44

\$47,476.81

Liabilities

Paid-up Capital Stock.....	\$43,330.00
Co-operative Publishing Bonds.....	320.00
Accounts Payable	1,176.53
Loans from Stockholders.....	3,650.28

\$47,476.81

1917

Receipts

Book sales	\$22,009.40
Review subscriptions and sales.....	9,774.10
Review advertising	811.50
Donations	26.04
Interest	66.69

\$32,687.73

Increase in Inventory

499.33

\$33,187.06

Deficit

404.44

\$33,591.50

Expenditures

Manufacture of books.....	\$6,798.96
Manufacture of Review.....	6,410.07
Wages	8,030.45
Postage and expressage.....	4,279.42
Advertising	399.15

Review circulation expense.....	121.90
Review articles and photographs....	374.60
Authors of books.....	281.40
Books purchased	2,249.66
Rent	1,099.92
Taxes	29.15
Miscellaneous expense	953.81

\$31,028.49

 Depreciation on plates..... | 1,338.13 | Depreciation on copyrights..... | 1,224.88 |

\$33,591.50

Book sales have shown a good increase over 1916, but the circulation of the Review has been seriously interfered with by the action of federal officials. Late in June we were notified that our June issue was unavailable and that our July issue must be submitted to Washington for approval before mailing. It was subsequently ruled unavailable. Our August issue was passed by the Washington censors after three paragraphs to which they objected were omitted, but our September issue was ruled out. We submitted the October issue for approval and we are still waiting for a ruling, likewise later issues. Thus we have not been able to mail any copies since August. Up to this time, however, we have been allowed to circulate copies by express. We have carefully observed the provisions of the law, and hope to be able to continue the Review in this way, but if prevented shall at least continue the circulation of books.

After the reading of the financial report and an informal discussion, the stockholders by a unanimous vote re-elected for the ensuing year the seven directors, Leo Baer, Jacob Bruning, Robert H. Howe, Charles H. Kerr, Leslie H. Marcy, Mary E. Marcy and Daniel F. Sager. The meeting then adjourned.

Directors' Meeting

The January meeting of the board of directors of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held following the meeting of stockholders, at 341 East Ohio street, at 4:30 p. m.

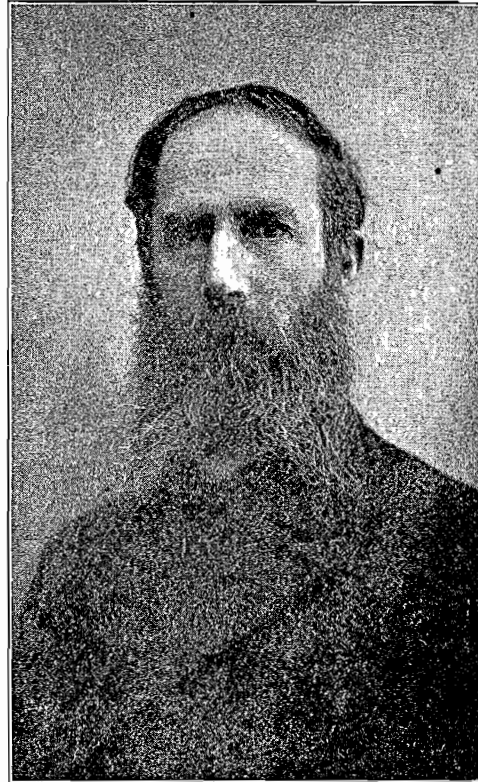
Present: Comrades Leo Baer, Robert H. Howe, Leslie H. Marcy, Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy. Secretary Marcy read the minutes of the preceding meeting, which were unanimously approved. It was moved by Comrade Howe and seconded by Comrade Baer that the present officers of the company be re-elected for 1918 at the same salaries, and carried. Charles H. Kerr is therefore president; Leslie H. Marcy, vice-president, and Mary E. Marcy, secretary for the company for the coming year.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

The Economic Causes of War

By
PROF. ACHILLE LORIA
of the University of Turin

Price \$1.00



This is the one really notable Socialist book published since the beginning of the Great War, and thru the translator, John Leslie Garner, we have obtained the privilege of offering it to American readers.

The author begins by showing that international relations, ever since written history began, have resulted from international trade. This trade has been a necessity because the people of each nation needed commodities which either could not be produced at home at all, or only at the cost of much more labor than was required to provide other commodities to send the foreigner in exchange for his. He goes on to show how this international trade, at first beneficial to every one, finally became a menace to the profits of some of the capitalists in the various nations. A code of international law had been evolving to protect the foreign merchants in their travels, but later this law was often suspended or destroyed by wars.

Professor Loria shows in detail how economic causes thru historical times alternately made for peace and for war between nations, and how the forces making for peace have increased so as to make wars less frequent than formerly. A supplementary chapter, written since the beginning of the Great War, analyzes its economic causes in detail, and the author closes by showing that the only permanent remedy for war is the transfer of power from the war lords and magnates to the workers.

Charles H. Kerr & Company,
341-349 East Ohio Street, Chicago:

I enclose \$1.00, for which please mail a copy of "The Economic Causes of War."

Name..... Address.....

Postoffice..... State.....